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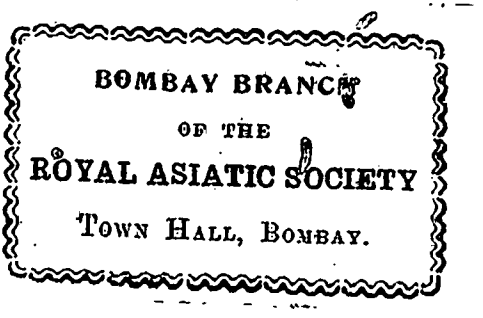

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MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS,

CHIEFLY HISTORICAL,

OF THE LATE

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.,

AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF KNOX," ETC.

EDITED BY HIS SON.

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EDINBURGH:
JOHN JOHNSTONE, HUNTER SQUARE.

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PREFACE.

THE present collection comprises nearly the whole of the miscellaneous pieces of an historical nature, published by Dr M'Crie, at different periods of his life, in periodicals and pamphlets. These have been found sufficient to fill a volume of large size, without the addition of other papers, critical and theological, which the editor at one time contemplated publishing along with them. He may mention, particularly, the "Account of the Marrow Controversy," which appeared in four numbers of the Christian Instructor, with a continuation in manuscript, prepared for publication, and containing a minute investigation of the similar controversy in England, as managed by Hervey, Sandeman, and others. The extent which this Volume has unexpectedly reached, induces the editor to delay the publication of these, and other pieces of smaller size, until a future opportunity, when, perhaps, the state of religious controversy may call for them more urgently than at present.

The earlier pieces in the Volume, which are selected from the Christian Magazine, a periodical to which Dr M'Crie contributed pretty largely, and of which he was at one time editor, appear necessarily under great disadvantage. Some of them, the editor is aware, might have been omitted, as at the best juvenile efforts, and never intended by the author

to be seen beyond the pages of the comparatively obscure miscellany for which they were originally written. But the authorship of them being known, it was to be feared that, if not thus collected, they might have found their way to the public at some future time in a mutilated form, or without that careful selection and supervision which such posthumous publications require. The papers on "the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain," with other historical sketches in the same Magazine, which have been interwoven in well-known works of the author, it was not considered necessary to include in this collection.

With regard to the other pieces in the Volume, the editor begs gratefully to acknowledge the readiness with which he has been permitted to republish them in their present form, by the Booksellers who possessed the copy-rights of the original publications in which they appeared. The Notes which he has taken the liberty to add to some of the more interesting papers, have proved a recreation to himself, and will not, he trusts, be deemed altogether without their use. And he has only farther to express his hope, that this Volume will be found not only useful to the student of history as a book of reference, but generally interesting as a permanent record of the author's sentiments on several points which have not been treated in his larger works.

THOMAS M'CRIE.

EDINBURGH, *April* 15, 1841.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LIFE OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

BY THE EDITOR.

I HAVE little to say regarding the following sketch, in addition to what is stated in the "Life of Dr M'Crie" (pp. 151–154). It appears to have been the author's first attempt at extended biography, and to have been originally designed for separate publication; but he was ultimately induced to insert it in five successive numbers of the Christian Magazine for 1806,—a periodical of which he was at that time the sole Editor.

The original manuscript has been preserved, and bears evidence of the author's intention to have enlarged the Memoir, had it been published separately. This he never appears to have attempted at any subsequent period; still, however, the manuscript contains a considerable quantity of matter which had been omitted in the Magazine, from a desire to shorten the narrative, and which I have introduced into this edition. The additions thus made will, it is hoped, be found to contribute to the completeness and value of the Memoir.

The notes which I have added may probably be found to throw some additional light on the passages to which they are appended. It may be proper to state, that (with one or two exceptions, which have been acknowledged) the matter of these notes is strictly original; that they are gathered for the most part from documents which the author of the Life had not an opportunity at the time of consulting, and

that the facts which they furnish have never been noticed in any previous life of Henderson.

Dr M'Crie always held the character of Henderson in the highest veneration. Writing to his friend, Professor Bruce, in March 1803, he says, "For some time past I have had my eye towards a sketch of the life of Mr Alexander Henderson.* But reverence for the greatness of his character, and a conviction of inability to do justice to it, have kept me from doing any thing except marking down a few references to authorities and facts." The preservation of his manuscript shows, I think, that he had not abandoned his original intention of writing a full life of the Second Reformer; and I have no doubt that had he followed out his design of a series of biographies, Henderson would have ranked next to Andrew Melville. The following anecdote, trifling as it is, shows how sensitively he felt every thing affecting the character of the great heroes of the Reformation. Several years ago, an esteemed friend, while examining the manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, informed him that he had met with a letter apparently signed, "A. Henderson, 1641," in which the writer acknowledged his share in urging the execution of some rebels taken in arms. The discovery of a temper so inconsistent with all his previous ideas of Henderson's character, shocked my father extremely, and he declared, that if it should prove correct, he would *give him up for ever*. On minuter inspection, however, he found that the signature was "T. Henderson, 1647," a person who was then clerk of Parliament, and that the letter referred to the Irish rebels who were subjected to military execution

* This mode of designating the hero of the Covenant, which is kept up throughout the following memoir, now sounds in our ears almost as oddly as *Mr* John Milton, or *Mr* William Shakspeare. In Henderson's time, however, it was considered no mean distinction for any one to be entitled to "write *Master* to his name," and the practice of applying the academical title to great men, continued till the commencement of the present century. Henderson spelt his own name differently at different times. I have in my possession an attestation sent by him to the Town Council of Edinburgh, "subscryved in name of our session at Leuchars, August 20, 1626. M. Alexr. Henrysone."

at Dunnavertie; upon which he exclaimed, with high satisfaction, "Our man is safe, for by that time he was in Abraham's bosom."

It has been a subject of very general regret, that the materials for the personal history of Henderson are so defective. No man stood higher in the estimation of his cotemporaries; but the contentions of the unhappy period which succeeded his death, left them no leisure to do justice to his history, and any attempts of this kind which were made, proved abortive. Principal Baillie, in a letter addressed, in 1653, to Samuel Clarke, author of the well-known Martyrology, who was anxious to collect some information regarding the Scottish worthies, says, "I wish we had a narrative of another of ours to send to you; I mean your sometime good friend Mr Henderson, a truly heroick divine, for piety, learning, wisdom, eloquence, humility, single life, and every good part,—for some years *the most eyed man of the three kingdoms*." * This desire was not realized at the time, when the facts of his private history might have been made known; and no biography, worthy of the name of Henderson, had appeared when Dr M'Crie published his sketch in the unpretending pages of the Christian Magazine.

A Life of Henderson, embracing a view of his "Times," has since appeared from the pen of the Rev. Dr Aiton of Dolphington. Of this biography I shall only say, that it was hardly to be expected that the author could do full justice to the principles and conduct of his hero, in which, according to his own professions, he felt little sympathy. A history of the life and times of Alexander Henderson, written in the cordial spirit of a thorough Presbyterian like himself, with nothing of the bitterness of party which characterised the age in which he flourished, is still wanting. From the ordinary histories of the period we in vain look for a candid account of the man whom Baillie describes as "the fairest ornament, after John Knox, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy." In a late history of Montrose and the Covenanters, distinguished by a spirit of the most violent

* Baillie's (MS.) Letters, vol. iii., fol. 136.

partizanship, Henderson is described as "the very Don Quixotte of Presbyterianism;" while Dr Cook concludes an historical portrait of him by declaring his conviction, that "the man must have been *truly respectable.*" Let us cherish the hope, that the day is not far distant when the sacred cause in which he "spent his strength and breathed out his life" will be better understood and appreciated,—when ampler justice will be done to the character of one in whom the virtues of the Christian were blended with those of the heroes and patriots of antiquity, and against whom, though living in an age of calumny and defraction, his worst enemies "could find no occasion nor fault, except they found it against him concerning the law of his God."

LIFE OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

PART I.

FROM HIS BIRTH, 1583, TO HIS ENTRANCE ON PUBLIC LIFE, 1637.

THOSE transactions which have rendered the middle of the 17th century so famous in the history of Britain, aroused and drew forth to public view men of the most eminent talents, in the northern as well as the southern part of our island. Scotland could at that time boast of her patriots both in Church and State, inferior to those of no other nation;—of statesmen, able, disinterested, enlightened, jealous of the rights of their country, and at the same time loyal to their prince;—of ministers of religion, distinguished for learning and piety, and who counted nothing dear to them, provided that they might advance the kingdom of Christ, and secure their religious privileges. To that band of illustrious Reformers, who stood firm against the encroachments of tyranny and superstition, we owe, under God, whatever we enjoy most valuable in religion and liberty; although justice is seldom done to their character and actings in the histories of that period, and their memories have often been loaded with the most odious charges and libellous abuse. Among these, the subject of the following memoir held a conspicuous place; and the stations to which he was called, and the important services which he per-

formed, give a high interest to his character, and to the particulars of his life.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON was born about the year 1583. Of his parents, or the circumstances of the early part of his life, no authentic information has descended to us. * Being intended for the service of the Church, he was sent to the University of St Andrews to complete his education, about the commencement of the 17th century. His abilities and application soon distinguished him in literary improvement; and, after having finished the usual course of studies, and passed his degrees with applause, he was chosen teacher of a class of philosophy and rhetoric in that University. †

* [Dr Aiton, who appears to have taken some pains to procure information from clergymen residing in the native district of the Reformer, and from others, regarding Henderson's birth, parentage, and early education, has supplied a few facts, which, though still meagre and unsatisfactory, may be here introduced. The parish of Creich in Fife claims the honour of his birth-place; and the tradition of the country points out the property of Lithrie in that parish, as the particular spot where he first drew breath. The Hendersons of Fordel claim him as a cadet of their family,—a claim which is supported by their possession of a picture of him by Vandyke, and by the fact that his remains were interred in the burying-ground of their family in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. This is likewise confirmed by the testimony of Wodrow, who states that "he was born anno ——, of parents of good esteem, and descended from the family of Fordel (Henderson), in Fife, an old family, and of good repute." Henderson went to St Andrews, and was matriculated in the College of St Salvador, on the 19th of December 1599. He took the degree of Master of Arts in the year 1603. The year of his birth (1583) is ascertained from the inscription on his monument, where he is said to have died August 12, 1646, in his sixty-third year. Nearly two hundred years afterwards, in the same month, and at the same age, died his memorialist, Dr M'Crie; and their ashes repose very near each other in the same churchyard. I may take the liberty of stating, from personal inspection, that the portrait of Henderson in the possession of the Earl of Fife, at Duff House, conveys a far more favourable idea of his personal appearance, than that from which Dr Aiton has taken the likeness prefixed to his work.—EDITOR.]

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 123.—He was one of the professors of St Andrews in the year 1611; for his name is affixed to a letter of thanks to the king, on occasion of his having founded a library in the College, by the Rector, Deans of Faculty, and other masters of the University of St Andrews, dated 4th May 1611.— *Wodrow's MSS.* fol., No. 34, *Advocates' Library.*

The Church of Scotland had, at this period, suffered a great change. The liberty of her Assemblies was infringed; Episcopacy, with its attendant evils, obtruded upon her, and, to make way for these innovations, her most able and faithful ministers were banished, imprisoned, silenced, or driven into obscure and distant corners. Particular care was taken to poison the sources of learning, by placing the tuition of youth under the care of time-serving and corrupt men. The learned and intrepid Andrew Melville, who had presided over the College of St Andrews with great success and renown, was removed, detained, and at last finally excluded from his station, under the most deceitful pretexts, and persons placed in his room, and that of his colleagues, who were fit instruments for disseminating such principles as were favourable to the corrupt measures then carrying on.

Mr Henderson being then a young man, and ambitious of preferment, became a warm advocate for the new measures. Though the authority is not the best, yet there is reason to think that what Bishop Guthrie says of him is not without foundation, that "being Professor of Philosophy in St Andrews, he did, at the Laureation of his class, choose Archbishop Gladstanes for his patron, with a very flattering dedication, for which he had the Kirk of Leuchars given him shortly after." * This may assist us in determining the time at which Mr Henderson entered into the ministry. As he received the parish through the patronage of Archbishop Gladstanes, and as that prelate died in 1615, he must have entered on or before that year.† His settlement

* Memoirs, p. 24.

† In the "Biographia Scoticana, or Scots Worthies," it is said that Mr Henderson entered to Leuchars about the year 1620. But the facts in that book are often stated with little accuracy: in the present instance there is evidently an error.

["The exact period of Henderson's induction," says Dr Aiton, "has not been ascertained, even after inquiries in every quarter; but it must have taken place some time between the end of the year 1611, when his name appears as Questor of the Faculty of Arts at St Andrews, and the 26th of January 1614, when he, as one of the members of his Presbytery, signed a certificate in behalf of Mr John Strang." "He professed philosophy," says Wodrow, "for several years with great applause; but weary-

at Leuchars, procured in the manner above mentioned, was unpopular to such a degree, that on the day of his ordination, the people secured the church-doors, and the ministers who attended, together with the presentee, were obliged to break in by the window. When a sober people discover such violent symptoms of dissatisfaction with a minister, there is reason to conclude that there is something wrong, either with the candidate, or the manner of his introduction among them. In the present instance there were both. For the person who was appointed to take the oversight of them, not only was known to be a defender of those corruptions to which the great body of the people in Scotland were averse, but discovered little or no regard to the spiritual interests of the flock upon whom he had been obtruded. A most unhappy connection, which it is probable would only have continued until his interest had procured him a change to a better living, had not every ground of dissatisfaction between him and his people been removed, and a foundation of lasting comfort between them laid in the merciful ordination of God. Mr Henderson had not continued long in Leuchars, when an important change was effected on the state of his mind,—a change which had an influence upon the whole of his future conduct.

About this time, that truly great man, Mr Robert Bruce, who had been banished from Edinburgh for refusing to comply with a mandate from the Court respecting the Gowrie conspiracy, and was driven from one part of the country to another, through the fears entertained from his opposition to the measures of the Court and bishops, had obtained liberty to return from Inverness, the place of his restraint. This interval of freedom he improved by preaching at different places to which he had access, and was followed by crowds, whom his piety, his talents, and his sufferings, drew together to hear him, particularly on fast-days and at communions.

ing of that study, he betook himself to divinity, and *shortly after* was called to the ministry at Leuchars." "But all this time," he adds, "though his learning was great, he had made but small proficiency in piety."—*Anal.* i., p. 275.—Ed.]

Hearing of a communion in the neighbourhood, at which Mr Bruce was expected to assist, Mr Henderson, attracted by his fame, or from some other motive, went thither secretly, and placed himself in a dark corner of the church, where he would remain most concealed. Mr Bruce came into the pulpit, and after a pause, according to his usual manner, which fixed Mr Henderson's attention on him, he read, with his accustomed emphasis and deliberation, these words as his text, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is A THIEF AND A ROBBER." Words so descriptive of the character of an intruder, and so literally applicable to the manner in which he entered upon his ministry at Leuchars, went like "drawn swords" to the heart of Mr Henderson. He who wished to conceal himself from all, felt that he was naked and opened to the word of God, the secrets of his heart were made manifest, his conscience convicted, and, yielding to the force of divine truth, "he worshipped God, and, going away, reported, that God was of a truth" in those whose ways were so opposite to his own. In one word, the discourse of that powerful preacher on this occasion, was, by the Divine blessing, the means of Mr Henderson's conversion.* Ever after he retained a great affection for his spiritual father, Mr Bruce, and used to make mention of him with marks of the highest respect.†

We need not doubt that Mr Henderson's change of mind would soon discover itself in his conduct, and that he would strive by all means in his power to promote the edification of the people of his charge, and to remove the offence which he had caused by the manner of his first entrance among them. Let us hear himself speaking on this subject, in his address to his brethren in the famous Assembly at Glasgow, more than twenty years after the period of which we now speak. "There are divers among us that have had no such warrant for our entry to the ministry, as were to be wished. Alas! how many of us have rather sought the kirk, than the kirk

* Scots Worthies, p. 169, 3d edit. † Stevenson's History, p. 604.

sought us! How many have rather gotten the kirk given to them, than they have been given to the kirk for the good thereof! And yet there must be a great difference put between these that have lived many years in an unlawful office, without warrant of God, and therefore must be abominable in the sight of God, and those who in some respects have entered unlawfully, and with an ill conscience, and afterwards have come to see the evil of this, and to do what in them lies to repair the injury. The one is like a marriage altogether unlawful, and null in itself; the other is like a marriage in some respects unlawful and inexpedient, but that may be mended by the diligence and fidelity of the parties in doing their duty afterwards; so should it be with us who entered lately into the calling of the ministry. If there were any faults or wrong steps in our entry, (as who of us are free?) acknowledge the Lord's calling of us, if we have since got a seal from Heaven of our ministry, and let us labour with diligence and faithfulness in our office." *

A concern about personal religion, and the salvation of the souls of men, has often led to a concern about the prerogatives of the King of Zion, as connected with the external government of his Church. This was exemplified in Mr Henderson. He began to look upon the courses of the prevailing party in the Church of Scotland with a different eye from what he had done formerly, when he was guided by a worldly spirit, and by views of ambition. Their tendency he perceived to be injurious to the interests of practical religion. He, however, judged it proper to give the existing controversy a deliberate investigation, the result of which was, that he found Episcopacy to be equally unauthorised by the Word of God, and inconsistent with the reformed constitution of the Church of Scotland. †

He did not long want an opportunity of publicly declaring his change of views, and of appearing on the side of that cause which he had hitherto discountenanced. From the

* Sermon preached before the Assembly at Glasgow, 1638, pp. 14, 15.

† See the first of Mr Henderson's Papers to his Majesty at Newcastle; usually printed along with King Charles's works.

time that the prelatic government had first been obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, a plan had been laid to conform her worship also to the English model. After various preparatory steps, an Assembly was suddenly indicted at Perth, in the year 1618, in which, by the most undue influence, a number of superstitious innovations * were authorised. Among those ministers who had the courage to oppose these innovations, and who argued against them with great force of truth, but without success, we find the name of Mr Alexander Henderson of Leuchars.† It is remarkable, that it was proposed in this Assembly, that he and his friend, Mr William Scot of Coupar, should be translated to Edinburgh. This proposal, there is the best reason for supposing, was made with the view of soothing the inhabitants of that city, and of procuring a more ready submission to the other acts of that Assembly, without any serious intention of settling these able advocates for nonconformity in that station. "The bishops," says Calderwood, "meant no such thing in earnest."‡ But the proposal testifies the esteem in which Mr Henderson was held, even at that early period, by the faithful part of the Church of Scotland, unto whom he had lately adjoined himself. §

In the month of August 1619, Mr Henderson and two other ministers were called before the Court of High Commission in St Andrews, charged with composing and publishing a book, entitled "Perth Assembly," proving the nullity of that Assembly, and with raising a contribution to defray the expense of printing the work. They appeared, and answered for themselves with such wisdom, that the bishops could gain no advantage against them, and were

* Usually styled the Five Articles of Perth.

† Memoirs of Mr Robert Blair, p. 14.

‡ History of the Church of Scotland, p. 713.

§ [Mr Henderson's popularity, during this period of his life, may be inferred from the additional fact, that, on the 29th of September 1631, he received a call from the parish of Stirling, with the concurrence of the Presbytery and Town-Council; which he declined to accept.—*Records of the Presbytery of Stirling.*—ED.]

obliged to dismiss them with threatenings. * Both before and after the ratification of the Acts of Perth Assembly by the Parliament in 1621, many honest ministers were greatly harassed on account of their nonconformity. But the aversion to the newly introduced ceremonies was so general, and the minority against whose will they were carried, both in Assembly and Parliament, so respectable, that it was judged impolitic and dangerous to enforce a rigid and universal compliance with them. A number of ministers, who opposed and refused to practise them, were overlooked, and permitted to continue in their charges, particularly in the west country, and in Fife, where Mr Henderson's parish lay. From this period until the year 1637, it does not appear that he suffered much, although he continued to be watched with a jealous eye, and cramped in his exertions for promoting the cause of truth and holiness.

One feels a desire to know how a person in Mr Henderson's situation was employed during so long an interval of partial restraint; and even when the records from which information is drawn are in a great measure silent, we may, without transgressing far the limits of history, form conclusions from the character of the man, and the appearance which he made when afterwards drawn into public notice. Secluded from the bustle of the world, he had an opportunity of conversing with his God, and of being admitted to those heavenly enjoyments, and attaining those religious experiences, which are often, in a high degree, the privileges of Christians placed in such circumstances. †

* Row of Carnock's History of the Kirk of Scotland, MS., p. 242. Mr David Calderwood, the celebrated author of *Altare Damascenum*, was also the author of the book in question.

[When search was made for him in 1619, as the Author of "Perth Assembly," Calderwood was secreted in Cranston, "in a chamber appointed him by Lady Dame Sarah Cranston, who was many ways steadable to him. He removed from place to place, as the Lord provided for him, till the 27th August, that he embarked at Newhaven, and sailed to Holland."—*Cald. MS. Hist.* iv., 836.—Ed.]

† [The conjecture here formed is corroborated by the following facts which have been transmitted to us, regarding this early period of Henderson's life. "Mr James Wellwood, a minister, in his younger days was deeply

The time which Mr Henderson spent in his retirement, though obscure on the page of history, was not the least useful period of his life. Living sequestered in his parish, and excluded from taking any share in the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation, he had leisure to push his inquiries into the extensive field of theology and the history of the Church, and laid up those stores of knowledge which he afterwards had an opportunity of displaying. The sedulous discharge of pastoral duties afforded him regular employment, and in the success with which this was attended, he enjoyed the purest gratification. Besides this, he met occasionally with his brethren of the same mind at fasts and communions, when, by sermons and conferences, they encouraged one another in adhering to the good old principles

exercised. Mr Alexander Henderson was minister of Leuchars, near by him, and gave him a visit, and after long conference, could gain noe grounds upon him, for Mr James was of a deep piercing wit, and repelled all Mr Alexander could say to him by way of comfort; so he goes to leave him. Mr James gripps Mr Henderson's hand fast at parting. Mr Alexander asked him why he expressed so much kindness, for, says he, 'I never did you any courtesy or personal advantage.' 'I love you, Sir,' said Mr James, 'because I think you are a man in whom I see much of the image of Christ, and who fears God.' 'Then,' said Mr Henderson, 'if I can gain no more ground on you, take that,—1 John iii. 14, *By this we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.*' Upon this Mr James anchored faith, and this was the first thing that brought comfort to him. After this they parted; but within a little he grew soe in the sense of the love of God, that the manifestations of the Lord allowed him all his lifetime were wonderful."—*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. ii., p. 222. There is another characteristic anecdote related of Henderson, in the diary of one Arthur Morton, a minister in Fife, who laboured under extreme religious depression of mind. Not one of his friends could make the slightest impression on this melancholy man, till Henderson came to visit him. On hearing him bewail, among his other sins, the violation of some private covenant which he had made with God, Henderson asked a sight of the document, and began, with consummate skill, to point out its errors, telling him, with an air of authoritative severity, which brought conviction to the poor patient, that "there was one sin of which he had not yet repented, the greatest of them all, and that, was *the making of such a covenant*, which spoiled God of the glory of his grace, by relying more on the powers of nature and powerful means, than the merits of our Lord."—*MS., Quarto, Adv. Lib.*—ED.]

of the Church of Scotland, and joined in fervent supplications to God for the remedy of those evils under which they groaned. * Mr Livingston mentions Mr Henderson as one of those "godly and able ministers" with whom he got acquainted in attending these solemn occasions, between the years 1626 and 1630, "the memory of whom," says he, "is very precious and refreshing." †

At length the time for delivering the Church of Scotland arrived. The Lord regarded the prayers and fasting of his servants, made their light to rise out of obscurity, and restored their captivity in an unexpected and surprising way. Those who had become enamoured with the external form of the English Church, judged, in concurrence with the

* [In connection with these Presbyterial meetings, which were connived at by the bishops in some places, and were useful for maintaining some union among the faithful ministers, before the year 1637, Wodrow relates the following anecdote of Henderson:—"Mr Henderson, I hear, took great pains to gain the great Mr Wood, afterwards Professor of Divinity. Mr Wood was both Arminian and Prelatick in his youth. Mr Henderson perceiving him a smart and most acute young man, always made much of him, and was most kind to him when he met him at any time. One time he invited Mr Wood and Mr David Forret, both then Prelatick, to be present at some of their Presbyterial meetings. Mr Wood objected that they would not win in. Mr Henderson told them he needed not fear that, for he should bring them both in; and so they were present at a Presbyterial meeting for prayer and conference. After the meeting was over, Mr Henderson called for them both, and said, 'Now Jacobe, what think you of our meeting, when compared with yours?' Mr Wood said, 'he was much taken with that meeting, and that there appeared to be much more of the Spirit of God with them, than at their Prelatick meetings.' Mr Forret seemed to be more taken; he said, 'he saw nothing of the presence of God in their Prelatick meeting, by what he saw that day in their Presbyterial meeting;' but Mr Wood answered, 'We are men, and must not only have our affections moved, but our judgments must be satisfied.' Mr Henderson was very well pleased with what he said, and replied, 'That is very true, Jacobe, ye are men, and must have your judgment satisfied;' and so he inquired at Mr W. if he had read any of the Presbyterian writers, and he having declared he had not, Mr Henderson sent him *Altare Damascenum*, and desired him to peruse it seriously; accordingly he read it, and was entirely gained thereby. He declared his judgment was fully satisfied with what he had read in that book."—*Anal.* vol. iv., p. 222.—Ed.]

† Life of Mr John Livingston, p. 12.

court, that a fit season now offered for introducing its complete model into Scotland. Accordingly, in 1636, a book of ecclesiastical canons was sent down from England, and in the course of the same year a book of ordination. * After some delay, the Anglo-Popish Liturgy or Service-book framed after the English model, but with alterations, which, according to the scheme then on foot of reconciling the Romish and English churches, approached nearer to the Popish ritual, made its appearance. Had Scotland tamely submitted to this yoke, and allowed the threefold cord to be thrown over her, she might afterwards have sighed and struggled in vain for liberty. But the arbitrary manner in which these innovations were imposed, not less offensive than the matter of them, added to the dissatisfaction produced by former measures of the court and bishops, excited universal disgust, and aroused a spirit of opposition, which was not allayed until not only the obnoxious acts were swept away, but the whole fabric of Episcopacy, which during so many years they had laboured to rear, was levelled with the dust. Sensible of gross mismanagements, and galled with disappointment, the defenders of Scottish Episcopacy have endeavoured to throw the blame sometimes on the young bishops, sometimes upon the statesmen employed in the transaction; but it is evident, that, while their counsels were in some things divided, they did all, young and old, churchmen and statesmen, urge forward, with singular infatuation, those measures which precipitated their fall.

The tumult which was produced by the first reading of the Liturgy in Edinburgh, on the 23d of July 1637, is well known. Bishop Guthrie represents this disturbance as the result of a previous consultation in April, at which time, he says, Mr Alexander Henderson came from the brethren in Fife, and Mr David Dickson from those in the west, and, in concert with Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, engaged certain matrons to put the first affront upon the Service-book. The bishop was so well acquainted with this piece of secret history, that he has given us the names of the

* Row of Carnock's History, MS., p. 292.

women employed. It is rather unfavourable to the credibility of this story, that it flatly contradicts the official accounts, not only of the Town Council of Edinburgh, and of the Privy Council, but of his Majesty also, which declare, that, after the most strict inquiry, it appeared that the tumult was begun by the meaner sort of people, without any instigation, concert, or interference, of the better classes.* But the bishop himself, in his eagerness to asperse Mr Dickson, has mentioned a fact which enables us completely to disprove the charge, and which discredits his whole account. He says that Mr Dickson, in going home by Stirling, gave out that his errand to Edinburgh was to accompany Mr Robert Blair to a ship which was to carry him to Germany.† Now, Mr Blair's design of going to the Continent was not *before*, but a considerable time *after* the tumult, being formed in the midst of the regular opposition which was made to the innovations, and at a time when there was

* Large Declaration, pp. 23, 40. Burnet's Memoirs of D. Hamilton, p. 32.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, pp. 23, 24. [The ridiculous story told by Bishop Guthrie, of a preconcerted arrangement among the leaders of the Covenant to create a riot on this occasion, contradicted as it was by the authorities of the time, who instituted a close investigation into the circumstances, has now been completely disproved by additional evidence. See Rothes' Relation, p. 3, and Appendix, p. 198. A true relation of the Prelat's Carriage for introducing the Bookes of Canons, &c. Bishop Burnet says, that "after all inquiry was made, it did not at all appear that any above the meaner sort were accessory to that tumult." Baillie, who blurts out every thing he heard, never hints at any such conspiracy. Those who, in spite of such a mass of evidence to the contrary, persist in believing the malicious fiction of Guthrie, an apostate minister, whose Memoirs were published after his death by an editor of suspicious fidelity, and teem with reproaches against the Presbyterians, betray a pitiable degree of prejudice. A late writer, distinguished for an almost rabid hostility to the Covenanters has attempted to bolster up this story, by an anonymous letter, addressed to Archibald Johnston, proposing some plan for intimidating the bishops from making a public appearance in Glasgow.—*Napier's Montrose and the Covenanters*, vol. i., p. 136. But here Mr Napier has found a mare's nest; in his blindfold eagerness to asperse the Covenanters, he does not seem to have discovered that this letter is dated "26th October 1638," that is, just fifteen months after the tumult at Edinburgh, which took place on the 23d of July 1637!—Ed.]

little appearance of the petitioners obtaining a favourable answer to their demands.*

But although Mr Henderson had no share in any private cabal or plot, he had, from the first intimation of the projected changes, expressed his disapprobation of them, and did not scruple, after their appearance, publicly to expose their dangerous tendency. While this irritated the ruling party, it endeared him to others. As early as March 1637, we find Mr Rutherford thus writing to him :—"As for your case, my reverend and dearest brother, ye are the talking of the north and south, and looked to so as if ye were all shrystal glass. Your motes and dust should [will] be proclaimed, and trumpets blown at your slips ; but I know ye have laid help upon One that is mighty. Intrust not your comforts to men's airy and frothy applause, neither lay your downcastings on the tongues of salt-mockers, and reproachers of godliness."† His early and public appearances were the occasion of his being singled out among the objects of prosecution, to deter others from imitating their example. The Archbishop of St Andrews gave a charge to Mr Henderson and other two ministers in his diocese, to purchase each two copies of the Liturgy, for the use of their parishes, within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. Mr Henderson immediately came to Edinburgh, and on the 23d of August, presented a petition to the Privy Council for himself and his brethren, stating their objections, and praying a suspension of the charge.‡ To this petition, and others

* Row of Ceres's Supplement to Mr Blair's Life, MS., p. 30. See also Rutherford's Letters, Lett. 171.

† Letters, part I. ep. 16.

‡ [This Supplication, which is given at full length in Rothes' Relation, p. 45, was subscribed by Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars; George Hamilton, minister at Newburn ; and James Bruce, minister of Kingsbarns. After declaring their willingness at first to receive one of the books to read, "that they might know what it contained before they could promise to practise it," which was refused them, they give the following reasons against receiving the liturgy, after having read it :—1. Because this Book is neither warranted by the authority of the General Assembly, nor by any Act of Parliament. 2. Because the liberties and worship of the Scottish Church were warranted by both. 3. The Kirk of Scotland is a free and independent kirk ; and her own pastors should be most able to discern

of a similar kind, providentially presented about the same time, the council returned a favourable answer, and transmitted to London an account of the aversion of the country to conformity. This was an important step, as it directed all that were aggrieved to a regular mode of obtaining relief; and the Privy Council having, at this early stage, testified their aversion to enforce the novations, did afterwards, on different important occasions, befriend and promote the cause of the petitioners.

From this time forward, Mr Henderson took an active share in all the measures of the petitioners, and his prudence and diligence contributed not a little to bring them to a happy issue. They soon discovered his value, and improved it by employing him in their most important and delicate transactions.* Indeed, he was engaged with so little intermission in the public transactions which followed, that the history of the remaining part of his life necessarily involves some account of these. Without, however, entering into a detail of public events, which may be found in the general histories of the period, although often very inadequately and partially represented, it shall be the object of this memoir to select those incidents in which Mr Henderson was more particularly concerned, and which tend to throw light upon his character.

As we are now to view him in a very different scene from the tranquil and retired one in which he formerly acted, it

and direct what doth best beseem our measure of reformation, and what may serve most for the good of the people. 4. The ceremonies contained in the Book could be shown to depart from the worship of this Kirk, and in points most material to draw near to the Kirk of Rome. 5. The people have been otherwise taught, and would not submit to the change even where the pastors were willing.—Ed]

* [Baillie facetiously calls Mr Henderson and Mr David Dickson, "the *two Archbishops*, by whose wit and grace, joined with two or three of the noblemen, all in effect was done." These, however, were but the heads which guided the movements, and the organs which gave expression to the sentiments, of a willing people. It is the boast and beauty of Presbytery, that while it calls no man Master upon earth, it natively brings forth, and cordially acknowledges, the hierarchy of talent, piety, and principle.—Ed.]

may be agreeable to hear his own beautiful and serious reflections upon the ordinations of divine sovereignty in this matter, made when he was in London, in the midst of those great undertakings to which Providence had gradually conducted him. "When," says he, "from my sense of myself, and of my own thoughts and ways, I begin to remember how men, who love to live obscurely, and in the shadow, are brought forth to light, to the view and talking of the world; how men that love quietness are made to stir, and to have a hand in public business; how men that love soliloquies and contemplations are brought upon debates and controversies; and generally, how men are brought to act the things which they never determined, nor so much as dreamed of before; —the words of the prophet Jeremiah come to my remembrance, 'O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.' Let no man think himself master of his own actions or ways: 'When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldst; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.'"* These reflections show that in the active part which he took in the troubles, he was neither goaded by resentment for the restraints to which he had been subjected, nor stimulated by that ambition which leads men to seek for fame in the embroilments of public affairs,—a remark which the whole of his subsequent life serves to justify.

* Dedication to a sermon preached by him before the Parliament of England.

PART II.

FROM THE SWEARING OF THE COVENANT, 1638, TO THE PACIFICATION AT BERWICK, 1639.

THE number of the petitioners against the innovations increased so rapidly, that in a short time the body of the nation was embarked in the cause, and they found it necessary to divide themselves into four companies, consisting of the noblemen, the gentlemen of the shires, the burgesses, and the ministers, and to commit the prosecution of their petitions to a certain number of deputies, or commissioners, appointed by each of these; which was done with the approbation of the Privy Council.* After having been amused for some time with promises, their meetings were suddenly prohibited by a proclamation from his Majesty, under pain of rebellion. Alarmed by this procedure, and convinced that they could not confide in the court, they saw the necessity of adopting some other method for strengthening their union. That to which they were directed was, both in a divine and human point of view, the most proper. They

* These deputies met separately in the Parliament House, and sat around tables, from which the association obtained the name of *The Tables.*

[The designation of "The Tables" seems rather to have been derived from a phrase usually applied at that time to courts of justice. "When the commissioners from shyres and presbyteries mett and satt downe, what absurdity is it to call them so mett *a table,* seeing it is not a counsell table, or a judiciall table, such as the prelates called their tables. If we called it a judiciall table, let us be hanged for it. A taylor's table, sitting with his men sewing about it, or a company eating at such a man's table there is no absurditie in the speache; and we did not call ourselves *the tables,* but uthers gave it that name."—*Speech of Earl Rothes in Assembly* 1638; *Records of the Kirk of Scotland,* p. 145.—ED.]

recollected, that formerly, in a time of great danger, the nation of Scotland had entered into a solemn covenant, by which they bound themselves to continue in the true Protestant religion, and to defend and support one another in that cause against their common enemies. The several Tables being assembled, the noblemen having called Messrs Henderson and Dickson to their assistance, agreed to renew this covenant, and approved of a draught for this purpose.* This being sent to the other Tables, was unanimously adopted. It was substantially the same with the National Covenant, which had been sworn by all ranks, and ratified by every authority in the kingdom during the preceding reign, but was adapted to the corruptions which had been introduced since that period, and to the circumstances in which the Covenanters were placed, in which respect it differed from what was called the King's Covenant, afterwards enjoined. On the 1st of March 1638, the covenant was sworn with uplifted hands, and subscribed in the Greyfriars' Church, by thousands, consisting of the nobility, gentry, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, and commons, assembled from all parts of Scotland; and copies of it being circulated throughout the kingdom, it was every where sworn and subscribed with the greatest alacrity. "This memorable deed, of which it would be improper to forget the authors, was prepared by Alexander Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and Archibald Johnston, afterwards of Warriston, an advocate, in whom the suppliants chiefly confided, and revised by Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes."†

* Baillie's Letters, i. 35.

† Laing's History of Scotland, i. 134. [Letters of advertisement, dated Feb. 22, 1638, were sent throughout the kingdom, warning all who valued the cause of Reformation to repair to Edinburgh with all haste.—*Row's History*, p. 343. These Letters, copies of which will be found in Rothes' Relation, were not sent till after they found that "the prelates had, by misinformation of the King's Majestie, procured a proclamation for establishing the Service-Book, and discharging all meetings under pain of treason,—thus not only restraining our liberties, but taking from us all means of ordinary and lawful remedy." It is therefore "thought fit that all considerable persons should be once here, to receive true information of the business that so nearly concerneth all who love the truth, the welfare of their

About this time the city of Edinburgh fixed their eyes upon Mr Henderson for one of their ministers. Among other articles of information sent up to the Scottish bishops then at London, by their friends in Scotland. was the following:—"That the Council of Edinburgh have made choice of Mr Alexander Henderson to be helper to Mr Andrew Ramsay, and intend to admit him without advice or consent of the bishops."* It is probable that his own aversion to

posterity and estate, how mean soever, and desire to enjoy the liberty of free subjects, that they may give their opinion herein." In other words, it was a call to the country to come forward in the great cause of civil and religious LIBERTY.—ED.]

* Burnet's Memoirs of D. Hamilton, p. 41. [The presentation to Mr Henderson appears in the Council Records, 4th May 1638. The vacancy first proposed for him was in the southwest parish of the burgh. The Council, "understanding the literature and qualificatioun of Maister Alexander Hendersoun, present minister of the Kirk of Luthers in Fyiff, hes elected, nominated, and presentit out of the lyittes (leets) presentlie maid the said Mr Alexander." On the 21st November in the same year, I find them employing two preachers to supply "during the tyme of vacancie of sum plaices of their churches;" and on the 2d of January 1639, it is said, "Whereas the Council haveing *diverse tymes of before aymed to have had* Mr Alexander Henrysoune to the cure of ane church within the brugh," and understanding that the General Assembly held at Glasgow had, on the 18th of December last, "not only thought it necessary to transplant him to the church of Edinr., but also did, by an act of the dait foirsaid, transport the said Mr Alexr. fra the said church of Leucheries to the said church of Edinr., in consideration of all which, the Council, finding both the places of the church of this brugh vacand be deprivatione of Mr James Hanna and Mr Alexander Thomsone, and understanding of the literature, libilitie, and qualificatioun of Mr Alexr. Henrysoune, presents" &c., earnestly entreating the ministrie of the Presbytery of Edinburgh to admit the said Mr Alexr., and appointing a committee of their number "to deal with him for this effect."—*Edinburgh Town-Council Records.* From its being said that they had "diverse tymes of before aymed" at bringing Mr Henderson to Edinburgh, we might suppose that the presentation in May 1638 was not the first attempt they had made to obtain him; but on searching the Records, I find no mention made of Henderson's name in the various leets which they presented from time to time to the bishops, from 1614 to 1638, till the above date; so that the expression either refers to private applications, defeated, it may be, by the opposition of the bishops, or to their unsuccessful efforts to obtain him,

be translated, which he afterwards discovered to be very strong, and the desire of the petitioners not to throw any unnecessary obstacle in the way of the settlement, were the causes which hindered the motion from being carried into effect at this time.*

In the month of July, Mr Henderson, together with Mr Dickson, was sent by the Tables to the north, to persuade the inhabitants to take the covenant, particularly those of Aberdeen, who, by the influence of their doctors of divinity, and the Marquis of Huntly, had hitherto declined to join with their brethren in other parts of the nation. Upon their arrival at Aberdeen, the doctors presented to them fourteen captious demands respecting the covenant, which they had drawn up with much care and art. Different papers passed between the doctors and the deputed ministers on this sub-

from May to December 1638. It appears from the Records, that after the presentation to Mr Henderson in May 1638, no other was issued till January 1639, when he was again presented. The city of Edinburgh had the peculiar privilege, very early granted to it, of selecting and translating any of the settled ministers throughout Scotland. It is a curious fact, that the Council frequently found it no easy task to prevail on the ministers to comply with these metropolitan calls. In 1620, John Guthrie of Perth, and William Livingston of Sanquhar, having positively refused to be translated to Edinburgh, charges of *horning* were actually executed against them to compel compliance. Even these, however, proved ineffectual; the ministers remained obstinate; and as the Council "thought not fit to denounce them," they were obliged to prepare new leets.—*Records of Council*, Oct. 15, 1620.—ED.]

* [Almost all the large towns of Scotland seemed to have vied to do honour to this noble champion of truth and liberty. In 1638, the town of Dundee, from respect to his character, and gratitude for his efforts to promote the good of his country, conferred upon him the privilege of a burgess. The following is a copy of his burgess-ticket, which is in the possession of Dr Lee:—

"Die vigesimo octavo mensis Maij anno Dni. millesimo sexcentesimo trigesimo octavo tempore Jacobi Fletcher præpositi, Jacobi Scrymgour decani gildæ, et Joannis Blyth thesarii.

"Quo die Magister Alexander Henrysoune, minister Verbi Dei in Ecclesia de Leuchares effectus est burgensis et frater gildæ burgi de Dundej propter ipsius merita in Rempublicam praestita omni servata solennitate. Extractum de Communi registro omnium burgensium et fratrum gildæ burgi per me Magistrum Alexandrum Wedderburne scribam ejusdem.—M. A. WEDDERBURNE."—ED.]

ject, which were published. Those of the latter were written by Mr Henderson. The deputies being otherwise engaged, and seeing no prospect of removing the prejudices of men who had adopted principles which led them to comply with whatever the Court should enjoin, desisted from the controversy, and left it to be carried on by individuals through the press. * Being refused access to the pulpits of Aberdeen, they preached to great crowds of people in the open air. Many were disposed to mock; but the only outrage which took place, was committed by a student, named Logie, a profligate youth, who threw stones at the Com-

* The friends of Episcopacy and ceremonies have boasted of the victory which the doctors obtained in this dispute; and even others, imposed upon by the plausible air which pervades their papers, have, without sufficient examination, inclined to the same judgment. It was not difficult for the doctors and ministers of Aberdeen, being at home, and having access to their libraries, to muster up a formidable train of demands, to start cavils, to involve the subject by the introduction of a number of nice and casuistical difficulties, to give the whole an air of learning, by the quotation of authorities, and by these means to lead away the mind from the plain matter in dispute; for in these the strength of their papers will be found to consist. A satisfactory solution of their most plausible objections may be found in Mr Rutherford's "Lex Rex," and his "Divine Right of Church Government."

[In their duplies, the Aberdeen doctors carried their doctrine of subjection to princes, and their defence of corruptions to such a height, that the king's commissioner found it prudent to suppress them for some time, and when they came abroad, they had the effect of confirming some who had been formerly wavering as to the propriety of the proceedings of the Tables. "I was lately of the mind," says Baillie, "that in no imaginable case any prince might have been opposed. I incline now to think otherwise. I am somewhat confirmed by the last duply of Aberdeen, which, though wisely for a time suppressed by the commissioner, yet, being sighted and approven by my Lord of Canterbury (Laud), is now come amongst us. They will have us believe, that our whole state, *were they to be all killed in a day, or to be led to Turkism*, to be spoiled of all liberty, goods, life, religion, all; yet they may make no kind of resistance. The conclusion is horrible, and their proof so weak, for all their diligence and learning, that I like it much worse than I did."—*Letters*, vol. i. p. 89. "I had drunken in, without examination, from Mr Cameron, in my youth, that slavish tenet, that all resistance to the supreme magistrate in any case was simply unlawful; but setting myself to diligent reading, I found my doubts loosed, especially by Bilson, Grotius, Rivet, and *the Doctors of Aberdeen*."—*Ib.*, p. 152.—Ed.]

missioners while Mr Henderson was preaching; and who, shortly after, was found guilty of the murder of a boy, and executed. After preaching in various places, and procuring the subscriptions of several hundreds in Aberdeen, besides those in different parts of the country, they returned to their constituents.

The next public appearance which Mr Henderson was called to make, was in the celebrated Assembly which met at Glasgow. The petitioners continuing firm and united, the Court found it necessary to grant their demands, by calling a General Assembly and Parliament, to consider the grievances of which the nation complained. The first thing that engaged the attention of the Assembly, which sat down on the 21st November 1638, was the choice of a Moderator. Considering the critical state of affairs, the period which had elapsed since a General Assembly had been held in Scotland, the important discussions expected, and the multitude assembled to witness them, the filling of this station in a proper manner was of great consequence. It required a person of authority, resolution, and prudence,—one who could act in a difficult situation in which he had not formerly been placed. Mr Henderson had given evidence of his possessing these qualifications in a high degree, and he was unanimously called to the chair. Having solemnly constituted the Assembly, he addressed the members in a neat and appropriate speech. Throughout the whole of that Assembly he justified the good opinion which his brethren entertained of him. To his Majesty's Commissioner he behaved with the greatest respect, and, at the same time, with an independence and firmness which became the president of a free Assembly. His behaviour to the nobility and gentry, who were members, and to his brethren in the ministry, was equally decorous. His prudence and ability were put to the test on two occasions,—the premature dissolution of the Assembly by the royal Commissioner, and the excommunication of the bishops. Of his conduct in these, it is proper to give some account.

Although the King had called the Assembly, it was not

his design to allow them fairly to proceed to the discussion of ecclesiastical business, and to examine and rectify abuses, but only to cause to be registered such concessions, flowing from his own will and authority, as he found it necessary in present circumstances to grant. The Marquis of Hamilton, his Commissioner, had instructions not to consent formally to any part of their procedure, and, at a proper time, to oppose a nullity to the whole. On the other hand, the members considered themselves as a free Assembly, and were resolved to claim and exercise that liberty and power which they possessed, agreeably to Presbyterian principles, and the laws of the land ratifying the Presbyterian government, and the freedom of its judicatories. The declinature of the bishops having been read, at the repeated request of the Commissioner, the Assembly were proceeding in course to vote themselves competent judges of the libels raised against them. Upon this, the Commissioner interposed, and declared that if they proceeded to this, he could continue with them no longer, and delivered his Majesty's concessions to be read and registered. After the clerk had read them, the Moderator addressed his Grace in a grave and well-digested speech. He returned thanks, in the name of the Assembly, for his Majesty's goodness in calling the Assembly, and the willingness to remove the grievances complained of, which he had testified in the paper now read. He condescended upon the power which the Reformed Churches allowed to magistrates respecting ecclesiastical affairs, and declared that the Assembly were heartily disposed to give unto their King and his Commissioner, all that honour and obedience which was consistent with the duty they owed to the King of kings. "Sir," answered the Commissioner, "you have spoken as becometh a good Christian and a dutiful subject, and I am hopeful that you will conduct yourself with that deference you owe to your royal Sovereign, all of whose commands will (I trust) be found agreeable to the commandments of God." The Moderator replied, that being indicted by his Majesty, and constituted according to the acts and practice of former

times, they looked upon themselves as a free Assembly; and he trusted that all things would be conducted agreeably to the laws of God and reason, and hoped that their King, being such a lover of righteousness, would, upon a proper representation, cordially agree with them. Having said this, he asked the members again if he should put the question as to the competency of the Assembly to judge the bishops? The Commissioner urged that the question should be deferred. "Nay, with your Grace's permission, that cannot be," said the Moderator; "for it is fit to be only after the declinature hath been under consideration." The Commissioner repeated, that in this case it behoved him to withdraw. "I wish the contrary from the bottom of my heart," replied Mr Henderson, "and that your Grace would continue to favour us with your presence, without obstructing the work and freedom of the Assembly." After having in vain insisted on the Moderator to conclude with prayer, the Commissioner did, in his Majesty's name, dissolve the Assembly, discharging them, under the highest pains, from continuing to sit longer.

Upon the Commissioner's leaving the house, the Moderator delivered an animating address to the Assembly. He reminded them of the Divine countenance which had hitherto been shown to them in the midst of their greatest difficulties. They had done all that was in their power to obtain the countenance of human authority, and now, when deprived of it, they ought not to be discouraged in maintaining the rights which they had received from Christ, as a court constituted in his name. "We perceive," said he, "his Grace, my Lord Commissioner, to be zealous of his royal master's commands; have not we as good reason to be zealous towards our Lord, and to maintain the liberties and privileges of his kingdom?" Immediately after this, upon the Moderator's putting the question, the members did, first by uplifted hands, and then by a formal vote, declare their resolution to remain together until they finished the weighty business which urgently demanded their consideration.*

* Row's MS. History, p. 356. [It was at this momentous crisis that

At the opening of the next session, Mr Henderson again addressed the Assembly, and put them in mind of the propriety of their paying particular attention, in the circumstances in which they were now placed, to gravity, quietness, and order; not, he said, that he assumed any thing to himself, but he was bold to direct them in that wherein he knew he had the consent of their own minds. It is but justice to add, that this advice was punctually complied with throughout the whole of that long Assembly.

The Assembly having finished the processes of the bishops, agreed, at the close of their 19th session, that the sentences passed against them should be publicly pronounced next day by the Moderator, after a sermon to be preached by him suitable to the solemn occasion. It was in vain that he pleaded his fatigue, the multiplicity of affairs by which his attention was distracted, and the shortness of the advertisement with a view to preparation: no excuse was admitted. Accordingly, at the time appointed, he preached, before a very large auditory, from Psalm cx. 1: "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." After narrating the steps which the Assembly had taken, and causing an abstract of the evidence against the bishops to be read for the satisfaction of the people, he, "in a very dreadful and grave manner" (says one who was present), pronounced the sentences of deposition and excommunication; the whole Assembly being deeply affected, and filled with mingled emotions of admiration, pity, and awe. *

the Assembly were cheered by the accession of Lord Erskine, who, with tears in his eyes, entreated to be admitted into their society and covenant. Their courage was likewise greatly aided by the speeches of Loudon, Rothes, and Argyle. The conversion of the latter nobleman to the cause of Christ, is ascribed by Wodrow to Mr Henderson. "He took great pains to gain great men to Christ and his way. I hear that at the Assembly 1638, at Glasgow, he sat up a whole night with my Lord Lorn, who was afterwards made Marquis of Argyle, and suffered in 1661, and he entirely gained him to Christ. Mr Henderson said, he thought that was one of the best spent nights of his life, he having gained so great a man."—*Anal.*, vol. ii. p. 222.—Ed.]

* The sermon, with an account of the whole procedure, is on record in

On the day following, a petition from St Andrews was presented to the Assembly, supplicating that Mr Henderson should be translated to that city. This was opposed by the Commissioners from Edinburgh, who pleaded that he was already their minister-elect. Mr Henderson himself was extremely averse to remove from his present charge, and keenly opposed it in the Assembly. He pleaded that he was too old a plant to take root in another soil, * and that he might be more useful where he was than in a public station. If he was to be removed, his love of retirement inclined him rather to St Andrews than Edinburgh. After a warm contest between the two places, it carried that he should be translated to Edinburgh. Upon this decision of the Assembly, he submitted, having obtained a promise that he should be allowed to remove to a country charge, if his health should require it, or when the infirmities of old age should overtake him. †

the journal of Assembly, and is also in print. See also Baillie's Letters, and Stevenson's History.

[This sermon was published in 1762, in a small pamphlet, entitled, "The Bishops' Doom," with the following advertisement:—"It must be observed, in justice to the venerable author of the following sermon, that by the journal of the Assembly 1638, he had only allowed him from the evening of the preceding day to study that sermon. His thoughts, amidst such a multiplicity of work as was then on his hand, behoved also to be much perplexed; and his sermon, though subjoined at the end of that journal, seems only to have been taken down in the time of delivery by an amanuensis." The reporter had begun to take down the prayer before pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, but could get no farther than the first sentence. "The concern of the congregation increasing as the awful part drew near, the amanuensis could not distinctly transcribe more of this very fervent prayer."—See the Sermon in *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 174–180.—ED.]

* He was at that time fifty-three years of age.

† Baillie, i. 142. [Many reasons were urged by the Commissioners from Edinburgh for his translation, such as, that "this city was most exposed to the trial of the corruptions imposed on the Church—that they were the centre of this kingdom—that they were the learnedest auditorie in the kingdome—that her Presbyterie was ever esteemed the most prime in this Church." "By all thir, and many moe reasons, did they urge the transportation of Mr Alexr. Henderson. The Moderator said, 'I will never go to answer any of these arguments used heir with such multiplication, and

When the Assembly had brought their business to a conclusion, Mr Henderson addressed them in an able speech of considerable length; of which we can here only present an outline. He apologised for the imperfect manner in which he had discharged the duties of the situation in which they had placed him, and thanked them for rendering his task so easy by the manner in which they had conducted themselves; exhorted them gratefully to remember the wonderful goodness of the Almighty, and not to overlook the instances of favour which they had received from their temporal sovereign. He adverted to the galling yoke from which they had been rescued; pointed out some of the visible marks of the finger of God in effecting this; and earnestly exhorted them to a discreet use and steady maintenance of the liberties which they had obtained. "We are like a man that has lain long in irons, who, after they are off, and he redeemed, feels not his liberty for some time, but the smart of them makes him apprehend that they are on him still: so it is with us; we do not yet feel our liberty. Take heed of a second defection; and rather endure the greatest extremity, than be entangled again with the yoke of bondage." In conclusion, he inculcated upon them a favourable construction of his Majesty's opposition to them; expressed his high

a great deal of rhetorick, for providing the town of Edinr.,—for it is very reasonable it be weill provydit; but for my oune part, all these reasons do desuade me from granting their desyre; and since there are such great things required of a minister that is there, surely my insufficiency makes me think every argument militate against my going there, howsoever they be strong for provyding the towne of Edinr.'"—*Records of the Kirk*, p. 183. Henderson's induction to the Greyfriars took place upon the 10th January 1639. "Mr And. Ramsay preached upon Matth. xxiv., beginning at the 24th verse. After sermon, he spake something to Mr Alexander and to the bailies. The ministers took him be the hand, and so did the bailies, elders, and deacons, in name of the towne."—*Robt. Douglas's Diary, Wod. MS.*, 8vo., x. p. 102. I may here mention, that he was translated, in January 1642, to the East Kirk. "The towne was desired be the Lords of Sessione to put Mr Alexr. Henrysoune in the East Kirk, where they and the Counsell are appointed to be hearers. This has maid the towne bring Mr Alexr. from the Greyfriars, where they had once put him, to that kirk, to be ordinar there with Mr Harie [Rollock]."—*Wod. MS.*, Vol. lxvi. No. 99.—Ed.]

sense of the distinguished part which the nobles, barons, and burgesses had acted, of the harmony which had reigned among the ministers, and of the kind and hospitable treatment which the members of Assembly had received from the city of Glasgow. After desiring some members to supply any thing which he had omitted, he concluded with prayer, singing the 133d Psalm, and pronouncing the apostolical benediction. Upon which the Assembly arose in triumph. "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho," said Mr Henderson, when the members were rising, "let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

The distinguished place which Mr Henderson occupied in this Assembly, and the active part which he took in its proceedings, could not fail, notwithstanding the propriety and moderation of his conduct, to expose him to the resentment of the court and bishops. In the "Large Declaration," drawn up by Dr Balcanqual, * and published in the King's name, he is called "the prime and most rigid Covenanter in the kingdom." † Archbishop Laud, in a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, says, that the only thing, in the full accounts sent him of the proceedings of the Assembly, which required an answer, was, "That Mr Alexander Henderson, who went all this while for a quiet and calm-spirited man, hath shown himself a most violent and passionate man, and a moderator without moderation." Nor was the primate at any loss to account for this transformation of the lamb into the lion; for he adds, "Truly, my Lord, never did I see any

* Dr Balcanqual had attended the Assembly, and agented the cause of the bishops. He seemed studiously to oppose himself to the Moderator, and on one occasion, during a debate, illiberally reminded him, that he, with others of his brethren, had once patronized those measures which he now so much reprobated,—a reflection which Mr Henderson treated with dignified silence, and to which none of the members judged it necessary to reply.

[It strikes me, that in marking this fact in the life of Henderson, the author may have intended a tacit reproof to those among his brethren, who were inclined, weakly enough, to twit him with having changed his sentiments regarding the power of the magistrate *circa sacra*.—See *Life of Dr M'Crie*, p. 63.—Ed.]

† Large Decl., p. 237.

man of that humour (the Presbyterian), but he was deep-dyed in some violence or other; and it would have been a wonder to me if Henderson had held free." * Meek-eyed and merciful Prelacy! thou hast ever inspired thy votaries with moderation. The proceedings of the High Commission and Star Chamber will continue to bear witness, that their voice was never disgraced by rude passion, nor their hand stained with violence or blood! The censures of men disappointed in the mad project of subjugating a whole nation under tyranny and superstition, will be regarded as praises by all good Christians and patriots. A short time after this, Laud and Balcanqual were declared "public incendiaries" by the King and the Parliaments of both kingdoms; while Mr Henderson was honoured by them, and his conduct vindicated as laudable and patriotic.

Whilst his countrymen were making preparations, during the winter 1639, for defending themselves against the hostile invasion from England, Mr Henderson's pen was employed in several publications, in vindication of their proceedings. Among other papers, he drew up "The Remonstrance of the Nobility, &c., within the kingdom of Scotland, vindicating them and their proceedings from the crimes wherewith they are charged by the late proclamation in England, Feb. 27, 1639," which paper, after being revised by the deputies, was published and circulated in England, and was of great advantage to their cause in that country. He also drew up "Instructions for defensive arms," intended to give information to all among themselves respecting the just and necessary grounds of the defensive war into which they were forced. As this was hastily composed, and the subject was delicate, he declined making it public; but one Corbet, a deposed minister, who fled to Ireland, carried a copy along with him, and published it with an answer. †

As it contains a vindication of the conduct of the nation in that important affair, and of himself in the share which he took in it, a short view of its contents may not be im-

* Burnet's Memoirs of D. Hamilton, p. 109.

† Baillie, i. 151. Stevenson, p. 686.

proper here. The question he states, with great accuracy, to be, Whether or not the body of a nation, with the nobles, counsellors, barons, and burgesses, owning all just subjection to the supreme magistrate, and only seeking the enjoyment of their religion and liberties established and solemnly guaranteed to them, have a right to stand on their defence against a king, who, at a distance from his people, and misled by the misinformation and malice of evil counsellors, invades them at the head of a foreign force, to overturn their laws, and bring ruin upon themselves and their posterity? That they have such a right, and that it is their duty to use it, he argues from the absurdities of the doctrine of non-resistance; from the doctrine of Scripture and reason regarding the end of magistracy; the line of subordination in which prince and people are placed; the covenant-bond of both king and people to God; the contract between the sovereign and his subjects; the law of self-preservation and defence in other cases; Scripture examples; the testimonies of the most judicious writers; and similar cases in other reformed countries.

The King being induced, by the determined appearance of the Scots (at Dunse Law), and the coldness which the English manifested in the cause, to listen to overtures for a pacification, Mr Henderson was appointed one of the Commissioners on the part of his countrymen. He and Mr Archibald Johnston declined going to the English camp with the rest of the Commissioners on the first day of the treaty; but being informed that his Majesty took notice of their absence, they repaired to it on the following day. The King and his English counsellors expressed their great esteem for Mr Henderson, who, throughout the whole of the treaty, and particularly in his speeches to his Majesty, displayed wisdom, eloquence, and loyalty.

PART III.

FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1639, TO HIS MISSION TO LONDON IN 1643.

BISHOP BURNET has remarked, that it was strange to see Mr Henderson, who had acted so vigorously against the bishops for meddling in civil affairs, made a Commissioner for this treaty, and sign a paper so purely civil as the pacification was.* This is one of those reflections which appear plausible and acute at first view, but which a comparison of the two cases will discover to be groundless. Not to mention that the present was an extraordinary conjuncture, in which all that was dear to a people was at stake, and when it was proper that all their talents should be called forth and employed, it is evident that religion had been the principal cause of the quarrel, and that its interests were deeply concerned in the termination to which it might be brought. And although the articles of the pacification mentioned only the disbanding of the forces, yet it is well known, that these proceeded upon the King's declaration, engaging that all matters ecclesiastical should be determined by the Assemblies of the Church; that General Assemblies should be called once a year; and that one should be convened in August to settle the present differences. When these things are considered, the presence of one of the ministry, who could explain any point of difficulty, and watch over the rights of the Church, may easily be vindicated.† But this

* Memoirs of D. Hamilton, p. 143.

† This reason is expressly assigned in the Act of the Committee of Parliament, empowering the Commissioners for a treaty of peace, anno

is *toto cœlo* different from bishops sitting as Lords of Parliament, or filling the highest offices of State, which, besides other evils, render it impossible for them to attend to the important duties of their ecclesiastical function.

Mr Henderson was one of the fourteen chief persons among the Covenanters who were sent for by the King to meet him at Berwick, after the Scottish army was disbanded. But an alarm having spread of a design against their life or liberty, they were stopped at the Watergate of Edinburgh, when they were setting out on their journey, by the populace, who took their horses from them, and obliged them to return; nor was it judged prudent that they should afterwards proceed: a measure which gave great offence to his Majesty. *.

1640. "And because many things may occur concerning the Church and Assemblies thereof, therefore, besides those of the Estates, we nominate and appoint Mr Alexander Henderson and Mr Archibald Johnston, whom we adjoin *for that effect*."—See *Articles of the Large Treaty*, pp. 8, 9.

* [In a paper, entitled, "A True Representation of the Proceedings of the Kingdom of Scotland since the late Pacification," published in 1640, there are given "Some few of the many reasons for staying the noblemen and others named by his Majesty from repairing at this time to the Court at Barwicke." Among these are the following:—"1. His Majesty hath not been in use at any time of the greatest securitie to call any of his Majestie's subjects out of the kingdome after this sort; at this time then, which is so full of feares, to call for so many of such noblemen, without any warrant or command sent to themselves, it seems to us strange. 2. His Majesty knoweth that what is so instantly pressed at this time, was none of the articles agreed upon at that time; and if it had been required that those fourteen should be sent to the camp, or to Barwicke, the condition had been harder than that we could have yielded to it. 3. Because we cannot judge the intention of minds but by that which we heare with our eares, and doth appear in action. We desire it to be considered, that all expressions of favour are put upon our adversaries, they esteemed and called his Majestie's good subjects, and their practices his Majestie's service. Upon the contrair, whole volumes are spread, not only stuffed with such reproaches against almost the whole kingdome, and particularly against the persons now sent for, that it were a dishonour to a King to have such a kingdom, and a shame to be set over such subjects as we are described to be; but also containing threatenings, and vowes of examplar punishments upon such as they are reported to be." The delicacy with which these reasons are enforced, manifests the profound respect which

At the opening of the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh, August 12, 1639, Mr Henderson preached from Acts iv. 23; and in the conclusion of his discourse, addressed suitable exhortations to the royal Commissioner (the Earl of Traquair), and to the members of the Assembly. "We beseech your Grace," he said, "to see that Cæsar have his own; but let not Cæsar have what is due to God, and belongs to him. God has exalted your Grace to many high places within these few years, and more especially now. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. Some are exalted like Haman,—some like Mordecai. And I pray God these good parts the Lord has endued you withal, you may use aright, as the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt, did give all their silver and gold for the building of the tabernacle. And you, right honourable, worshipful, and reverend members of this Assembly, go on in your zeal constantlie. Surely it shall be a refreshment to you and your children, that you should have lived when the light of the Gospel was almost extinguished, and now to see it quickened again. After all these troubles, with a holy moderation, go on; for zeal is a good servant, but an ill master; like a ship that has a full sail, and wants a rudder. We have need of Christian prudence; for ye know what ill speeches * our adver-

the Covenanters always entertained for his Majesty, and their unwillingness to believe him personally guilty of treating them with duplicity; but there is no reason to doubt, that this was a trap laid for the leaders of the Covenant, and that, had they been so simple as to fall into it, Charles would have treated them no better than he afterwards did the Earl of Loudon, and as he attempted to treat the members of Parliament, when they thwarted his projects.—Ed.]

* [Alas! these "ill speeches," of which the Covenanters so frequently and so justly complained, and under the covert of which, their adversaries made their ignominious flight into England, still continue to darken the waters of our national history; nor has there yet appeared a full and satisfactory answer to them, although materials for this purpose lie scattered, in sufficient abundance, through the writings, published and unpublished, of the period.—See *Appendix to Dr M'Crie's Sermons on Unity.* The whole history of these calumnies is disgraceful. First, their enemies charged them with motives which they honestly disclaimed, and with crimes of which they were perfectly innocent; and then, having galled

saries have made upon us. Let it be seen to his Majesty, that this (presbyterial) government can very well stand with a monarchical government. Hereby we shall gain his Majesty's favour, and God shall get the glory; to whom be praise for ever and ever.—Amen." The Commissioner earnestly requested that the former Moderator should be continued in the chair, out of respect to Mr Henderson's abilities, as he protested, but rather, as was suspected, to support his Majesty's pretensions to the right of nominating the person who should occupy that place, and of continuing him in it at pleasure.* But this was opposed by the members of Assembly, and by none more than Mr Henderson himself, who urged, that it favoured the practice of *constant Moderator*, which in former times had been employed as an introduction to Prelacy. On the 31st of August, Mr Henderson preached an excellent sermon, at the opening of the

them "to the top of their bent," having driven them to the verge of the precipice, till, in desperation, they turned upon their assailants, these calumniators began to curse them in good earnest for those very extremities, with the original intention of which they had falsely and disingenuously charged them.—ED.]

* [On this occasion, Henderson displayed one of the leading traits of his character afterwards adverted to—a high-spirited sensitiveness to his personal reputation. His character, as the Moderator of the Assembly at Glasgow, had been traduced in the "King's Large Declaration," which was in fact the production of one Balcanquhal. But Henderson could not tamely submit to an indignity, even though published under the sanction of royalty. He felt justly indignant that such a creature as Balcanquhal should have availed himself of the King's name to give vent to his petty malignity. When, therefore, the Commissioner, as stated above, had paid a high compliment to his abilities, he replied, "By your Grace's speech, some may take great advantage to think that your Grace doth contradict his Majesty's late declaration; because it is said there, 'You may very well judge what could be wisely done in that Assembly, when they had such an ignorant Moderator;' and now your Grace giving me such a large testimony, doth directly contradict his Majesty's printed declaration. But I correct myself. I trust it shall be found *not* to be *his Majesty's* declaration." The Commissioner answered this with silence. Henderson then again declined accepting the chair, saying, "It savours of a constant Moderator, the first step of Episcopacy; and, in truth, I have not a mind to be a bishop." "Ye *might* have been ane," said Traquair.—*Records of the Kirk*, p. 242.—ED.]

Parliament, from 1st Tim. ii. 1–3, in which he treated of the end, utility, and duties of magistracy.

In the year 1640, he was placed at the head of the University of Edinburgh, by the Town-Council of that city. They had been accustomed to visit the College annually, which had made the rector remiss in the discharge of his office. They now resolved, instead of these periodical visitations, to choose a rector annually, and to ascertain more precisely the powers of his office, by instructions framed for that end. Agreeably to this resolution, they "chose Mr Alexander Henderson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, rector of the University, ordaining a silver mace to be borne before him on all solemnities, and appointing certain members of the Town-Council, ministers of Edinburgh, and professors in College, his assessors." They empowered him to superintend all matters connected with the conduct of the principal and professors, the education of youth, the revenues, &c.; to admonish offenders, and in case of obstinacy, to make a report to the Town-Council.* In this office, which he appears to have enjoyed, by re-election, to his death, he exerted himself sedulously to promote the interests of that learned seminary.

From the superintendence of this peaceful seat of literature, and from his pastoral functions, Mr Henderson was again reluctantly called by a new embroilment of public affairs. The King, yielding to the importunate solicitations of the Episcopal clergy, had refused, notwithstanding his promise at the late pacification, to ratify the conclusions of the Assembly and Parliament, suddenly prorogued the latter, denounced the Scots as rebels, and prepared again to invade the country. But the success of the Scottish army, who entered England in August 1640, necessitated him a second time to accede to pacific proposals; and a treaty to this effect was begun at Rippon, which in a short time after this was transferred to London. Mr Henderson was appointed one of the Commissioners for this treaty. It was on this occasion that the foundation was laid of that conjunction in religion

* Records of Town-Council. Arnot's History of Edinburgh, p. 391.

as well as civil amity, between Scotland and England, which was afterwards solemnly ratified and sworn; and just and enlarged views of the state of public matters which produced this, and of the reasons upon which those who established it proceeded, are requisite in order to form a proper judgment of the public measures which were afterwards pursued by the friends of religion and liberty in the three kingdoms, as well as to vindicate the subject of this memoir for the part which he acted in them. But, sensible of the difficulty of conveying an adequate idea of the subject, within the limits to which he is confined, the memorialist enters not here upon this field. Suffice it to say, that upon a retrospective view of the state of the Scottish Church, her friends perceived that she had been exposed to perpetual danger, from the encroachments of her powerful neighbour. Her peace had been interrupted, and the spiritual government and worship which she had embraced, and solemnly sworn to maintain, had been repeatedly infringed and overturned, to make way for the more pompous, but superstitious form of the English Church. They perceived a concerted plan between the Court and English bishops, persisted in, and often renewed, to obtrude the hierarchy and ceremonies upon them. To this they could easily trace the late innovations which had so much distracted the kingdom of Scotland. They had been denounced as rebels from all the pulpits of the hierarchical clergy in England, who had twice, within two years, instigated his Majesty to make war against Scotland, and had contributed so liberally to raise the armies destined for subduing that country, that it was called, even in England, *The Bishops' War*. On these grounds, the Scots saw little rational prospect of their being long allowed peaceably to enjoy their religious privileges, while the English hierarchy retained its power. At this time, too, multitudes in England, who were sensible of the corruptions, and groaned under the tyranny of their ecclesiastical government, earnestly desired reformation, and had given in petitions to the Supreme Court for the abolition of the hierarchy. And the Parliament, which was sitting at London during the time of

the Treaty, had, with great zeal, taken measures for the reformation both of government and worship. In these circumstances, the Scottish Commissioners, according to instructions from their constituents, gave in a proposal for "unity in religion, and uniformity in Church government, as a special means for conserving of peace between the two kingdoms." At the same time, they delivered to the English Commissioners a paper drawn up by Mr Henderson, which stated very forcibly the grounds of this proposal, and condescended upon a mode of carrying it into effect, which paper was transmitted to the English Parlament.* To the above demand a favourable answer was returned by the King and Parliament, signifying in general, that they approved of the affection expressed by the Scots in their desire, and that, "as the Parliament had taken into consideration the reformation of Church government, so they will proceed therein in due time;" which answer was ratified as one of the articles of the Treaty.†

During the whole time that he was in London attending on the Treaty, which was protracted through nine months, Mr Henderson was laboriously employed. Besides taking his turn with his brethren, who attended as chaplains to the Scottish Commissioners, in the church of St Antholine's,‡ which was assigned unto them as a place of public worship, he and they were often employed in preaching for the Lon-

* This paper, which is of great importance, is still preserved in MS. An abstract of it is given by Stevenson, p. 963.

† Articles of the Large Treaty, p. 25.

‡ [It is worthy of remark, that the church of St Antholine's, then occupied by the Scottish ministers, at a time when London began to testify a strong inclination towards the Presbyterian worship, was the place in which, very early after the restoration of the Protestant religion, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the reformed prayers were used, and the mode of singing introduced which was practised by the Protestants of Geneva. "The — day of September 1559, the new morning prayers began now first at St Antholine's, in Budge Row, ringing at five in the morning, and then a psalm was sung, as was used among the Protestants of Geneva; all men, women, and young folks singing together, which custom was about this time brought also into St Paul's."—*Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 27.—ED.]

don ministers, both on Sabbath and on other days.* He prepared several tracts for the press, which were published without his name.† The polishing of the most important papers of the Scottish Commissioners was committed to him, before they were given in to the Commissioners and Parliament of England. Those which respected religion were of his composition.

During his stay in London, Mr Henderson had a private conference with the King, the special object of which was to procure assistance to the University in Scotland, from the rents formerly appropriated to the bishops. He was graciously received, and got reason to expect that his request would be complied with.

Mr Henderson returned to Edinburgh about the end of July 1641. The General Assembly had met at St Andrews some days before; but as the Parliament who were sitting in Edinburgh, had sent to request them to translate themselves to that place, for the convenience of those who were members of both, and as they wished that Mr Henderson, who had not then returned from London, should act as Moderator of this meeting, the members agreed that they should meet at Edinburgh on the 27th of July, and that the former Moderator should preside until that time. Mr Henderson had been elected a member of this Assembly; but, as it was uncertain if he could be present, his constituents had elected Mr Fairfoul to supply his place in case of his absence, and he had taken his seat at St Andrews. Upon Mr Henderson's arrival, Mr Fairfoul proposed to give place to him. This was keenly opposed by Mr Calderwood, who insisted that his commission could not now be received; in which he was seconded by Mr Henderson himself. But the Assembly sustained his commission, and although he deprecated the burden of moderating, this also was, by a plurality of votes, laid upon him. Mr Calderwood continued to insist upon the great irregularity of translating the Assembly without a permanent Moderator, and of choosing one to this seat who had no commission. But

* Laing's History. Stevenson. † Baillie, i. 236, 254.

although, in the judgment of the greater part of the members, he spoke unreasonably and peevishly, Mr Henderson treated him with great respect and patience. Instead of resenting his opposition as personal, he, previous to the dissolution of this Assembly, publicly expressed his regret that Mr Calderwood, who had deserved so well of this Church, had been so long neglected, and procured a recommendation of him by the Assembly, in consequence of which he was soon afterwards admitted to the church of Pencaitland.*

The chief business which engaged the attention of the Assembly at this meeting, and on account of which Mr Henderson's abilities in the moderation were desired, was the affair of private meetings, the discussion of which threatened to raise dissension among the ministers. Some persons who were tainted with Brownistical and Independent notions, had insinuated themselves into those private societies for religious exercises which had been kept by serious persons, both in Scotland and Ireland, during the tyranny of the bishops, and had introduced some of their peculiarities into them. A number of the ministers who had witnessed the extravagancies of the Separatists, and were afraid that division and errors might thus creep into the Church, were desirous to restrain these meetings.

* ["I have heard," says Wodrow, "that the famous Mr Henderson had a great respect for Mr David Calderwood, that he made much of him in that Assembly (1638); and when Mr Calderwood was present, Mr Henderson would very rarely either seek a blessing, or give thanks, or pray, but caused Mr Calderwood to do it, though he had no great gift either for prayer or preaching; but his talent lay another way, for government, discipline, and writing." He adds, that the great and learned Mr Ferguson of Kilwinning said to his father, "that he was angry now at himself that in his younger years he did not value nor respect Mr Calderwood, as he now clearly sees he should have done. He was always striking at us that were young ministers, and reproving us; but we were ready too much to despise him on that account, because he had not that talent for preaching and prayer that some meaner men had."—*Anal.* vol. ix. p. 228. Calderwood, with all his ill temper, which was not improved by old age, was highly respected by his cotemporaries. He wrote more against Episcopacy, and gave more annoyance to the bishops, than all the rest of his brethren put together. For some account of his Pamphlets, see Appendix, No. I.—Ed.]

Others, among whom were those ministers who had seen the benefit of private societies in the West of Scotland, and in Ireland, suspected that some designed to condemn all private meetings for Christian edification. In the Assembly held in Aberdeen the preceding year, the affair had been discussed, not without considerable heat. Mr Henderson, sensible of abuses in these societies, had repeatedly expressed his dissatisfaction with them; on which account he was at first misunderstood by some of his brethren, and met with disrespectful usage from certain individuals who were inclined to "the discipline of New England," as Independency was then termed. But the whole of his conduct showed that he was desirous only of correcting the perversions of these meetings. In the year 1639, he published a warm exhortation to the practice of the duties of family religion, which he considered as one remedy for such abuses. He afterwards drew up a paper of *caveats* as to the use of such meetings, which gave general satisfaction to his brethren on both sides of the question. This was proposed to the Assembly at Aberdeen, at which he was not present; but in consequence of the heat which prevailed there, it was set aside. The matter was revived again in this Assembly (1641); and the debate, which was conducted harmoniously, issued in the enactment of an Overture, drawn up by Mr Henderson, in conformity with his general sentiments formerly expressed, and which may be seen in the printed Acts of this Assembly, under the title of "Acts against impiety and schism."*

To this Assembly Mr Henderson delivered a letter which he had brought with him, addressed to them from a number of ministers in London and its vicinity, expressing their desires of reformation, and requesting advice from the Assembly respecting the opinions of some of their brethren who inclined to Independency and popular government in the church. The Assembly gave him instructions to answer this letter.† From the observations which he had made

* See Appendix, No. II., *Private Meetings in* 1639.

† Both letters may be seen in the Printed Acts of this Assembly.

during his late residence in London, and the intercourse which he had there both with ministers and people, he clearly foresaw that there would soon be a change in the English Church, and that there was a prospect of their approaching to greater conformity with the Church of Scotland, an object which he had much at heart, and which, as one of the late Commissioners, he had endeavoured to advance. He therefore moved, that the Assembly should take steps for drawing up a Confession of Faith, catechism, directory for worship, and platform of government, in which England might afterwards agree with them. The motion was unanimously approved of, and the burden of preparing them at first hand was laid upon the mover; liberty being at the same time given him to abstain from preaching when he should find it necessary in attending to this interesting business, and of calling in the aid of such of his brethren as he pleased. He declined the task as too arduous, but it was left upon him; and there can be little doubt, that this early appointment contributed to prepare him for giving assistance in that work, when it was afterwards undertaken by the Assembly at Westminster.

Before the conclusion of this Assembly, Mr Henderson petitioned for liberty to be translated from Edinburgh. He urged that his voice was too weak for any of the churches in town; that his health was worse there than in any other place, so that to keep him there was to kill him; and that, in the act for his translation from Leuchars, there was an express clause, which provided that he should have the liberty which he now craved. The Assembly were perplexed by his insisting upon this petition. The city of Edinburgh was extremely averse to his removal; they offered to purchase him a house and garden in an airy situation, that he might cease from preaching when he thought it necessary, and use his freedom in going to the country at any time when the state of his health required it. They were the more averse to his removal, as a petition had been presented to the Assembly for his translation to St Andrews, to be the Principal of the University there. Some imputed his earnestness for

removal from Edinburgh to his displeasure at the speeches of some of the inhabitants, on account of his opposition to their humour for innovations; but he affirmed that health was the sole ground; that if this did not fail, he would still continue, even though liberty was given him; and that, if he did remove, he would not go to St Andrews, but to some quiet country charge. His petition was at last granted; but he either did not find it necessary, or was prevailed upon not to make use of the liberty which he obtained.*

King Charles, having come to Scotland to be present in person at the Parliament held at this time, on the Sabbath after his arrival at Edinburgh, attended public worship, and heard Mr Henderson preach in the forenoon in the abbey-church, from Rom. xi. 36. In the afternoon he absented himself;† but Mr Henderson having conversed with him respecting this, he afterwards gave constant attendance. As he had been appointed royal chaplain, he performed family worship in the palace every morning and evening, after the Scottish form. His Majesty attended duly upon this service, and exhibited no symptom of dissatisfaction or scruple at the want of a liturgy and ceremonies,—a circumstance which gave the Scots encouragement to expect, that he would easily give way to the reformation of the English service.‡ On the last day of the meeting of Parliament, which it was the custom to hold with great solemnity, his Majesty being seated on his throne, and the estates in their places, Mr Henderson began with prayer; and the business being finished, he closed the meeting with a sermon. The revenues of the bishopries were divided at this Parliament. Mr Henderson exerted himself on this occasion for the Scottish universities; and by his influence, what belonged

* Baillie, i. 314, 315.

† [His Majesty spent this afternoon in playing at golf.—Ed.]

‡ Acts of Assembly, p. 129, 8vo. [This was simple enough. The "pious monarch," it appears, had acquired one of his father's habits, not very consistent with piety. "He *sweires terriblie* he knows who make impediment to his coming to Scotland (1641), and he shall possiblie remember it when they do least expect it." Riccalton to Stirling of Keir.—*Wod. MSS.* 69.—Ed.]

to the bishopric of Edinburgh and priory, was, not without difficulty, procured for the university of that city. As a recompense for his own laborious and expensive services in the cause of the public, the emoluments of the chapel-royal, amounting to about 4000 merks a-year, were conferred upon him.

Some of his friends were displeased with his conduct during this Parliament, particularly in using means to screen from punishment some persons who had entered into engagements hostile to the late proceedings of the nation; and reports, injurious to his character, and the purity of his motives, were circulated, and, as is common in such cases, met with too easy belief. * But one, † who differed from him in opinion as to the measures in question, bears witness, that "his great honesty, and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted." In the next Assembly, he made a long and impassioned apology for his conduct. He said, that certain things for which he was blamed were done by the Commissioners of the Church, not by him; that what he had received from the King for attendance upon a painful charge, was no pension; that he had as yet touched none of it; that he was vexed with injurious calumnies. Having given vent to his feelings, and received the sympathy of his brethren, and the assurances of their unshaken confidence in him, he was relieved, and recovered his cheerfulness. I cannot here forbear quoting Mr Henderson's words at another time, which discover to us the reflections which supported his pious mind, and disposed him to persevere in his patriotic and useful services, amidst "evil report" as well as "good report." Having started the questions, How it comes about, that those who have deserved best of the public, have, in all ages, been requited with ingratitude? and how notwithstanding of this, persons are continually raised up to perform the same services? after producing the answers commonly given by philosophers to these questions, he adds, "Our profession can

* See Appendix, No. III., *Henderson's Exoneration by the Parliament* 1641.
† Mr Baillie.

answer both in a word, that, by a special providence, such as have deserved well come short of their rewards from men, that they may learn, in serving of men, to serve God, and by faith and hope to expect their reward from himself; —and that, notwithstanding all the ingratitude of the world, the Lord giveth generous spirits to his servants, and stirreth them up by his Spirit (the motions whereof they neither can nor will resist), to do valiantly in his cause." *

During the year 1642, Mr Henderson was employed in managing the correspondence with England, respecting ecclesiastical reformation and union, which the General Assembly had kept in their eye for some time past. The ministers about London who were attached to Presbyterian principles, had conceived a high esteem for Mr Henderson, whom, in a letter to the General Assembly, they style, "a brother so justly approved by you, and honoured by us;" and they confided more in him than in any other. The Parliament of England having abolished Prelacy, requested that some divines should be sent from Scotland to assist in the Synod, which they had agreed to call. Upon this, the Commission of the Church met, and being authorised by the former General Assembly, appointed certain persons as Commissioners, to be ready to repair to England, as soon as it should be necessary. Mr Henderson was one of these. He was averse to the appointment, protesting that on his former journey, he thought he should have died before he reached London; but he at last acquiesced, not without complaining, that some persons were ready to impose heavy burdens upon him, and afterwards to invent or receive reports injurious to his character. †

The dissensions between the King and the Parliament of England, which had prevailed for some time, and had now burst out into a civil war, hindered for some time this journey. Mr Henderson was sincerely disposed to use every proper means for effecting a reconciliation between the par-

* Dedication to his Sermon preached before the English Parliament, July 18, 1644.

† Baillie. Acts of Assembly, p. 141.

ties; and Bishop Burnet says, that he joined with a number of leading men in an invitation to the Queen to come to Scotland, upon terms consistent with her safety and honour, with a view of promoting a mediation—a proposition which was rejected by the King. * After this, Mr Henderson went in person to his Majesty at Oxford, in company with the Commissioners from the State, who were sent to offer the mediation of Scotland.† The appointment was procured by some persons who entertained sanguine hopes as to the influence which he would have upon the King; but it produced no good effect, except that of convincing him and others of the vanity of all hopes from that quarter of an amicable accommodation, that would be consistent with the liberties of England, or even with security for the enjoyment of those which Scotland had lately obtained. At first, his Majesty treated Mr Henderson with much attention, and strove to convince him of the justice of his arms; but as soon as he found that he did not acquiesce in his representation, his behaviour to him altered completely. He expressed high offence at the interest that the Scots took in the reformation of abuses in England, vindicated his employing of Papists in the army, and refused an allowance to the Commissioners to proceed to London to treat with the Parliament, although he had granted them a safe conduct for this purpose. They were insulted in the streets by the inhabitants of Oxford, and were even under apprehensions of their personal safety. While Mr Henderson remained at Oxford, some of the university divines wished to engage him in controversy, by proposing certain questions to him respecting Church government; but judging it unbecoming his character, as a representative of the

* Memoirs of D. Hamilton, p. 201.

† Lord Clarendon says, that Mr Henderson had no authority from the Lords of Council, nor from any ecclesiastical court, and insinuates, that the King might have proceeded against him.—*Hist. of the Rebellion, B.* VI. But his Lordship was not sufficiently informed; for Mr Henderson had the authority not only of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, but of the Privy Council. See the Proceedings of the Commissioners for conserving the Treaty, p. 13, 29.

Church of Scotland, to engage in a petty dispute with a few private individuals, and viewing this proposal as proceeding from a disposition to cavil rather than to receive information, he signified that his business was with the King. * Lord Clarendon, who echoes the sentiments of the hierarchical divines, is greatly offended at the distance, or, as he calls it, the haughtiness which Mr Henderson observed on this occasion. Upon his return to Edinburgh, he made a full report of his proceedings with the King, to the Commissioners of the Church, who expressed their entire satisfaction with his conduct, and their judgment was approved by the next Assembly, who pronounced his carriage to have been "faithful and wise." † At this time the Marquis of Montrose, who had become disaffected to the cause of the Covenant which he had helped to establish, and who was secretly engaged to assist the King against the English Parliament, expressed a desire to have a conference with Mr Henderson, with the view of removing some scruples of conscience which he professed to entertain respecting the late proceedings of the Scottish Estates; though the real design of the request was to gain time, in consequence of the discovery of a plot in which he was engaged, to bring over the Scottish army in Ireland, to suppress the most powerful Covenanters, and to raise Scotland in behalf of Charles. Mr Henderson complied with the request as soon as he returned from Oxford; and they met at the bridge of Stirling, where they had a long conversation. The Marquis treated him with wonted respect, and listened to him with apparent deference; but Mr Henderson soon perceived that he was immoveably fixed in his resolution, and he warned his friends, that they could put no confidence in Montrose. ‡

* In one of the London newspapers of the day, it is said that a Popish Dr Taylor challenged Mr Henderson to a public dispute at Oxford; so insolent had the Papists become through the royal favour.—*Weekly Intelligencer for* 1643.

† Clarendon's Hist. B. VI. Baillie, i., 359. Unprinted Acts of Assembly for 1643.

‡ [Wishart, Montrose's historian and panegyrist, says, that he completely

The Scots were highly dissatisfied with the treatment which their Commissioners had received at Oxford; and being now thoroughly convinced that the measures which the royal party were prosecuting were dangerous to both countries, they soon after entered into a very close alliance with the Parliament of England.

hoodwinked the honest man, and, by him, deceived the Scottish leaders. For this there is not the slightest evidence, but the contrary. Mr Henderson was too sagacious, and too well acquainted with the Marquis, to be imposed upon by his duplicity.—*Guthry's Memoirs*, p. 129–131. *Baillie*, i. 366. Guthry tells us "they conferred together by the water-side the space of two hours, and parted *fairly* without any accommodation;" and he adds, that "Montrose having retired to his own house of Kincardine, began, after some days, to consider that Mr Henderson having made report to those that sent him, *how there was no appearance of his turning to their way*, it might be feared a resolution might be taken to apprehend him." This does not look as if Montrose thought he had "hoodwinked" or "out-manœuvred" the Covenanter.—Mr Napier, in his usual way, has given an imaginary picture of this interview, the virulence and profaneness of which are equally beneath the dignity of history. "The Apostle of the Covenant, who mistook this for the signal of Montrose's *apostasy*" (*i. e.* of his being friendly to the cause of his country), "replied without reserve, &c. Then he uttered hallelujahs over the supposed acquisition of Montrose, and thanks unto his Lord God, who had vouchsafed to make use of himself as the minister and mediator of so great a work. But Montrose had already obtained all he desired from the Reverend Alexander Henderson!"—*Napier's Montrose and the Covenanters*, ii. 214.—Ed.]

PART IV.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1643, TO HIS LAST INTERVIEW WITH THE KING AT NEWCASTLE, 1646.

THE General Assembly which met at Edinburgh, August 2, 1643, was rendered remarkable by the presence of Commissioners from the Parliament of England, and the formation of the celebrated Solemn League and Covenant. In the prospect of the important discussions which would engage their attention, the eyes of all were again turned to Mr Henderson, as Moderator, and he was the third time called to the chair. The business of the Assembly was conducted with great decorum in the presence of the English Commissioners, Mr Henderson exercising his function with a species of austerity, which became his person, and which he could employ on proper occasions.* It having been agreed that the union between the two kingdoms should be cemented by entering into a sacred league and covenant, Mr Henderson presented a draught of one which he had composed, to a meeting of the three committees of the Parliament of England, the Scottish Convention of Estates, and General Assembly. This, after some alterations, was adopted by them, and transmitted to the General Assembly and Convention. † Being introduced into the Assembly by a most

* ["We were exhorted to be more grave than ordinary; and so indeed all was carried to the end with much more awe and gravity than usual. Mr Henderson did moderate with some little austere severity, as it was necesary, and became his person well."—*Baillie*, i. 397.—ED.]

† [It has been generally said that Sir Harry Vane tricked the Scots on this occasion, by procuring the insertion of the clause, "according to the example of the best Reformed Churches." If so, it was by a poor Jesui-

appropriate speech from the Moderator, it was received with the utmost applause, and adopted with tears of joy. With the same cordiality it passed the Convention of Estates, and was ordered to be transmitted to the Parliament of England for their approbation. The General Assembly renewed the appointment of their Commission respecting the members to be sent from them to assist the Assembly of Divines sitting in London; and Mr Henderson was ordered to set out immediately, in order to procure the ratification of the covenant.

On the 30th of August, Mr Henderson set sail from Leith for London, in company with other Commissioners. The Solemn League having been approved by the two Houses of Parliament and the Assembly of Divines, the members of the latter, with the House of Commons, convened in St Margaret's, Westminster, upon the 25th of September; and having first sworn, afterwards subscribed the covenant. Immediately before they proceeded to this solemn work, Mr Henderson delivered an address to them, in which he warmly recommended the duty, as pleasing to God, exemplified by other churches and kingdoms, and accompanied with the most astonishing success. His account of the change which was effected upon Scottish affairs, by the renewing of the National Covenant, may be quoted, as affording a fair speci-

tical evasion, which reflects disgrace only on the party which was guilty of practising it. The Scots understood the terms in their obvious meaning; and they were far from insisting that their Church should be the *only* model looked to in the reformation of the Church of England. The Independents, on the contrary, could not allege that they fulfilled this stipulation in *any* sense of the terms; for none of the Reformed Churches were, at that time, formed after the Independent model. Wodrow informs us, that "my Lord Balmerino objected against the clause, and said he could not understand the reason why they were not plain and *even-down*. Sir Harry Vane certainly tricked Scotland in that affair; but though the matter was very long debated in their sub-committee, as I have heard some say for part of three days, yet the matter was overruled and gone into, *mostly through Mr Alexander Henderson's authority*, and the rest of the Commissioners to the Assembly, who urged that there was no ground to suspect the sincerity of the Honourable Houses of Parliament. *But in all our bargains, England still has tricked us.*"—*Anal. MS.*, vol. v.—ED.]

men of his style, as well as an animated and graphic picture of an interesting scene in which he had occupied a conspicuous place. "When the prelates were grown, by their rents and lordly dignities, by their exorbitant power over all sorts of his Majesty's subjects, ministers and others, by their places in parliament, council, college of justice, exchequer, and high commission, to a monstrous dominion and greatness, and, like giants, setting their one foot on the neck of the Church and the other on the neck of the State, were become intolerably insolent; and, when the people of God, through their oppression in religion, liberties, and laws, and what was dearest unto them, were brought so low, that they choosed rather to die than to live in such slavery, or to live in any other place, rather than in their own native country;—then did the Lord say, 'I have seen, I have seen the affliction of my people, and have heard their groaning, and am come down to deliver them.' The beginnings were small and contemptible in the eyes of the presumptuous enemies (such as use to be the beginnings of the greatest works of God), but were so seconded and continually followed by the undeniable evidence of Divine Providence, leading them forward from one step to another, that their mountain became strong in the end. No tongue can tell what motions filled the hearts, what tears were poured from the eyes, and what cries came from the mouths of many thousands in that land, when they found an unwonted flame warming their breasts, and perceived the power of God raising them from the dead, and creating for them a new world wherein should dwell religion and righteousness. When they were destitute both of monies and munition, which, next unto the spirits and arms of men, are the sinews of war, the Lord brought them forth out of his hid treasures, which was wonderful in their eyes, and matter of astonishment to their hearts. When they were many times at a pause in their deliberations, and brought to such perplexity, that they knew not what to choose to do for prosecuting the work of God (only their eyes were towards Him), not only the fears and furies, but the plots also and policies of the adversaries, opened the way unto them; their devices

were turned upon their own heads, and served for the promoting of the work of God. The purity of their intentions, elevated above base and earthly respects, and the constant peace of their hearts in the midst of many dangers, did bear them out against the malicious accusations and aspersions put upon their actions. All which were sensible impressions of the good providence of God, and legible characters of his work, which, as the church and kingdom of England, exercised at this time with greater difficulties than theirs, have in part already found, so shall the parallel be perfected to their greater comfort in the faithful pursuing of the work unto the end." *

During the three following years, Mr Henderson remained at London, and was unremittingly employed in assisting the Assembly of Divines there in preparing the public formularies for the religious union between the three kingdoms, which had been sworn in the Solemn League. Being a stranger, and sustaining, with the rest of the Commissioners from Scotland, a peculiar relation to the Assembly, he spoke but seldom in its debates, although possessed of talents which qualified him for taking a leading part, and accustomed to public speaking in the Assembly of the Church at home. But when it was necessary to vindicate the principles of the Church of Scotland, and of the other Reformed Churches, from slanderous imputations, he no longer kept silence. Mr Nye, a forward Independent, one day when he perceived the Assembly-House full of the prime nobles and chief members of Parliament, undertook to demonstrate, that the Presbyterian mode of drawing a whole kingdom under one National Assembly, was formidable and pernicious to civil states and kingdoms. Mr Henderson, indignant at such language from one who had solemnly engaged to preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, with honest warmth repelled the charge. He remonstrated against the inflammatory tendency of such speeches, showed that Nye had calumniated not only the Church of Scotland, but all the Reformed Churches; and that he imitated Lucian and

* Two speeches delivered before the subscribing of the Covenant, &c.

other pagans, who stirred up princes and states against the Christian religion.*

His wisdom was displayed in preserving harmony among the members of Assembly, and in uniting their views as to those measures which were requisite in the prosecution of the great cause, which they had all solemnly sworn to promote. Different instances of this occur in the history of the proceedings of that Venerable Assembly.† There were very keen debates in the Assembly respecting the office of Doctor in the Church; those who inclined to Independency insisting that, by Divine institution, there ought to be a doctor in each congregation, as well as a pastor; while others maintained the absolute identity of pastor and doctor. When there appeared no prospect of accommodation, Mr Henderson so managed the cause between the two parties, that they were brought, in a committee, to agree on certain propositions, which, without stating the absolute necessity of a doctor in each congregation, or the Divine institution of the office in formal terms, provided that where there was a plurality of ministers in one congregation, they may be designed to several employments; the minister whose gift lay more in exposition than in application, being called "doctor or teacher." On another occasion, when the Assembly were employed on the subject of ordination, that passage in Acts xiv. 23 ("They ordained them elders in every church"), being proposed as one proof of the doctrine, Mr George Gillespie, one of the Scots Commissioners, an acute disputant, objected to the application, urging that the word rendered *ordained* by our translators, properly expressed the people's act of choosing by suffrages. This introduced a warm dispute, which was terminated by their agreeing to Mr Henderson's motion, that although *prayer* and *fasting*, mentioned in the latter part of the verse, might include the imposition of hands and ordination, yet the proof should be made to rest upon the whole verse, with a declaration of the Assembly's intention not to prejudge thereby any argument which might afterwards be urged from it on the question of

* Baillie, i. 437. † Ibid. 420.

popular election.* But while he exerted himself in reconciling differences which arose respecting subordinate steps of procedure, he steadily resisted every attempt, however plausibly made, to introduce principles contradictory to those of the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed and Presbyterian Churches. Acting according to these views, he stated himself equally in opposition to the schemes of the Independents, and of a strong party in the House of Commons, who, tainted with Erastian principles, denied the divine right of Church government, and wished to subject the proceedings of the ecclesiastical judicatories to the control and review of the Parliament.† In the debates of the Assembly, there was often great heat. This was in some measure owing to their divesting their prolocutor, or moderator, of all power, as the House of Commons did their Speaker, and converting him (to use the language of one who witnessed their proceedings) into *a mere chair*. Mr Henderson lamented this evil, and on a fast-day, after the religious exercises were ended, he embraced the opportunity of bringing the members to a free and brotherly conference on the subject, in which, having seen their fault, they resolved to guard against similar excesses for the future.‡

In the beginning of the year 1645, Mr Henderson was appointed to assist the Commissioners of the two Parliaments in the treaty between them and the King, at Uxbridge.§

* Baillie, i., 401, 420. † Ibid., ii., 31, 68, 183, 194.

‡ Baillie, MS. Journal of Westminster Assembly, by Mr George Gillespie.

§ [It was with great reluctance that Henderson agreed to take any part in this negotiation. Lord Loudon writes to Lord Warriston (30th January 1645), earnestly requesting him to procure a warrant from the General Assembly to authorise Mr Henderson to aid them in the Treaty,—"whose service and abilities," he adds, "God has been pleased to use as a chief instrument, with success, in promoting of this great work in the whole progress thereof. We could hardly get him persuaded to go with us at all, because no warrant has been sent from the Parliament nor Assembly for his going and assistance." On the 4th of February following he again writes, "We moved Mr Alexander Henderson, by much persuasion, to come hither, that he might be assisting to us by his best advice; *but upon no terms can he be moved to be present at the Treatie, unless*

The Parliamentary Commissioners were instructed to demand the abolition of Episcopacy, and the ratification of the Presbyterian government. The King's Commissioners objected to the abolition of Episcopacy, upon which it was agreed to hear the divines on both sides. Mr Henderson, in a speech which Lord Clarendon allows to have been eloquent, opened the cause, and took up that ground which bade fairest for bringing the question to the speedy issue which the state of matters required. Waving the dispute as to the lawfulness of Episcopacy, he said, "The question now was, Whether or not that form of government was necessary and essential to the Church? He argued that it was not: in which opinion he was supported by the most eminent advocates for the Church of England since the Reformation, who had not pleaded for the divine institution, or the necessity of Episcopacy. He stated, that the question could not be answered in the affirmative, without condemning the Reformed Churches, all of whom, except England, were without bishops. He showed that the bishops had always retained many superstitious rites and customs in the worship and government of the Church: That of late they had over and above introduced many innovations, and made a nearer approach to the Roman communion, to the great scandal of the Protestant Churches abroad and at home: That they had been the prime instruments in embroiling England and Scotland, and in kindling the flame which now raged through the three kingdoms: That for these reasons the Parliament had resolved to change this inconvenient and mischievous government, and to set another in its room, more naturally formed for the advancement of piety; which alteration was the best expedient to unite all Protestant Churches, and to extinguish the remains of Popery; nor could he conceive that his Majesty's

there be a warrant and command to him from the General Assembly to that effect, which being restricted to the propositions for *religion,* would be verie useful, and *cannot be justly excepted against."—Wodrow's MSS.,* lxvii., No. 28, 29. This ought to suffice as an answer to those who are ready to blame Henderson for interfering, without authority, or beyond his province, in public matters.—ED.]

conscience could be urged against this salutary change, seeing his Majesty had agreed to the suppression of Prelacy in Scotland."

But the advocates for Episcopacy were determined not to risk their cause upon such grounds as were palpable to all, but studied to involve the question, by introducing the dispute at large respecting Episcopal government. Dr Stewart, clerk of the King's closet, and Commissioner for his Majesty in matters of religion, enlarged upon the apostolical institution of Episcopacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without bishops the sacerdotal character could not be conveyed, nor the sacraments administered to any significancy. The debate, Dr Stewart said, was too general, and they ought to dispute syllogistically, as became scholars. To this Mr Henderson modestly replied, that "in his younger days he had taught logic and rhetoric; and although of late he had declined that species of learning, yet he hoped he had not altogether forgotten it; and therefore agreed to Dr Stewart's proposal." The dispute continued a considerable time; and although, as is common on such occasions, each party claimed the victory, yet, in the judgment of auditors who must be allowed not to have been prejudiced in favour of the divine right of Presbytery, Mr Henderson, while he equalled the King's Commissioners in learning, surpassed them in modesty.*

The treaty being broken off without success, Mr Henderson returned to London, and continued to assist the Assembly of Divines in their labours.† This year his health visibly

* Whitelocke, p. 123, 127. See also Clarendon, b. viii. Collier, vol. ii., p. 837.

† At the time that the Directory for Worship was printed, Mr Henderson sent down a copy of it to a friend in Scotland, with the following note written with his own hand at the beginning of it:—"To my reverend and deere brother, Maister James Thomsone, minister at Kilmainy, in remembrance of our old acquaintance in Christ, and as a testimony of my constant affection, till God bring us to his own immediat presence, when we shall not need any Directory.

"*London, March* 20, 1645. ALEX. HENDERSON."

Copy of the Directory for Worship, printed at London, A. 1644, with a MS. note of Mr Henderson.

declined, and he suffered repeated attacks of the gravel and other disorders consequent upon hard study and confinement.*

"Towards the close of the year 1645, it was judged necessary that Mr Henderson, with some others, should go down to Scotland, to attempt to bring about better correspondence among the nobility, who, in consequence of the distresses of the country, occasioned by the ravages of Montrose, had fallen into disunion and animosities, which were fomented by the secret artifices of the Court. But, just when they were ready to take their journey, Mr Henderson was stopped, in consequence of the earnest request of the ministers and city of London, who represented the impropriety of his absence at that critical time, when certain questions, upon which the uniformity between the kingdoms turned, were in dependence.† The last service which he undertook during his stay in the English metropolis, was an answer to two scurrilous pamphlets against the Church of Scotland, by Bishops Adamson and Maxwell, which the Sectarians, in their great antipathy to Presbyterian government, had caused to be reprinted at London. But being called away before he had time to perform this task, he devolved it upon his colleague and intimate friend, Mr Baillie, who executed it with great ability in his excellent "Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland." ‡

The King's affairs, which had long been on the decline, were, in the spring of 1646, entirely ruined; upon which he threw himself, without any previous notice, into the Scottish

* Baillie, ii., 109, 138–140. † Ibid., ii., 210, 215, 220.

‡ Baillie, ii., 210, 215, 220. [There can be no doubt that Henderson published several pieces while he remained in London. Baillie says, in Feb. 1641, "Think not that any of us live here to be idle. Mr Henderson has ready now a short treatise, much called for, of our Church discipline." (i., 245.) This treatise was published under the title of "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland." A particular account of it is given in the end of this Memoir. After the lapse of two hundred years, such a piece is as "much called for" as ever! Wodrow states, that, when in London, Henderson "published a book against Episcopacy, and another against Independency."—*Anal.*, i., 275. It is said that some of his pamphlets are preserved in the British Museum.—Ed.]

army, who retired with him to Newcastle. He no sooner arrived, than he sent for Mr Henderson, who was his chaplain, to come to him. * This was a critical moment. The Sectaries, who had the chief influence in the English army which had subdued the King's forces, were ready, upon his rejection of their terms, to have set him aside, altered the government and the whole state of the quarrel which had been maintained by the united arms of the two Parliaments. The only measure which promised settlement to the nation, and the restoration of the King to the actual exercise of his authority, was his speedy consent to the establishment of the Presbyterian reformation, which would have secured him the affection and support of the soundest and best part of the nation. That Charles was now disposed to grant this, there was reason to conclude from his declarations to the Scottish army, and his letters to the Parliaments. † Mr Henderson was judged the fittest person to deal with his Majesty about the necessity of a speedy compliance with this measure, and to remove any difficulties with which his mind might still be embarrassed. In these circumstances, notwithstanding his unfitness for the journey, he complied with the King's request, enforced by the advice and entreaties of his fellow-commissioners; and in doing so, he gave another striking proof of his public spirit for the advancement of religion, and the salvation of his country.

He arrived at Newcastle about the middle of May. From his Majesty he received a welcome reception, but he soon perceived, not without deep concern, that he had been deceived as to his hopes of the King's compliance with the requisitions of his Parliaments. He signified, that he could not in conscience consent to the abolition of Episcopacy; ‡

* Row's Supplement to Blair's Life, p. 49, MS.

† Whitelocke, 211. Row's Supplement to Blair's Life, p. 49, MS.

‡ With Charles, the divine right of Episcopacy does not seem to have been more a matter of conscience, than "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," without control from their people. The truth is, that as soon as he found himself safe in the Scottish camp, he began to entertain hopes from France, and particularly from the divisions between the Presbyterians and Sectarians, which he flattered himself he would be

and proposed, that Mr Henderson should carry on a dispute with some Episcopal divines, of whose names he gave him a list, in his presence. This Mr Henderson declined, as what he had no authority to undertake, and no reason to expect, when he complied with his Majesty's request in coming to Newcastle. He represented also, that such disputations

able to manage in such a manner, as to obtain his restoration unconditionally, or at least upon easier terms than those now proposed by the Parliaments. The proposed disputations, and the conferences with Mr Henderson, there is reason to think, were expedients to gain time, rather than means desired for information.—*Laing's History of Scotland.*

"'Tis most true," says Oldmixon, "that the propositions sent to the King, then in the Scots army, were derogatory from his royal prerogative, and a great diminution of the sovereign power. But though the Parliament were exorbitant in some demands, yet those about the King infused into him such notions of his honour, not only in supporting Episcopacy, but in *protecting themselves*, that they would never let him make any compliance which was not consistent with their safety. Most of them, particularly Mr Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), were excepted out of the Parliament's pardon, and would surely have suffered for delinquency, if they had been taken or delivered up, to be an example of terror to all future ministers of tyranny, and all evil counsellors."—*Remarks on the History of the Rebellion*, p. 213. It is painful enough to think of these dastardly sycophants urging the infatuated monarch to his destruction, in order to save their own worthless heads; but it is absolutely sickening, with the knowledge of their motives in skulking under the royal scruples, to listen to their cant about the King's *conscientiousness* in refusing the propositions. "He was too conscientious," says Clarendon, "to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price." The peculiar construction of his Majesty's conscience may be judged of by the following extracts from a letter (lately published) addressed to Dr Juxon, bishop of London, on the occasion of the propositions being submitted to him at Newcastle. He was required to change Episcopal into Presbyterial government, "*which absolutlie to do*," he says, "is so directly against my conscience, that, by the grace of God, no misery shall ever make me." He therefore proposes it as "a case of conscience" to the bishop, whether he might not yield to the present necessity. "The duty of my oath is herein chiefly to be considered; I flattering myself that this way I better comply with it than being constant to a *flat denial*, considering how unable I am by *force* to obtain that which this way there wants not probability to recover, if accepted (otherwise there is no harm done); for *my regal authority once settled, I make no question of recovering Episcopal government*; and God is my witness, my chiefest end, in regaining my power, is *to do the Church service*."—*Ellis's Original Letters, 2d Series*, vol. iii. p. 235. Will it be

had seldom any good effect in putting an end to controversies, and that, in the present instance, such a mode would be exceedingly prejudicial to his Majesty's affairs. All that "I intended" (said he), "was a free, yet modest expression of my motives and inducements, which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopal government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the university." * It was, therefore, agreed, that the scruples which the King entertained should be discussed in a series of papers, which should pass privately between him and Mr Henderson. These continued from the 29th May to 16th July. The papers are eight in number, five by his Majesty, and three by Mr Henderson. After perusing them, it is difficult to read without a smile the panegyrics which the Episcopalian writers have bestowed upon the *incomparable wisdom* of his Majesty, and the triumph which he obtained over Mr Henderson in the controversy. † It may be safely said, that the papers referred

credited, that this letter, which confirms the worst suspicions entertained by the Covenanters of Charles's duplicity, is extolled by the editor as a striking evidence of his *conscientiousness!*—ED.]

* Papers which passed between his Majesty and Mr Henderson, usually printed at the end of King Charles's Works.

† "Had his Majesty's arms (says Burnet) been as strong as his reason was, he had been every way unconquerable, since none have had the *disingenuity* to deny the great advantages his Majesty had in all these writings." But people will not be deterred by these "high-swelling words of vanity" from judging of the papers for themselves, and forming their own estimate of them. It is remarkable that, since the Royal Papers possess such merit, they should be so little read, and so seldom, if ever, quoted on the subject of Episcopacy. "I have turned over Stillingfleet's Irenicum," says Dr Harris, "and his Unreasonableness of Separation, in which Church government is at large discussed. I have looked into many other volumes, but can find him seldom or ever named."—*Harris's Life of Charles I.*, p. 99. The King seems to have formed a better estimate of his own talents than his panegyrists have done; for he used to say that he was "a better cobbler than a shoemaker,"—he liked better to correct the despatches and other papers of his ministers, than to compose them himself.—*Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 70.

[It is but fair to add, however, that the talents of Charles, as an author, were far from being contemptible. With a considerable share of his father's itch for theological controversy, he possessed a much more refined taste. D'Israeli has shown that some pieces, the authenticity of which

to exhibit no specimen of judgment, or of acquaintance with the controversy, which indeed he expressly declines to enter upon; while in seeking to evade the force of the argument produced on the other side, he shifts from Scripture to the consent of the Fathers, which he could not produce, and with which he did not pretend to be acquainted. While he was continually urging his request for a formal dispute between Mr Henderson and the Episcopal divines, pleading that the universal consent of the Fathers, and practice of the primitive Church, should be admitted as the judge of controversies, and the authentic interpreter of Scripture, and starting objections respecting the power of the people to limit their princes, or to effect a public reformation, Mr Henderson gave him a counsel, the neglect of which cost the infatuated monarch his crown and his life. "While Archimedes," said he, "was drawing his figures and circlings in the sand at Syracuse, Marcellus interrupted his demonstrations.—Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majesty, or to the kings and supreme powers on earth, my humble opinion would be, that they should draw the minds, tongues, and pens of the learned, to dispute about other matters than the power or prerogative of kings and princes; and, in this kind, your Majesty hath suffered and lost more than will easily be restored to yourself or your posterity for a long time." Perceiving that he pertinaciously adhered to opinions which were disowned by all moderate Episcopalians, and maintained by such only as had acted as incendiaries between the King and his Parliaments, Mr Henderson declined entering farther into a fruitless dispute.* While

had formerly been questioned, were written in the King's own hand. Wellwood says, "I have seen several pieces of his own hand, and therefore may the better affirm, that, both for matter and form, they surpass those of his ablest ministers, and come nothing short of Strafford or Faulkland, the two most celebrated pens of that time."—*Memoirs, p.* 71.—Ed.]

* [Some Episcopalian writers boast of this as a confession of defeat. "The Presbyterian was *confessedly* defeated," says Ellis; "he died of chagrin and disappointment within a short time after he left the King." —*Origin. Let.* iii. 345. This is wretched trifling. Henderson, it is true, gave up the dispute in despair of overcoming the King's prejudices; but

thus engaged, his correspondence with his friends in London apprised him that matters were fast approaching a crisis. In April 1646, his friend, Mr Baillie, writes him:—"The prevalent party desires nothing so much as the King's refusing of any one of the propositions. It is the sense of all I meet with, that if the King should but delay to grant the propositions, this people will declare against him, and

where is the evidence that he acknowledged himself defeated in argument? The fact is, that he had prepared an answer to the King's last paper; but, with a constitution shattered by the fatigues he had undergone in the service of the Church, and with a heart grieved and broken by the dismal prospect of the confusions which he foresaw would result from the obstinacy of Charles, he abandoned a contest, where personal advantage in controversial argument was the very last thing which he contemplated.

> ——————— He prayed unto the King,
> He for him prayed, and to him, and when he
> Found no persuasions of the tongue, or knee,
> Could make him know his good, or have the art
> To break his temper, it did break his heart.
>
> *Elegy on Henderson.*

"I have several original letters of Mr Henderson," says Wodrow to one of his correspondents, "and some papers formed by him 1638, &c. *I have a copy of his Reply to the King's Last Paper,* in their debate which you know is printed."—*Letters,* vol. iii. p. 33. It would be of importance if this Reply could be discovered and printed.

It has been well observed, that "Mr Henderson's arguments were texts of Scripture, and the King's arguments were authorities from the Fathers; so that if the King's arguments were stronger than Mr Henderson's, the King must have triumphed over the Word of God."—*Logan apud Stevenson,* iii. 114. But, in truth, it is absurd to speak of any triumph in the matter; his Majesty evaded the question in dispute, and occupied himself with an entirely different subject, viz., the proper rule for determining controversies. "The King," says Collier, "for settling the sense of controverted places in Scripture, appealed to the practice of the primitive Church, and the general consent of the Fathers." Henderson, while he affirmed that there was no such primitive testimony, no such universal consent, in favour of modern Episcopacy, the Fathers very often contradicting one another, at the same time, showed that the rule proposed by his Majesty, however plausible at first sight, was, in reality, more uncertain and erroneous than that of the Papists; for the Papists bring tradition no farther than to an equality with the inspired writings, whereas the King's rule would place antiquity above the Scripture. "For the interpretation of the Fathers shall be the Δίότι, and accounted

reject him for ever from being King. Though he should swear it, no man will believe it, that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any conscience." "May 19.—There is much talk here of the King's obstinacy; the faction rejoices herein. If he would do his duty, in spite of all knaves, all would in a moment go right; but if God has hardened him, this people will strive to have him in their power, and make an example of him." In July he writes again:—"Your debates upon Episcopacy, I never took to be conscientious, but merely politick, and a pretence to gain time. I hear France has, or will loose that scruple of conscience very easily. Will such base hypocrisy be blessed? The passing of the proposition for Episcopacy will not do your turn now. You have that good property to do all out of time. Sir, if you have any power, let that man (the King) come off once very frankly in all things, and he shall have all he ought to desire. Will he do it by halfs and quarters, he is running to utter destruction; who can help it? Yet I must be one of the mourners for it. Sir, give over your disputations; they are but vain." * This information Mr Henderson communicated to his Majesty (for whose ear it seems to have been intended), but it had no effect upon him. By this time, Commissioners from the respective Parliaments had come to Newcastle, with propositions of peace to his Majesty, and also Commissioners from the General Assembly to join Mr Henderson. All of them, on their bended knees, begged him to grant the propositions, but he steadily refused. Afterwards Mr Henderson, with Mr Robert Blair (who had greater favour with the King than the rest), dealt with him most earnestly, and with tears, to satisfy the desires of his kingdom, but without success.

the very cause and reason, for which we conceive and believe such a place of Scripture to have such a sense; and thus men shall 'have dominion over our faith' (against 2 Cor. i. 24,) and 'our faith shall stand in the wisdom of men and not in the power of God.'"—*Henderson's Third Paper.* This seems very plain; and yet the doctrine of Charles on this point is defended by his advocates as that of the Church of England!—*Case of the Royal Martyr Considered*, ii. 201.—ED.]

* Baillie, ii., p. 205, 219, 220.

PART V.

FROM HIS LAST SICKNESS TO HIS DEATH, AUGUST 1646.

DURING his conference with the King, Mr Henderson's health, which was bad when he came to Newcastle, had grown much worse. His colleagues at London, alarmed at the accounts of it which they received, wrote to him, entreating that he would take care of himself, and not allow vexation, on account of the obduracy of the King, to prey upon his spirits, and increase his disorder. "Let me entreat you for one thing," says Mr Baillie, in a letter to him, dated May 16, "when you have done your uttermost, if it be God's pleasure to deny the success, not to vex yourself more than is meet: *Si mundus vult vadere*, &c. When we hear of your health and courage, it will refresh us." In another letter, dated August 4, that correspondent writes to him:—"Your sickness has much grieved my heart. It is a part of my prayers to God, to restore your health, and continue your service at this so necessary a time. We never had so much need of you as now. The King's madness has confounded us all. We know well the weight that lies on your heart. I fear this be the fountain of your disease; yet I am sure, if you would take courage, and digest what cannot be got amended, and if, after the shaking off melancholious thoughts, the Lord might be pleased to strengthen you at this time, you would much more promote the honour of God, the welfare of Scotland and England, the comfort of many thousands, than you can do by weakening your body and mind with

such thoughts as are unprofitable."* And in the last letter he appears to have written to him, dated August 13, he says, "Your weakness is much regretted by many here. To me it is one of the sad presages of the evils coming. If it be the Lord's will, it is my hearty prayer oft-times, you might be lent to us *yet* for some time." †

But all advice and caution were now in vain. His constitution, which appears never to have been vigorous, was worn out with the fatigues both of body and mind to which he had been subjected, with little intermission, during nine years. His late journey had much injured it, and the behaviour of the King, together with the evils which his foreboding mind saw as likely to be the consequences of this, must have contributed to aggravate his trouble. Judging that his distemper was mortal, he resolved to return to Scotland. But before he left Newcastle, he obtained an audience from the King, and having again reminded him of the critical situation of his affairs, he bade a final farewell to him, having discharged the duties of his commission, as well as of that employment which placed him about his Majesty's person, in the fulfilling of which he had enjoyed little satisfaction. He went to Scotland by sea, and arrived at Edinburgh, August 11, very sick and much exhausted. During eight days after this, he continued so weak, that he was able to discourse little. But he enjoyed great peace of mind, and expressed himself (in what he was able to say) much to the comfort of his brethren and Christian acquaintance who visited them. In a confession of faith afterwards found among his papers, written with his own hand, and expressed as his dying thoughts, among other mercies, he declares himself "most of all obliged to the grace and goodness of God, for calling him to believe the promises of the Gospel, and for exalting him to be a preacher of them to others, and to be a willing, though weak instrument in this great and

* It is observable, that Mr Baillie himself was reduced to the same distress of mind and body about fourteen years after, by the melancholy turn of affairs at the Restoration.—*Letters*, vol. ii., p. 462.

† Baillie, ii., 208, 220, 223.

wonderful work of Reformation, which he beseecheth the Lord to bring to a happy conclusion." * On the 19th of August he rested from his labours, sickness, and sorrow, being mercifully taken away from seeing the evils which were approaching, and the interruption which God, in his wise sovereignty, was pleased to give to that work, in the promotion of which he had been so zealous and useful.†

His body was interred in Greyfriars' churchyard. As he had no family of his own, his nephew, Mr George Henderson, performed the last kind office of humanity to his earthly part, and erected a monument over his grave, with suitable inscriptions. ‡

* [The following interesting account of his last sickness is taken from the papers of Wodrow, who had it from Lilias Stewart, the provost's daughter. Mr Henderson, shortly before his death, came up one day to the house of Sir James Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh, and dined with him, as he frequently used to do. He was in high spirits during dinner; and after the meal was over, he asked Sir James if he had not observed him more than ordinarily cheerful. He answered, that he was extremely pleased to find him so well as he seemed to be. "Well," said Henderson, "I am near the end of my race. In a few days I am going home, and *I am as glad of it as a school-boy, when sent home from the school to his father's house.*" He then desired that Sir James might wait upon him in his sickness, adding, "I will be much out of ease to speak of any thing, but I desire you may be with me as much as you can, and you will see *all will end well.*" Sir James performed his promise, and was much with him. "His fever," says Wodrow, "though lingering, soon seized his head, and he wavered when speaking about temporal things; but when his brethren of the ministry came in to see him, he spoke most sensibly and connectedly upon spiritual subjects. In a short time, he fell very low, and Sir James and severals were in the room. When just dying, he opened his eyes, and looked up with a pleasant smile. The whole company were amazed; for his eyes shone and sparkled like stars, and he immediately expired. None spoke till he was dead, when they asked one another what they saw, and all agreed that they observed his eyes shining like two stars." —*Anal.* v., p. 105. The above account will be found to contain a few particulars in addition to those given in Aiton's Life, p. 597.—Ed.]

† Blair's Life, p. 103. Row's Supplement, MS., p. 52. Acts of Assembly, p. 421.

‡ [Henderson was never married. It seems to be impossible now to find any clue to his collateral descendants. Of his nephew George, who erected his monument, we have no farther information. The name of Henderson, or Henryson, as it was anciently spelt, was far from being

These inscriptions testify the high esteem in which Mr Henderson was held at that time by all classes, as well as the affection of his relation. Not only was the lamentation for his death universal through Scotland, it extended also to England. A London newspaper, dated August 31, 1646, says, "This day—the only news was by letters from the North, and first of all, a sad lamentation for the death of Mr Henderson." * After the Restoration, when every species of indignity was done to the preceding work of Reformation, and those who had been active in promoting it, the Earl of Middleton, the King's Commissioner, procured an order of Parliament in July 1662, for erasing the inscriptions, and otherwise disfiguring his monument.† But

uncommon in Scotland. But there is no evidence of Alexander Henderson being related to any of the name whom I have met with.—Ed.]

* Perfect Diurnal, No. 162. In another periodical paper of the day, an Elegiac Poem on Mr Henderson's death is inserted, from which extracts might have been given, but they would have prolonged the Memoir. The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer, No. 166.

† Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 151. Ludlow's Detection of the gross Forgeries of Dr Hollingworth.

[Wodrow's words are,—"Some time in June or July this year, the Commissioner (Middleton) stooped so low as to procure an order of Parliament for the razing of the Rev. Mr Alexander Henderson his monument, in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. After his death, August 18, 1646, a monument was erected for him, with a pyramid and inscription, wherein some mention was made of the Solemn League and Covenant." It is probable that this was an order in Council. When Middleton and his coadjutor, Archbishop Sharp, were in the humour of razing inscriptions, they might have turned their attention to the following dedication, which the said Sharp prefixed to a thesis in 1646 :—

"Reverendo et qua pietate qua eruditione juxta ac prudentia clarissimo viro Domino Alexandro Hendersono, ecclesiastæ Edinburgeno vigilantissimo, defæcatioris religionis apud Britannos instauratæ organo selectissimo, Regiæ Majestati a sacris, Euergetæ de inclyta Academia Andreana præclare merito, Patrono suo summopere colendo," &c., *i. e.*—

"To the Reverend Mr Alexander Henderson, a man distinguished alike for piety, learning, and prudence, a most faithful minister of Edinburgh, a choice instrument in restoring a purer religion in Britain, chaplain to his Majesty, a most worthy benefactor to the illustrious University of St Andrews, and HIS OWN MOST PROFOUNDLY REVERED PATRON."

The inscriptions on Henderson's monument, which were included in the original manuscript of this sketch, will be given in the Appendix, No. III., "*Henderson's Monument.*"—Ed.]

at the Revolution, justice was again done to his memory. The monument was repaired, and the inscriptions replaced.*

Had his enemies merely wrecked their resentment upon his perishable monument, it would have been a small matter; but they industriously strove to blast his immortal reputation. Laying hold upon the circumstance of his having died soon after his conferences with the King at Newcastle, they circulated the report that he had become a convert to his Majesty's cause, and that remorse for the part he had acted against him had hastened his death. But this report, which had not the least shadow of foundation, was contradicted by the concurring testimony of all who had access to be acquainted with his sentiments during that time. "The false reports (says Mr Baillie, in a letter to his cousin in Holland) which went here of Mr Henderson, are, I see, also come to your hand. Believe me, for I have it under his own hand a little before his death, that he was utterly displeased with the King's ways, and ever the longer the more; and whoever says otherwise, I know they speak false. That man died as he lived, in great modesty, piety, and faith."† Mr Blair, who was a fellow-commissioner with him at Newcastle, and who had an opportunity of being acquainted with all his transactions with his Majesty, and his most private sentiments respecting his conduct, testifies that he held fast his integrity to the end, mentioning this incidentally in the memoirs of his own life, as a great inducement with him to accept of Mr Henderson's place as chaplain to his Majesty.‡ And Mr Livingston declares, that he was present, and saw him die with great peace and comfort. §

* The Monument still stands entire on the south-west side of Greyfriars' Church. It is a quadrangular pillar, with an urn at the top.

† Baillie, ii. 232.—["It was a piece of comfort to me," says the same writer in September 1649, "that the best of the land were, on more probable grounds, taxed for compliance with sectaries, than I with malignants, whom yet I knew to be innocent; and that I remembered *the cloud of infamy under which superexcellent Mr Henderson lay, to my knowledge, till God and time blew it away.*"—*Let.* ii. 338.—Ed.]

‡ Blair's Life, p. 104.

§ Livingston's Characteristics, at the end of his Life.

Yet, about two years after his death, a pamphlet was published, as his declaration upon his death-bed, which,* without an express recantation of Presbyterian principles, contained a high panegyric upon King Charles, particularly for devotion, magnanimity, charity, sobriety, chastity, patience, humility; and expresses a deep sense of the guilt of the Parliaments in their conduct towards him. This pamphlet was the forgery of a Scots Episcopal divine.† No

* It was entitled, "The Declaration of Mr Alexander Henderson, principal minister of the Word of God at Edinburgh, and Chief Commissioner for the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England, made upon his death-bed."

† Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 327. It is curious to observe how uniformly the defenders of Scottish Episcopacy have had recourse to falsehood and forgery for the support of their cause. From the beginning they have done so. Archbishop Adamson published a forged testament, purporting to be that of Mr Lawson, the successor of John Knox. One Patrick Scot published a pretended recantation of Mr Calderwood, supposing him to have been dead in Holland. Mr Calder, an Episcopal minister, and a champion of the cause in the beginning of the 18th century, published to the world that Mr Davidson, Presbyterian minister at Prestonpans in the reign of James VI., had embraced Episcopacy before his death, alleging as his authority a book written by Davidson, which he was never able to produce, though repeatedly called upon to do it. Thus, with that of Mr Henderson above noticed, we have four glaring instances of fabrication, within little more than a hundred years. A good cause may meet with a disingenuous advocate, but a course of such conduct must afford a strong presumption against the system in defence of which persons must have recourse to such weapons. This reflects greater disgrace on Episcopalians than even the consecration at the Nag's Head Tavern, with which their brethren in England have been so often twitted, or than that want even of Presbyters' orders, with which a late writer on ecclesiastical history (Dr Campbell) has charged the whole Scots Episcopal body.‖ Let this uninterrupted succession of falsehood be set over against that uninterrupted succession of *priesthood*, of which they, together with the High-flyers in England, are beginning again to talk loud, after the uninterrupted succession of *kings* has failed.

["One will be surprised to hear," says Dr Campbell, "that our Scottish Episcopal party, who have long affected to value themselves on the regular transmission of their orders, *have none but what they derive from bishops merely nominal.* Even their own writers acknowledge, that immediately after the death of Dr Ross, bishop of Edinburgh, the last of those ordained before the Revolution, there were no local bishops appointed to any diocese, or having the inspection of any people, or spiritual jurisdic-

sooner did it appear, than the General Assembly appointed a committee to examine it, and afterwards emitted a declaration of its falsehood and forgery. In this, "out of the tender respect which they bear to his name (which ought to be precious to them and all posterity, for his faithful services in the great work of Reformation in these kingdoms, wherein the Lord was pleased to make him eminently instrumental), they declare, that after due search and trial, they do find that their worthy brother, Mr Alexander Henderson, did, from the time of his coming from London to Newcastle, till the last moment of his departure out of this life, manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of the Re-

tion over any district." They were called *Utopian bishops.* "*The ordination, therefore, of our present Episcopal clergy is solely from Presbyters*; for it is allowed, that those men who came under the hands of Bishop Ross had been regularly admitted ministers or presbyters, in particular congregations, before the Revolution. Let no true son of our Church be offended," adds the Doctor, "that I acknowledge our nonjurors to have a *sort* of Presbyterian ordination; for I would by no means be understood as equalising theirs to that which obtains among us."—*Lectures on Eccl. Hist.*, i. 354. Had the learned Doctor thought it worth his while to prosecute his inquiries a little farther into this ridiculous pretence, he might have found a still more startling and conclusive proof against the *canonical succession*, so loudly vaunted of by our Scotch Episcopal party, in the schism which took place about the year 1728, between the old College of Bishops, and a set of pretended bishops called the *Usagers*. Lockhart has given us a curious account of this schism; and from this and other sources it appears, that the Usagers (with one Gadderar at their head, who was no regular bishop) ordained three bishops of their own stamp, with the aid of Bishop Miller, whom they bribed for the purpose, while he was lying under *suspension* by the other bishops, who, on their part, solemnly declared the whole transaction "simoniacal and private, null and void."—*Lockhart's Papers*, vol. ii. p. 101, 335. From these three bishops, thus irregularly and simoniacally ordained, viz., Rattray, Dunbar, and Keith, "*our present bishops*," says Skinner, "*derive their succession.*"—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 648, &c. As to the old bishops, if they can be allowed to be bishops at all who never had a diocese, they certainly were the only hands through whom, according to the canons which regulate such matters, and even according to the principles afterwards recognised by the Episcopalians of Scotland, the true succession could have descended, and without whose consent no regular orders could be conferred; but they died out without ordaining any to succeed them, and thus the uninterrupted succession was irretrievably lost. "Thus matters rested," says an Episcopalian writer, who gives a full account of the whole contro-

formation in these kingdoms. All that he was able to speak in that time (from his arrival in Edinburgh till his death), did clearly show his judgment of, and affection to, the work of Reformation, and cause of God, to be every way the same then that it was in the beginning and progress thereof; as divers reverend brethren who visited him have declared to this Assembly, particularly two brethren, who constantly attended him from the time he came home, till his breath expired." After mentioning several other reasons, the declaration thus concludes: "Upon consideration of all which, this Assembly doth condemn the said pamphlet as forged, scandalous, and false. And farther, declare the author and contriver of the same to be void of charity and a good conscience, and a gross liar and calumniator, led by the spirit of the Accuser of the brethren." *

The removal of Mr Henderson at such a critical juncture was a great loss to the Presbyterian cause, and as such was lamented by the wisest men in the three kingdoms. His influence with the nobility was missed in the dissensions between the Church and the Estates of Scotland, in the affair of the Duke of Hamilton's engagement. Speaking of the commission from Scotland to Charles II. after his father's death, one of Baillie's correspondent's says, "Oh! we miss now that precious servant of Christ, Mr Alexander Henderson. He would have been a man fit for this purpose." †

Alexander Henderson was enriched with an assemblage of endowments which have rarely met in one man. He possessed talents which fitted him for judging and giving advice about the political affairs of a nation, or even for taking an active

versy, "till Bishop Freebairn died; and *with him ceased the possibility of preserving a canonical succession in Scotland at that time.*"—*Principles Political and Religious.* By Norman Sievwright, M.A., a Presbyter of the Church of England, p. 290. Skinner has attempted to give the go-by to this piece of secret history; but it is easy to substantiate the facts now stated, and should "our Scottish Episcopal party" persevere much longer in boasting of their *succession*, at the expense of unchurching all other denominations of Christians, it may be expedient to make them better known.—Ed.]

* Acts of Assembly, p. 422, edit. an. 1682.

† Mr Spang, in Baillie's Letters, ii. 327.

share in the management of them, had he not devoted himself to the immediate service of the Church, and the study of ecclesiastical business.* He was not more distinguished by the abilities which he displayed in his public conduct, than by the virtues which adorned his private character. Grave, yet affable and polite; firm and independent, yet modest and condescending, he commanded the respect, and conciliated the affection, of all who were acquainted with him; and the more intimately his friends knew him, they loved him the more. The power of religion he deeply felt, and he had tasted the comforts of the Gospel. Its spirit, equally removed from the coldness of the mere rationalist, and the irregular fervours of the enthusiast, breathed in all his words and actions. The love of liberty was in him a pure and enlightened flame; he loved his native country, but his patriotism was no narrow, illiberal passion; it opened to the welfare of neighbouring nations, and of mankind in general.

Educated in Episcopal sentiments, and having the fairest prospects of advancement in a hierarchy fast rising in greatness, after he had set out with an ardent mind in the career of ambition, he sacrificed his hopes to the convictions of his conscience, and joined himself to a small body of men, who, though honourable in the sight of God, were despised and borne down by those who were in power. As his adoption of the original principles of the Church of Scotland was not hasty, nor the effect of personal disgust, but of deliberate examination, and the fullest conviction, he persevered in the maintenance of them without deviation, amidst great temptations. Though he had received a liberal education in the first university of the kingdom, and had attained to an eminent station in it, he cheerfully devoted his time and talents to the care of a people in an obscure corner, where he lived contented and beloved upwards of twenty years, and from whom he at last submitted, with extreme reluctance, to be parted. Called forth by the irresistible cry of his dear country, when he found her reduced to the utmost

* Pinkerton, in his *Iconographica Scotica*, has denominated Mr Henderson, "The Franklin of the Scottish commotions."

distress, by the oppression of ambitious prelates, supported by an arbitrary court and corrupt statesmen, he came from that retirement which was congenial to him, and entered upon the bustle of public business, at a time of life when others think of retiring from it. Though he sighed after his original solitude, and suffered from the fatigues and anxiety to which he was subjected, yet he did not relinquish his station, nor shrink from the difficult tasks imposed upon him, until his feeble and shattered constitution sunk under them, and he fell a martyr to the cause.

He appeared on the public stage with a mind improved by reading and experience, and an acquaintance with mankind, which genius, directed by cool attention, can acquire in situations very unfavourable. His learning, prudence, and sagacity, soon distinguished him among that band of patriots who associated for the vindication of their national rights; and he was consulted by the principal nobility and statesmen on the most important questions of public concern. Averse to severe or high measures, and disposed to unite all the friends of religion and liberty, he nevertheless did not hesitate to approve of and recommend bold and decisive steps, when necessary to remedy intolerable grievances, or to prosecute and secure a necessary reformation. His sagacity and political wisdom were free from the base alloy of duplicity and selfishness, by which they are so often degraded. His integrity and virtue remained uncorrupted, amidst the blandishments of the Court, and the intrigues of the Cabinet. The confidence reposed in him, and the influence which he was enabled to exercise, which were as great as any ever enjoyed in a Presbyterian Church, he did not in a single instance betray or abuse.

In forming an estimate of Mr Henderson's character, it would be improper to overlook his qualifications for assisting ecclesiastical judicatories, and particularly the Supreme Council of the Church to which he belonged, in which he repeatedly occupied the situation of moderator. In all large, deliberative, and free assemblies, the preservation of order, and expediting of business, depend greatly upon the

talents and conduct of the person who acts as president. It is much to the credit of the subject of this memoir, that, in the Assemblies in which he presided, there was no uproar, disorder, or indecency, although the times were turbulent; and that, in the multiplicity of business which pressed upon them, confusion was avoided. His character, his appearance, his manners, procured him respect both from his brethren in the ministry, and those who acted as elders. With great dexterity he interposed, when there was any appearance of heat between the speakers, and ever, on such occasions, acted the part of a moderator. He knew how to bear with the scruples, and even the humours of good men, and at the same time to check unreasonable and wilful disobedience to necessary orders. Without infringing the liberty of the court, he could urge on a vote, or put a stop to tedious debate and desultory conversation. No honest mind could be hurt by the severity of his reproof, for all candid men could perceive the goodness which dictated it, or make allowance for the necessity of his situation. Even occasional discoveries of heat of temper, which are often to be seen in studious men of amiable dispositions, when wearied out with unreasonable opposition, were not without their utility in the situation which he occupied. It was his custom as moderator, to introduce an important question with a short speech, in which he gave a perspicuous view of the cause; and on its discussion, he also said a few words, recapitulating the grounds of the Assembly's judgment. The pertinent and religious reflections which he threw in on remarkable occurrences, had often a most happy effect, sometimes filling the Assembly with deep concern, at other times cheering and elevating their minds amidst discouragements and heaviness. But, among all his qualifications, what deserves particular attention, was that faculty of fervent, sweet, and appropriate prayer, which he exercised without flagging, through all the Assemblies in which he moderated.

Mr Henderson was too actively engaged in public business to find much leisure for preparing works for the press. But though he published little to the world as his own, his com-

positions were passed into acts both of the Church and State —obtained the sanction of the supreme authorities in the three kingdoms, were subscribed by all ranks of persons, and will continue to be famous in the history of his native country, and to be remembered as long as any taste for true patriotism and genuine religion remains. It will be recollected by the friends of genuine liberty, and of the Presbyterian Reformation, that the principal public papers from 1637 to 1646, and particularly the bond in which the National Covenant was renewed in 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant,* were drawn by the pen of Alexander Henderson.

Besides these, and his papers in the controversy with the King, he was the author of a tract, which does not bear his name, entitled, "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland." This small publication, which was written and published when he was in London in 1641, attending the Treaty,† must have been very useful at the time; and, with another pamphlet, published about the

* [These two transactions are frequently confounded by those who have not given close attention to the history of our Covenants. The Covenant sworn in 1638, was the old National Covenant of Scotland, commonly called the King's Covenant, in which Popery was specially abjured; but it was *renewed* that year, with the addition of a Bond, abjuring Prelacy, as contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland, which that Covenant was intended to confirm. When Prelacy was obtruded on the Church, it became necessary, in renewing the Covenant, to renounce it in special terms. The Solemn League, again, was not sworn till 1643, and had for its special objects, the preservation of the Church of Scotland, and the reformation of the Churches of England and Ireland, by the extirpation of the government by bishops, and the bringing of the three Churches in the three kingdoms into the nearest possible conjunction and uniformity. Both of these deeds were *national* in their form and object, and could not now be sworn as they were at first, unless the nation were prepared to do so; but they may be, and often have been *renewed* by churches, in the way of owning their federal obligation on ourselves, and on the nation at large, and joining in a bond adapted to the altered circumstances, and present exigencies of the Church. It is only in this way that the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland, for example, could *swear the Covenants*; and in this way they would, to use an old expression on the subject, *serve themselves heirs* to the federal deeds of their ancestors.—Ed.]

† ["Henderson's little treatise was afterwards reprinted here," says Wodrow, "at our late happy Revolution."—*MS. Letters*, iv. p. 54.—Ed.]

same time by Mr Gillespie, in defence of ruling elders and synods, * had its share of influence in preparing the minds of the English, particularly about London, for the adoption of the Presbyterian government. It may be consulted still, not only as a relic of the valuable author, but also for information, as it contains a description, pretty circumstantial, of the government of the Church of Scotland, not only as it is to be found in her books of discipline, but as it was practised at that period. †

There are three sermons of Mr Henderson's in print. The first is that preached, before the General Assembly in 1638, already noticed. Though hastily composed, it exhibits a condensation of matter, and accuracy of arrangement, which discovered a mind well stored with knowledge, and capable of bringing it forth with promptitude on emergent occasions. The thoughts which were applicable to the circumstances are well introduced; they appear natively to rise from the subject, and they are illustrated and brought home with propriety and force. His second sermon is on Ezra, vii. 23: "Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven; for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons?" It was preached before the House of Commons at their solemn fast, on Wednesday, Dec. 27, 1643, and is described by Mr Baillie, as "a most gracious, wise, and learned sermon,"—a character which it justly deserves. ‡ His third printed sermon was preached

* [This pamphlet is entitled, "An Assertion of the Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland."—Ed.]

† [For a fuller description of this treatise, see Appendix, No. IV.—Ed.]

‡ [He divides the subject into three parts,—the evil to be avoided, the means for preventing it, and the connection between the two. Under the first head, he considers the greatness of the evil, in its breadth embracing "the whole realm of the King," and in its length extending even to posterity, "his sons." Under the means of prevention, he considers the *rule* of reformation, "the commandment of the God of heaven;" the *extent* of it, "whatsoever is commanded;" the *manner* in which it ought to be managed, "diligently;" and the *reasons* of it, the greatness and sovereignty of God, "the God of heaven;" and a ground of common equity, it is "the house of the God of heaven." He lastly considers the connection

before the two Houses of Parliament, on Thursday 18th July 1644, in Westminster, being a day of public thanksgiving for a victory obtained by the forces of both kingdoms, near York. The text is Matt. xiv. 31: "And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" These sermons afford a specimen of his manner of preaching. It was strictly *textual*, so that none of his sermons could with propriety have been preached from any other passage of Scripture than that which is placed before them. His method is taken either from the natural division of the words, or from a proposition which shortly expresses their just import. Though composed hastily, amidst a multiplicity of avocations, they afford very favourable specimens of his talents, and justify the reputation which he gained in this species of composition. As a public speaker, he was eloquent, judicious, and popular. His eloquence was easy, but impressive; grave, but fluent. It was like the motion of a deep river, which carries one insensibly with a full tide, rather than the rapidity of a swollen torrent. "Learned, eloquent, and polite," says Grainger, "and perfectly versed in the knowledge of mankind, he knew how to rouse the people to war, or negociate a peace. Whenever he preached, it was to crowded audiences; and when he pleaded or argued, he was regarded with mute attention." *

between the diligent performance of this duty, and the averting of wrath, and shows that even with regard to the blessings and miseries of this life, piety is the best policy, and that the mere restraints of civil laws, without the operation of religious principle, will avail little for repressing those sins which bring down the wrath of God upon a people.—Ed.]

* [Clarendon says, that "to hear those sermons (of Henderson and the Scots divines), there was so great a conflux and resort, by the citizens, out of *humour* and *faction*; by others of all qualities out of *curiosity*; and by some that they might the better justify the *contempt* they had of them; that from the first appearance of day on every Sunday, to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty. They (especially the women) who had the happiness to get into the church in the morning (they who could not, hung upon, or about the windows without, to be auditors or spectators), keeping their places till the afternoon's exercise was finished, which

I may conclude with the following character of him, drawn by his friend Mr Baillie, in a speech he delivered before the General Assembly in 1647:—"That glorious soul of blessed memory, who now is crowned with the reward of all his labours for God and for us, I wish his remembrance may be fragrant among us, so long as free and pure Assemblies remain in this land, which we hope shall be to the coming of our Lord. You know he spent his strength, and wore out his days, he breathed out his life in the service of God and of his Church. This binds it on our back, as we would not prove ungrateful, to pay him his due. If the thoughts of others be conform to my inmost sense, in duty and reason, HE OUGHT TO BE ACCOUNTED BY US AND POSTERITY, THE FAIREST ORNAMENT, AFTER JOHN KNOX, OF INCOMPARABLE MEMORY, THAT EVER THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND DID ENJOY."

both morning and afternoon, except to palates ridiculously corrupted, was the most *insipid* and *flat* that could be delivered upon any deliberation."—*Vol.* i. p. 189, 190. This account may be safely left to confute itself. Discourses which attracted such crowds of all qualities, and induced them to hang from morning to night even upon the windows of the chapel, must have been any thing, one should think, but *insipid* and *flat*. Mr Brodie has well remarked, that "such language was naturally to have been expected from the historian, whose task of vindicating the royal cause required something of this kind, and whose bigoted dislike to the Presbyterian establishment, and antipathy to the Scots, particularly the clergy, and above all, to Henderson, blinded him to any merit in them." "If we may form an estimate of their pulpit oratory from their works," adds this writer, "we may safely pronounce that the English did not discredit themselves by flocking to hear such preachers."—*History of the British Empire*, vol. iii. p. 41, 42. As to Hume's gratuitous insult on them, which is copied by Laing into his History, and which only displays the dark malice which he bore in his heart against every thing like pure and undefiled religion, see *Review of Tales of my Landlord*, Part iii.—ED.]

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF HENDERSON.

BY THE EDITOR.

No. I.

CALDERWOOD'S WRITINGS.

THE works of Calderwood are numerous; and as, from the dread of prosecution, they were almost all published without the author's name, it becomes difficult to form a complete and accurate catalogue. Dr Irving has given a very full list of them in his "Lives of Scottish Writers," vol. i. p. 318-322. The following list, which I had drawn up before seeing Dr Irving's, differs very little from it, except in the arrangement; the last nine tracts mentioned are given solely on that author's authority, which stands deservedly high.

1. *The true History of the Church of Scotland*, from the beginning of the Reformation unto the end of the Reign of King James VI., 1678, fol. Calderwood left a larger edition of this work in manuscript, the original of which is deposited in the British Museum; a copy of this lies in the Advocates' Library; and the publication of it would prove a valuable accession to our historical literature.

2. *Perth Assembly*, printed anno 1619. The object of this treatise is to prove the nullity of the packed meeting of Assembly in 1618, and the unlawfulness of the "Five Articles of Perth," passed at that Assembly.

3. *Parasynagma Perthense*, anno 1620. This very rare tract (which is not mentioned by Dr Irving) is little more than an abridgment, in Latin, of the *Perth Assembly*, formerly mentioned, with some explanations of the National Covenant, which are followed by Andrew Melville's *Anti-tami-cami-categoria*. But it contains some curious additional matter.

4. *The Course of Conformitie*. This treatise, printed anno 1622, consists of an historical review of the various steps taken for the

introduction and settlement of Episcopacy in Scotland, from 1597 down to the date of the pamphlet. That part of it (p. 20–45) which relates to Episcopacy, was written, as Calderwood informs us, by James, nephew of Andrew Melville.—*Hist.*, p. 539.

5. *Defence of our Arguments against kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, impugned by Mr Michelsone:* imprinted anno 1620.

6. *The Solution of Dr Resolutus his Resolutions.* On the same subject.

7. *Queries concerning the state of the Church of Scotland:* printed anno 1621. Consists of nine queries, all respecting the government and ceremonies of the English Church.

8. *The Altar of Damascus*, 12mo., pp. 222. This tract, of which his Latin work, *Altare Damascenum*, is an enlargement, was written in English by Calderwood in 1621, and is believed to be very rare.

9. *Altare Damascenum; seu Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politia.* The Latin edition of the former greatly enlarged. The title of the work is founded on 2d Kings xvi. 10, 11, where we are told that "King Ahaz saw an altar that was at Damascus, and sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar, and the pattern of it. And Urijah the priest built an altar according to all that King Ahaz had sent from Damascus; so Urijah made it against King Ahaz came to Damascus." No title could be more appropriate to a work intended to analyze the policy of the English Church, which King James, on his accession to the English throne, obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, through the agency of those whom he made bishops. It was published in 1623, under the assumed name of *Edwardi Didoclavii*, which is a transposition of the letters of his name, David Calderwood. The *Altare Damascenum* is, beyond comparison, the most learned and elaborate work ever written on the subject, embracing the whole controversy between the English and Scottish Churches, as to government, discipline, and worship. It was held in high estimation by foreign divines, in proof of which it has been reprinted more than once on the Continent. A beautiful edition in quarto was published at Leyden in 1708. The work was never answered, nor is it easy to see how it could be answered. It is said that King James, after perusing it, sat for some time looking very pensive; and when asked by one of the English bishops what ailed him, he told him what book he had been reading. "Let not that trouble your Majesty," said the bishop, "I shall soon answer it." "Answer what, man?" replied

the king; "there is nothing here but Scripture, reason, and the fathers."—*Preface to printed Calderwood*, p. 5. *Lect. Typograph. Alt. Damasc.* 1708.

10. To the *Altare Damascenum* there is usually appended the Epistle of Hieronymus Philadelphus *De Regimine Scoticanæ Ecclesiæ*, with a Vindication of the Epistle against the Archbishop, both in Latin, by Calderwood. In this treatise he is very hard upon Spotswood, whom he accuses of being "ignorant of Greek, hardly knowing any thing of Latin, and much less capable of writing in it. He asserts that Spotswood's *Refutatio libelli de Regimine*, had been translated into Latin by some needy son of Esculapius; or, as he elsewhere expresses it, it was "hatched by *Joan. Fani Andreæ Archiep.*, and favoured with a Latin complexion by some despised Doctor, idle for lack of patients."—*Preface to Course of Conformitie.*

11. In 1624 Calderwood published "*An Exhortation of the Particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland to their Sister Kirk in Edinburgh*," which contains passages of genuine eloquence. I may mention, that the fine allusion to Alexander the Great, made in Henderson's speech to the Commissioner in the Assembly 1638, was evidently borrowed from this treatise. Calderwood says, "His Majestie will not refuse, at your hands, the offer that Jerusalem made to Alexander. They could not suffer his image to be erected in their temple, but they were readie to please him in every thing wherein God was not displeased; as to begin the accounts of their times from his entrie to the towne, and to give him the name of all their first-borne sons." The application which Henderson made of this incident to the power which the king claimed to control the Church, by dissolving her Assemblies at his pleasure, is one of the noblest specimens of Christian oratory. "So, whatsoever is ours, we shall render it to his Majesty, even our lives, lands, liberties and all; but for that which is God's, and the liberties of his house, we do think, neither will his Majesty's piety suffer him to crave, neither may we grant them, although he should crave it."

12. *The Pastor and the Prelate.* 1628, 4to.

13. *A Dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus,* anent the urging of new Ceremonies upon the Kirke of Scotland. 1620, 8vo. This Dialogue, which Dr Irving ascribes to Calderwood, is probably the same with that which Dr M'Crie ascribes to Mr John Murray. See the Memoir of Murray in this volume.

14. *The Speech of the Kirk of Scotland to her beloved children.* 1620, 8vo.

15. *A Reply to Dr Morton's general Defence of three Nocent Ceremonies.* 1623, 4to.

16. *A Reply to Dr Morton's particular Defence of three Nocent Ceremonies.* 1623, 4to.

17. *An Epistle of a Christian Brother,* &c. 1624, 8vo.

18. *A Dispute upon communicating at our Confused Communions.* 1624, 8vo.

19. *A Re-examination of the Five Articles enacted at Perth,* &c. 1636, 4to.

20. *The Re-examination Abridged,* &c. 1636, 8vo.

21. *An Answer to M. J. Forbes of Corse, his Peaceable Warning.* 1638, 4to.

No. II.

THE DISPUTE ABOUT PRIVATE MEETINGS IN 1639.

The origin of this dissension was a quarrel between Mr Henry Guthry, minister of Stirling, and the Laird of Leckie, an intelligent and pious, though somewhat enthusiastic man, whose exemplary devotion attracted around him numbers of his neighbours, whom he encouraged to meet in his house for religious exercises. It was alleged by some, who, it was supposed, came as spies, that he had used some expressions in prayer reflecting on the minister. The following extract will show the light in which these "nocturnal meetings" were regarded by the kirk-session:—"At Stirling, the 22d day of July 1639. The quhilk day it was represented to the session, how diverse within this congregation, being seduced thereto by the enticement of some strangers from England and Ireland, that have crepit in, do at their awin hands, and without the allowance of magistrates, minister, or elders, conveia themselves confusedly out of diverse families, about bed-tyme, in some private house, and there for ane great part of the night, employ themselves in ane publick exercise of religion, praying successively, singing psalms, exponing Scripture, discussing questions of divinitie,—whereof some are so curious, that they do not understand, and some (as they state them) so ridiculous, that they cannot be edified by them; by which uncowth and confused meetings, the common people are drawn to vilify and set at naught the exercise of God's worship in private and particular families apart, yea, some of them lightlie the publick worship of God in the congregation, conceiving (as they are

taught by thir trafficking strangers) their private meetings to be moir effectuall in turning saules to God, than preaching itself. The session of the kirk having considered seriously of thir confused, untymous, and unallowable meetings, how they seem to be invented by some spirits favouring Brownism, and, gif they should be tolerated to spread through this kirk, might prove likely means to overturn the trewe forme of God's worship: And doubting also gif such of our people as through simplicitie and blind zeal have been overcome by them, in so doing, can be excused of the breach of that part of our covenant, where we swear to abstein fra the practice of all novations introducit in our kirk; these meetings being ane novation to us never known, nor practised among us bot since Februar last, and for aught we know, destitute of the allowance and warrand of any frie and lawful Assembly of this Kirk; whairfore the session ordains ane remonstrance heirof to be maid unto the Presbytery, that they may consider seriously of the perrell imminent to our kirk, by thir seids of Brownism, which Sathan has begun to sow, and meantime discharges all within our congregation from keeping any such meetings."—*Records of Kirk-Session of Stirling.*

It ought not to be forgotten, in forming our opinion of this judgment, that this Mr Henry Guthry, who manifests such a sensitive horror of innovations, such a conscientious dread of breaking any part of "our Covenant," and such respect to "the warrand of a frie and lawfull Assembly," is the same person whom we meet with, after the Restoration, as Bishop of Dunkeld, and who was the author of the scurrilous and suspicious work, patched up after his death, called "Guthry's Memoirs." At the same time, it appears certain that these meetings occasioned considerable disorder in Stirling. On the 12th of August 1639, some of the inhabitants are summoned before the session, with the bailies, "for new deboirdings, which were so intolerable as forced the session to take ane present course. Therefore it is ordeaned that the minister, with all diligence, shall write to Mr Alexander Hendersone and Mr David Dicksone concerning their follies, and till their answer be returned, that the ringleaders of them shall be taken and *put in ward*, for preveining disorder."—*Ibid.*

The Assembly at Aberdeen passed an act against the meetings, expressed in terms which gave great offence to many, particularly to the more pious portion of the ministry. Baillie gives a detailed account of the dispute at this Assembly. "Mr Rutherford all the while was dumb; only in the midst of this jangling, he cast in a syllogism,

and required them all to answer it: 'What Scripture does warrant, an Assembly may not discharge; but privy meetings for exercises of religion, Scripture warrants, James v. 16: *Confess your faults one to another.* Mal. iii. 16: *Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another*, &c. Thir things cannot be done in public meetings, Ergo &c.' A number greedily haunsht at the argument, but came not near the matter. Mr Harry (Guthrie) and (Lord) Seaforth would not have Mr Samuel to trouble us with his logick syllogisms."—*Baillie's Let.*, vol. i. p. 199.

No. III.

HENDERSON'S EXONERATION BY PARLIAMENT, 1641.

It is highly probable that it was owing to the injurious reports, noticed at p. 42, more than as a mere matter of form, that Henderson was induced to present the following petition to Parliament, craving exoneration and approbation of his carriage in the negotiation of the treaty, on the 28th of September 1641:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and the Honourable Estates of Parliament,—The humble petition of Mr Alexander Hendersone, minister at Edinburgh, showing, that whereas being appointed by the Presbyterie of Edinburgh to attend the General in the late expedition, I was, by the meeting of the ministers at Newcastle, and by the Committee of the Parliament, there joined with the Commissioners of the Treaty, wherein diverse matters of Church concernment were to be treated: And now the Treaty being, by the mercy of God, brought to a desired conclusion, and the Commissioners approved and exonered in Parliament: My humble desire is, that if this Church hath sustained no prejudice by my weakness, and if it be found that, by my accessory labours for the publick, I have been faithful in whatsoever hath been intrusted to me by the Commissioners whome I did attend, I may also be exonered, and publicklie be approven, which shall be an encouragement to me for afterward to contribute my best endeavours for the publick, and to pray that peace and all other blessings may be multiplied upon the King and kingdome.

"28th September 1641.—Red in audience of his Majestie and Parliament, who of certaine knowledge of the supplicant's faithfull and wyse carriage in all the actions of this trust, doe unanimouslie

grant the desire of this supplication, and the exoneration and approbation craved."—*Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 420.

To this I may add the Act of Exoneration itself, which is not inserted in the Printed Acts, but is preserved among the Manuscript Acts in the Register Office.

"Act of Exoneratione and Approbatione in favoures of Maister Alexr. Hendersone.—The quhilk day the King's Majestie and Estates having taken into consideration the petitione given in to them by Mr Alexr. Henderson, minister of Edinburgh, making mention, &c. [Here the petition is recapitulated.] And his Majestie and Estates finding the foresaid desyre just and most reasonable, and having examinat the said Maister Alexr., his whole actions and carriage in the foresaid employment and trust put upon him, and compared the same with the commissiones and instructions: And having considerit the same with the testimony of the King's Majestie, and of the remanent Commissioners who war in the Commissione, and lyke trust with the said Alexr. Henderson: Doe unanimouslie find and declare, That the said Maister Alexr. Hendersone hath so wyslie, faithfullie, diligentlie, and carefullie behaved himself in the foresaid charge and trust put upon him, in all the passages thereof, as he justly deserves their true testimony of his approven fidelity, diligence, and wyse carriage thereintill: And therefore his Majestie and Estates of Parliament do not onlie liberat and exoner him of all question or challenge that can be laid to him for his carriage in the foirsaid chairge and employment, bot also for the full demonstration of ther certaine knowledge of his faithfull and wyse carriage, Do unanimouslie give him this trew testimony and approbatione, that he hath, in all fidelity, wisdom, and diligence, behaved himself in the foirsaid employment, chairge, and trust put upon him, as ANE LOYALL SUBJECT TO THE KING, AND TREWE PATRIOT TO HIS COUNTRIE."

No. IV.

HENDERSON'S MONUMENT.

This Monument, which still stands on the south-west side of Greyfriars' Church, was originally in the form of a pyramid, but latterly, when renewed at the Revolution, in the shape of a quadrangular pillar, with an urn on the top. It is already considerably

defaced, and unless some pains are taken to protect it by the competent authorities, will soon suffer more seriously from the constant operations going on around it. Does the memory of Henderson not deserve a more splendid and conspicuous monument in the city which he once so eminently adorned?

It bears the following inscriptions, copied, no doubt, from the original monument:—

On the East Side.

M. S.

D. Alexandri Hendersonii, Regi a Sacris, Edinburgensis, Ecclesiæ Pastoris, ibidem Academiæ Rectoris, Academiæ Andreanæ Alumni, Amplificatoris, Patroni.

Qui contra grassantes per fraudem et tyrannidem Prelatos, libertatis et disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ propugnator fuit acerrimus; Superstitionis juxta et succrescentium sectarum malleus; Religionis cultusque divini purioris Vindex et Assertor constantissimus; in quæ, cum omni cura et cogitatione incumbens, assiduos, cum in patriæ tum in vicino Angliæ Regno, labores Ecclesiæ utiles, sibi gloriosos exantlavit. Extremum spiritum effudit, die 12 Augusti ætatis 63. *

On the North Side.

Vir fuit divinus, ac plane eximius, et omni virtutum genere, tum pietate imprimis, eruditione, prudentia illustris: Regi serenissimo, et utriusque Regni ordinibus juxta charus. Cui hoc monumentum pietatis ergo erigendum curavit Georgius Hendersonus, ex fratre nepos; ipse sibi eternum in animis bonorum reliquit. †

* Sacred to the Memory

Of Mr Alexander Henderson, Chaplain to his Majesty, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, Rector of the University there; Alumnus, Benefactor and Patron of the University of St Andrews.

Who was a most strenuous defender of the liberty and discipline of the Church, in opposition to the aggressions, by fraud and violence, of the Prelates; a formidable foe alike to Superstition and growing Sectarianism; a faithful advocate and champion of religion, and the purity of divine worship; in which services, after devoting to them all the energies of body and mind, and accomplishing, both in his native country, and in the neighbouring kingdom of England, unremitting labours, at once useful to the Church and honourable to himself, he breathed his last on the 12th (19th) August 1646, in the 63d year of his age.

† He was a godly and truly great man, distinguished for every virtue, and particularly for piety, learning, and prudence; endeared alike to the

On the South Side.

Hanc quisquis urnam transiens spectaveris,
Ne negligenter aspice ;
Hic busta magni cernis Hendersonii
Pietatis hoc bustum vides.

On the West Side.

Reader, bedew thine eyes,
Not for the dust here lyes ;
It quicken shall again,
And ay in joy remain ;
But for thyself, the Church, and States
Whose woes this dust prognosticates.

No. V.

HENDERSON'S TREATISE ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

I extract the following account of this treatise from one of Dr M'Crie's sketches of the Memoir.

Mr Henderson published a tract, entitled "The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland," printed anno 1641, 68 pages quarto. It is anonymous, but is known to be the production of Mr Henderson, from the testimony of Mr Baillie.—*Let.*, vol. i. p. 245. The occasion of this treatise is stated in a prefatory address to the reader. Many godly persons, though wearied with the prelatic yoke, did yet crouch under it, not being acquainted with the model of a better government, and therefore afraid of change. In the meantime, various schemes of Church discipline were proposed by different individuals, according to their various humours. Any thing that had been published respecting the policy of the Church of Scotland, was general and unsatisfactory. Misconceptions, arising from ignorance or prejudice, were entertained by many against it; such as, that the true and original government of that Church had been Episcopalian —that they had no certain rule or direction for public worship

King, and to the Estates of both kingdoms. This monument of filial affection is erected to his memory by George Henderson, his nephew by the brother's side : He has left himself an eternal monument in the hearts of all good men.

—and that presbytery was hostile to monarchy. In opposition to these prejudices, he places the high and honourable testimony which had been borne to the policy of the Scottish Church by eminent persons, both in England and in the Reformed Churches abroad; from which, and from the internal evidence contained in the following delineation, he concludes, that Scotland had been highly favoured —that it was no wonder she had stood to the defence of her reformation—and that England might profit by her example. Though the work is anonymous, and not avowed to be the production of a Scotsman, yet the author's affection to his native country and church breaks out towards the conclusion of the preface. After quoting the celebrated saying of Cicero, "*Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi*," &c., he adds, "If a patriot spoke so of his country, a citizen so of his republick, what should the Christian, born, baptized, and bred in Scotland, think and say, if he have been born there, not only to this mortal, but to that immortal and everlasting life? No children have better reason to say, We are not ashamed of our mother; and it were to be wished that the saying were reciprocally true."

To the treatise itself is prefixed the following intimation of its design:—"A *description*, and not a *demonstration*, of the Church of Scotland is intended; *non jus, sed factum*—their doing simply, and not the reason of their so doing, is desired. The delineation, therefore, of the face of that Church, without artificial colours, or dispute of her comeliness and beauty, is nakedly expressed in two parts,—the one of her OFFICERS, the other of her ASSEMBLIES."

The first part treats of the officers of the Church—of their calling and their respective duties. Under the Duties of the Pastor, he treats of the order observed in Preaching—in Baptism—in the Lord's Supper—Public Fasting—Marriage—and (in a negative way) of Burial of the Dead. Then follow the offices of Doctor, Elders, and Deacons.

The second part treats of the Assemblies of the Church—of Excommunication—of Elderships, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies.

In the conclusion, he shows that "in the authority of these associations,—parochial, presbyterial, provincial and national,—and in the subordination of the lesser unto the greater, or of more particular elderships to the general eldership, doth consist the external order, strength, and stedfastness of the Church of Scotland." That as, on the one hand, they have manifested all tenderness to the weak, so, in virtue of their union and subordination, they have been able, by

their spiritual authority and censures, to overcome lewd and wicked men, to detect and suppress all error and heresy, and to preserve truth and unity. In like manner, he says, there is "excited among the godly ministers an holy emulation, by acquaintance and conference, and by perceiving the gifts, one of another, which maketh them return from the Assemblies with a mean and humble conceit of themselves, and with new and strong resolutions for greater diligence in their studies, and faithfulness in every pastoral duty, to the common benefit and edification of all the churches; all the ministers are made more wise in matters of government, and all the congregations are affected with reverence to what is required of them by their particular elderships, as having the consent and approbation of the whole Church. HERE THERE IS SUPERIORITY WITHOUT TYRANNY, PARITY WITHOUT CONFUSION AND DISORDER, AND SUBJECTION WITHOUT SLAVERY."

As they had done and suffered much for vindicating and maintaining what belonged unto God, so they desired that the things that were Cesar's should be rendered to Cesar. They had ever been willing to pay taxes and subsidies, even above their ability. They poured out prayers, in private and public, for his Majesty's person, government, and family, and were ready to sacrifice their lives for his Majesty's good. "Neither is this all; but moreover, they do acknowledge that his Majesty, as supreme magistrate, hath not only charge over the commonwealth, but doth watch and have inspection over the Church and Church matters, but in a civil way." They account all that is vented to the contrary (such as, that they liked anarchy better than monarchy, and that they would turn a kingdom into a democracy) to be but the fictions and calumnies of the malicious enemies of God and his truth; not unlike the lies which were devised against the primitive Christians. "They do still hold, that there can be no antipathy betwixt one ordinance of God and another. By him princes do reign; and he hath also appointed the officers and government of his own house. *They do desire nothing than that the Son of God may reign, and that, with and under the Son of God, the King may command, and that they, as good subjects to Christ and the King, may obey.*"

[It is highly desirable that this, and other publications, written in defence of the Church of Scotland at that time, particularly some of those by Baillie and Gillespie, should be republished. Nothing better could be written on the subject; and, with few exceptions, nothing could be more adapted to the present times.—ED.]

LIFE OF PATRICK HAMILTON,

THE PROTO-MARTYR OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

SITUATED at a distance from the rest of Europe, and having then little intercourse with the neighbouring kingdom of England, Scotland remained ignorant of those opinions which had excited so much interest in other nations, during a period of ten years after the appearance of Luther. The Lollards of the west either being extirpated, or concealing their sentiments, not a tongue had for a long time been moved against the clergy, who, undisturbed and unsuspicious, enjoyed their rich possessions, and indulged their secular ambition. Not that men were blind to the vices which generally disgraced that order, or altogether insensible of the abuses in religion which they had introduced and supported; but the dread of the power with which the Church was armed suppressed every murmur; and a reformation was the object of faint desire, rather than of expectation, even with those who were convinced of its necessity. At length, Providence raised up a man, singularly qualified as an instrument for arousing the minds of his countrymen, and opening their eyes upon that system of error and superstition by which they were enslaved and deluded.

* Originally published in the Christian Magazine for January 1806.

PATRICK HAMILTON was sprung of a noble stock, and nearly allied, both by the paternal and maternal side, to the royal family of Scotland. His father, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, was a son of Lord Hamilton, who was married to a sister of James III., and brother of the Earl of Arran. * His mother was a daughter of John, Duke of Albany, brother to the same monarch. Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil was captain of the castle of Blackness, and one of the most accomplished knights in Scotland. He was slain in 1520, in an affray between the houses of Arran and Angus, to which Kincavil showed himself more averse than Archbishop Beton, then an adherent of the house of Hamilton, who was afterwards the prime agent in the murder of the son of this valiant knight. †

Patrick Hamilton, the subject of this memoir, was born in the year 1504. He was by his friends destined for the

* Keith (Hist. p. 1) is offended with the writers who ascribe such honourable birth to the martyr, and alleges, that this has been done to draw the greater odium of cruelty upon the clergy, of whose characters this historian is very tender. He says, that Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil was a *bastard* son of Lord Hamilton. But this is a mistake, arising from his not distinguishing between two sons of Lord Hamilton of the same name, according to a usual practice in these times. Lord Hamilton had a natural son, named *Patrick*, who is the person referred to in the charters mentioned by Keith. But he must not be confounded with Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, who, in a charter (April 1498), is called *brother-german* to James, Lord Hamilton; and in another charter (Jan. 1513), is distinguished from a natural son. Scotstarvet, Cal.—Lindsay mentions that he called James, natural son of his brother, a *bastard* in contempt; which he would not have done, if he himself had been of the same description.—*Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 45, 46, 289.

† The celebrated Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, having gone, on the part of Angus, to promote conciliation, urged Beton to interpose, and, as became a churchman, to prevent the effusion of blood: the archbishop striking his breast, exclaimed, "There is no remedy; upon my conscience, I cannot help it!" The armour which he had concealed under his cassock rang with the stroke; upon which Dunkeld said with a sneer, "I perceive, my Lord, that your conscience is not *sound*, as appears by its rattling." He then applied to Kincavil, who seemed willing to mediate for bringing about an agreement; but his natural brother reproaching him as afraid to fight, he was stung with the sarcasm, and suffered a false honour to overcome his reason and humanity.—*Pinkerton*, ii. 181.

Church, in which, from his great connections, he had the prospect of the highest preferment. According to the custom then prevalent, of conferring church-livings upon children, he was in his youth made Abbot of Ferne, a Premonstratensian monastery, in the shire of Ross. * He received the best education that Scotland, whose literature was at that time indeed low, could afford. Being a youth of excellent parts, † he not only made quick proficiency in the studies prescribed to him, but possessed sufficient penetration to discover and pursue a more rational method of acquiring knowledge, than that which was then universally used in this country. Exploding the scholastic jargon in which the learning of the age consisted, he aimed at the revival of ancient literature and true philosophy.

When he was in this state of mind, Providence threw in his way the means of acquiring some knowledge of the reformed doctrine. This he received with all readiness of mind, and what he at this time tasted, excited a thirst which all the riches and honours of the world could not quench. He had already past through some of the orders of the Romish Church, although he was not yet admitted to the full exercise of the priestly functions; and from what had taken place, we may easily conclude, that he would not anxiously desire the completion of such qualifications. His mind was intently fixed upon a more important object. From the time that he received any knowledge of the pure Word of God, he had not concealed it, and his discourse had excited the suspicions of the clergy. ‡ But, sensible that his knowledge

* The revenue of this abbacy was £165 : 7 : 1½d.; bear, 30 chalders, 2 bolls, 2 pecks; oats, 1 chalder, 6 bolls, 1 peck.—*Keith, App.* 185.

† Buchanan calls him, "Juvenis ingenio summo, et eruditione singulari." —*Histor.* lib. xiv.

‡ To this purpose are these words in the sentence afterwards pronounced against him: "And he being under the same infamy (of heresy), we decerning before him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he of evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to other parts forth of the realm suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned," &c.

What was said above of his being in orders, appears from the same document, in which he is declared "to be deprived of all dignities, hon-

was very limited, and that he did not enjoy opportunities of increasing it, he determined to leave Scotland. Taking along with him three attendants, he travelled into Germany, and repaired straightway to the University of Wittemberg, the fame of which, under the superintendence of Luther and Melancthon, had spread throughout Europe, and attracted from different countries those who desired to study the pure Word of God. Pleased with the zeal and sincerity of the noble youth, these celebrated divines gladly received him, and "expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly." This happened in the beginning of the year 1527, and in the 23d year of his age.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, having embraced the Reformation, had this year erected an academy at Marpurgh, with the view of assisting in the promotion of evangelical truth in his dominions, and placed at the head of it Francis Lambert of Avignon. This divine, who had formerly been an apostolical preacher, and general of a monastery of Franciscan observants, though he is comparatively little known, deserves, on account of his eminent piety and useful labours, to have his name enrolled among the principal promoters of the Reformation. Mr Hamilton being recommended to him by the divines of Wittemberg, repaired to the newly erected academy. He was the first person who, in that seat of learning, exhibited and maintained certain theses on the principal subject of dispute between the Romanists and Reformed. What these were we learn from the treatise which he left behind him, concerning the difference between the law and Gospel, which contains the substance of what he maintained in this dispute, and afterwards taught in his native country. The master and the scholar had been brought to the knowledge of the truth in circumstances and by means so remarkably similar, and their views and dispositions were so accordant, that an intimate and sacred

ours, *orders*," as well as "benefices of the Church;" yet it is added, that he, "not being admitted but of his own head, without license or privilege, hath presumed to preach heresy."—*Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 888, edit. 1596.

friendship was established between them. Lambert treated Hamilton as a colleague * and brother, rather than a pupil; and Hamilton, while he improved the familiarity to which he was admitted for the advancement of his studies, felt for Lambert all the respect due to a preceptor and a father. Enjoying such advantages, both public and private, under the instructions of one who has given such proofs of his acquaintance with the Bible, Mr Hamilton, whose thirst after knowledge was unabated, grew every day in acquaintance with the Word of God. And with his knowledge his godliness increased. Lambert, in a preface to one of his printed commentaries, bears testimony, that he scarcely ever met with one who had such spiritual and sound views of the Scriptures as Patrick Hamilton. †

While Mr Hamilton prosecuted his favourite study in this learned retreat, there was only one thing which disturbed his repose. The thoughts of his native country often intruded upon his mind. Was it the desire of occupying that situation in the Church to which he had the title? Was it the wish of revisiting his natal soil, his kindred and acquaintances, that created this uneasiness? No; these he had relinquished, or was willing to relinquish, for the sake of Christ and his Gospel. It was the deplorable state of his native country, involved in a religious point of view, in worse than Cimmerian darkness, which presented itself to his view by night and by day. While he ruminated upon this, he felt a strong and unconquerable desire to return to Scotland, and impart to his countrymen the beams of saving knowledge, by which his own soul had been enlightened. Having communicated his design to his friends for their advice, they endeavoured to dissuade him from it, or at

* Some writers assert, that Patrick Hamilton acted as a public professor in the academy of Marpurgh.—*Bezæ Icones, Ffj. Scultet. Annal.* tom. iii. 176, *ex Fox. comment. rer. eccl. gest. Fol.* 122. But as his name does not appear in the list of professors, it is probable that he only acted occasionally as an assistant during the time that he studied there.

† F. Lamberti Avenionensis Præfat. in Comment. in Apocolyp. anno 1528.

least to protract his departure, by representing the danger to which he would expose himself. Even Lambert, who had himself strongly felt the same sacred passion, and had undertaken a similar journey into France in opposition to the remonstrances of many of his friends, from regard to the noble youth, joined in soliciting his stay. But the motion was from God, and could not be resisted. He was not ignorant of the overbearing influence of the Scottish clergy, of their enmity to the truth, and the jealousy with which they regarded him in particular; he must have laid his account with "bonds and afflictions; but none of these things moved him, neither counted he his life dear to himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God." Having taken leave of his friends, he set out from Marpurgh, accompanied by one of the attendants whom he had brought with him, and arrived in Scotland about the commencement of the year 1528.*

When the Apostle Paul was in Athens, and beheld that celebrated city universally addicted to idolatry, his "spirit was stirred in him," a holy zeal was kindled, he could no longer refrain, but, first in private disputation, and afterwards in a full assembly, he exposed their idolatrous tenets and practice, and preached unto them the true God and the Saviour. Similar were the feelings and conduct of Patrick Hamilton, when, with deep concern, he saw the gross ignorance, superstition, and idolatry, which every where reigned in Scotland. Wherever he came, he failed not to lay open the corruptions of the Church, and the errors by which the souls of men were ruined. So clear and convincing were the arguments by which he supported his doctrine, and such were his fervent piety, and humble, mild demeanour, that a number of all classes listened unto him with pleasure, and collected in the places where he resided. Of this the clergy were not indifferent spectators. Alarmed at the influence which a person of his rank, zeal, and talents, would have in alienating the minds of men from them, and

* Lambert, *ut supra.*

incapable of defending themselves by the same weapons with which they were attacked, they resolved on his immediate destruction.

James Beton, Archbishop of St Andrews, was at this time at the head of the Church, and, as chancellor of the kingdom, had, during the minority of the king, the supreme direction in the State; a man of great ambition, regardless of religion, crafty, cruel, and scrupling at no means, however flagitious, which were necessary to accomplish his designs. Afraid to proceed openly against young Hamilton by citation, he advised that he should be decoyed to St Andrews, under the deceitful pretext of a friendly conference with him concerning the doctrine which he taught. Deeply convinced of the truth of what he maintained, Patrick gladly embraced the opportunity of confessing and defending it before the most learned body in the kingdom. Upon his arrival at St Andrews, every thing was done to banish his suspicions, and to induce him to make a full disclosure of his sentiments; he was allowed to enjoy his liberty, was treated with respect, and different members of the university entered into conversation and dispute with him.

One of these was Alexander Ales, a canon of the metropolitan church of that city. He was a young man of promising talents, and well acquainted with scholastic learning; and, having turned his attention to the Lutheran controversy, flattered himself that he would be able to bring back Mr Hamilton to the bosom of the Catholic Church. But, instead of this, he was himself staggered by the reasonings of that gentleman, and still more by the constancy with which he saw him maintain his sentiments to the last, amidst the scorn, rage, and violence of his enemies. * An-

* Jacobi Thomasii Oratio de Alex. Alesio. Lipsiæ, 1683. Bayle, Dictionaire, article, *Ales.* In the following year Ales having preached a sermon against the vices of the priests, was brought into trouble; and in the year 1532, he fled into England, and embraced the Reformation. Upon the death of his patron, Cromwell, Earl of Essex, he went to Germany, and became professor of divinity in the university of Leipsic, where he died, anno 1565.

other person who had repeated conferences with him, was Alexander Campbell, prior of the Black Friars. The friar acknowledged that there were many things in the Church which stood in need of reformation, acquiesced in, and even applauded Hamilton's judgment in the greater part of the controverted articles. Yet such was his versatility, avarice, or cowardice, that he treacherously gave information to his enemies of the sentiments which he had heard from him, and even consented to become one of his judges.

When they had procured the wished-for information, according to a preconcerted plan, Mr Hamilton, while unsuspicious of danger, was seized at the dead hour of night, taken from bed, and carried into the castle. Next day he was presented before the archbishop and his council, and accused of maintaining a number of heretical and dangerous opinions, which were read in his presence. Being permitted to express his judgment respecting these articles, he boldly avowed, that "he held the first seven to be undoubtedly true," and offered to subscribe them; "the rest (he said, with a candour which made no impression upon his adversaries) were more disputable, but such as he could not condemn, unless better reasons were produced against them than he had yet heard." The articles owned by him are variously expressed in different accounts; the following are taken from the body of the sentence pronounced against him:—"That man hath no free will; that man is in sin so long as he liveth; that children incontinent after their baptism are sinners; that all Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace; that good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works; and that faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest." * After conversing with him for some time upon each of these articles, and finding him resolved not to renounce them, they re-

* Fox, p. 888. Keith, App. No. 2. Spottiswood, 63.—The greater part of these articles are explained and defended in a small treatise, written by him in Latin, and translated into English by John Firth.

mitted the question respecting heretical pravity to the doctors of divinity and of the canon law. Within a day or two, the primate held a solemn council in the cathedral church, assisted by the archbishop of Glasgow, and many other dignitaries of the Church; when the doctors presented their censure, subscribed by all their hands, finding the seven articles heretical. Upon this, the council passed sentence upon him as an obstinate heretic, "depriving him of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church;" and adjudging him "to be delivered over to the secular power to be punished, and his goods to be confiscate." This sentence having been drawn up, read, and pronounced, was subscribed by all the council; and, to give it the greater weight, the subscriptions of all persons of note who were in the place were procured; even the names of children were added.*

In the meantime, the primate had so managed, that the young king was absent on a pilgrimage to St Duthack in Ross-shire. Lest, at his return, he should prevent their designs, through favour to the Abbot of Ferne, a Hamilton, and a kinsman of his own, it was determined to carry the sentence into execution on the same day that it was passed. The secular judge having sentenced him to be committed to the flames, he was, on the afternoon of February 29, 1528, † led to the place of execution, at the gate of St Salvador's college, where a stake was fastened, with wood, coals, and other combustible materials piled around it.

Though cruelly deceived by his enemies, and hurried to

* The Earl of Cassilis being then only twelve years of age, was made to subscribe.—*Knox, Spottiswood.*

† Lambert says that he was executed "Pridie kalendas Martii;" Petrie says March 2; Spottiswood, March 1; Knox, the last of February. As these writers agree that he was executed on the same day that he was condemned, and as the last of February is the day mentioned in the sentence, this appears to be the true date. The discrepancy in the accounts may partly have arisen from its being leap-year. Beza, who is not very accurate in his dates as to Scottish affairs, erroneously dates his martyrdom in the year 1530. He also ascribes his death to David Beton (the cardinal), instead of James, his uncle and predecessor in the archiepiscopal see.

execution, Mr Hamilton was not unprepared for the awful hour. From the first time that he appeared before them, he perceived that they thirsted for his blood. During the interval between his apprehension and execution, he "possessed his soul in patience," and felt the support of the truth which he had confessed, and the presence of his God. And in "the fiery trial," he acted with such faith, meekness, constancy, and undaunted resolution, as to equal the most famed martyrs of primitive times.

Being come to the place where he was to suffer, he stripped himself of his gown, coat, and bonnet, and gave them to his servant who attended him, and had long slept in the same chamber with him, saying, "These will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee. After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which, I pray thee, bear in mind; for albeit it be bitter to the flesh, yet is it the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that deny Christ before this wicked generation. When he was bound to the stake, he exhibited no symptom of fear, but seriously commending his soul to God, he kept his eyes fixed towards heaven. The executioner set fire to the train of powder, which did not kindle the pile, but severely scorched the left hand and side of the martyr. In this situation he remained unmoved, until they went to the castle, and brought another quantity of powder, and materials more combustible. During this interval, the friars who were collected, molested him with their noisy speeches, calling out, "Convert, heretic; call upon our Lady, Salve Regina." He answered, "Depart, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan." Prior Campbell continuing to revile him as a heretic, he, with holy indignation, mingled with pity, addressed him: "Wicked man! thou knowest the contrary; to me thou hast confessed. I appeal thee before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ." The messengers having returned from the castle, the fire was now kindled. Amidst the noise of the flames, which burned with great vehemence, and the tumult of the people, he was distinctly heard to pronounce these last words:—"How long, O Lord,

shall darkness cover this realm! how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

In this manner did Patrick Hamilton finish his short but glorious career, in the 24th year of his age; having obtained of God the honour to be the first martyr to the reformed religion in Scotland. According to our limited views, we are ready to lament his untimely end, and to form conceptions of what might have been the fruit of the labours of such a man, if he had escaped the fury of his enemies. But He who "sees the end from the beginning," and whose wisdom leaves at a distance the thoughts of his people, and covers with confusion the best concerted schemes of his adversaries, judged otherwise. And when we form our judgment from the event, we cannot but perceive, that in the situation of Scotland at that time, nothing could have contributed so much to awaken the minds of men from that dead sleep in which they were sunk, and to spread the knowledge of the truth, as the death of this martyr. The flames in which he expired were, "in the course of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume, with avenging fury, the Catholic superstition, the Papal power, and even the Prelacy itself."* The constancy and patience with which he suffered, made a deep impression upon the spectators. The report of his execution, which quickly spread through the kingdom, excited many to inquire into the causes of his death, and produced discussions respecting his tenets, which were favourable to the truth, and led to a change of views. The opinion that he was a true martyr, was strongly corroborated by the death of Prior Campbell. The awful citation which he received from the dying servant of God, seized his conscience, and he died a short time after in a state of distraction and horror,—an example of divine judgment which could not fail to strike the most thoughtless and sceptical. Nor were the conferences and disputations in which Mr Hamilton was engaged at St Andrews fruitless; by these seed was sown in the university, which soon after made its

* Pinkerton.

appearance, and which all the violence and industry of the Papists could not eradicate.

Can we refrain from extolling the disinterested and heroic zeal wrought by the Spirit of God in the breast of this youthful martyr? When he left his native country, and repaired to a Protestant university, he relinquished, for the sake of the truth, all those fair prospects of worldly honour and affluence which solicited his hopes; and, on returning to Scotland, he "put his life in his hand," the only remaining pledge of his devotion to God, and love to his countrymen. He confided in the divine protection as long as he had any useful work to perform, and was willing to die as soon as the work allotted to him was finished. Such sacrifices must be made, such hazards must be run, in order to achieve deliverances the most advantageous to mankind. To make the attempt requires no ordinary degree of zeal and courage, no common impulse of the Spirit. The mere dictates of reason, the cold calculations of human prudence, must not, in such cases, be listened unto, or made the rule of action. Yet surely reason will not condemn, but rather applaud, such high degrees of virtue and piety as it cannot reach. Shall the soldier, who, at the command of his general, mounts the breach, and places himself in the forlorn hope;—shall he who, to turn the fate of a single battle, generously throws away his life,—be extolled as a hero? And shall the person who, in the cause of God and truth, exposes his life, by adventuring to attack the strongholds of superstition and spiritual despotism, to tear off the veil from damning delusion,—though at the risk of falling in the attempt, that he may incite others to a more successful enterprise;—shall he be derided and stigmatized as visionary and enthusiastical, and as dying like a fool? God forbid.

While the primate and his brethren had the mortification to find their conduct little approved by the nation, and condemned by the learned and good, they had the gloomy satisfaction of receiving a letter of congratulation on the occasion, from the University of Louvain, in which they praise them for "their excellent virtue," and "worthy

deed," in putting off that "wicked heretic." The "thing" itself, they say, was "commendable," and "the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant." * But justice has been done to the memory of Patrick Hamilton, while that of his murderers and their admirers has been justly loaded with execration. The principal of Marpurgh college dignifies him with the title of "The first and renowned apostle of the Scots." Beza says, that "he ennobled the royal race of the Hamiltons by the precious crown of martyrdom." And Pinkerton declares, that he received "the eternal fame of being the proto-martyr of the freedom of the human mind." †

* Fox, *ut supra*, p. 889.

† The same author says, that in the blood of Cardinal Beton was avenged the murder of Patrick Hamilton by his uncle and predecessor.

[Patrick Hamilton, though not the first Scotsman who suffered for opposing the tenets of the Church of Rome—there having been one or two instances of martyrdom for the truth in our country before his time—may be justly termed "the Proto-martyr of the Reformation in Scotland," inasmuch as he was the first who suffered in defence of the truth, after the Reformation had commenced. The above memoir contains nearly the whole authentic information which has been collected regarding this illustrious martyr. The style in which it is written will be observed to be much more easy and elegant than that of the two following memoirs; a circumstance which may be accounted for, partly from the nature of the subject, which more deeply interested the feelings of the author, and partly perhaps from his having been thrown more on his own resources in composing it, than in the other articles, which partake somewhat of the idiom of the Latin authorities from which he drew his information.—Ed.]

93796

LIFE OF FRANCIS LAMBERT

OF AVIGNON.*

In the Christian Church "there is neither Jew nor Greek," French, German, nor Scots; for they "are all one in Christ Jesus." The boundaries marked out by seas and rivers; the distinctions produced by diversity of language, laws, or manners, or even by external colour and shape; the antipathies excited by national prejudices, pride, ambition, and interest, —are either overlooked or swallowed up by the liberal and comprehensive spirit of Christianity. Whenever any one becomes a Christian, he is no longer to be regarded as "a stranger or foreigner," but as "a fellow-citizen with the saints," who, in every place, call on the name of the Lord. It must be allowed, that we feel a more lively interest in the characters and actions of those whose names are familiar to our ears, who spake the same language with ourselves, who lived, acted, and suffered in places which we know, have seen with our eyes, and can point out to others with the finger. We ought not, however, to regard as strange or foreign to us, the characters and lives of those who belonged to a different country; but be ready to adopt, in a higher sense, the words of a Roman poet,

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.

"I am a Christian, and I reckon not any thing foreign to me that concerns a Christian."

* From the Christian Magazine, Vol. X., February 1806.

Perhaps the unity of the visible Church was never more strikingly exhibited since the days of the apostles, than it was at the commencement of the Reformation. * They were engaged in the same cause, they had a common enemy, and they regarded and received one another as brethren. By epistolary correspondence, by travelling from place to place, by the kindly reception of those who fled from persecution, or came to inquire after the truth, they knew and took an interest in the affairs of one another, to which we are altogether strangers in the present state of the Protestant Churches. But, abstracting from such considerations, the subject of the following memoir has a claim upon our attention and regard, from the tender affection he bore to Patrick Hamilton, and the instrumentality which he had in forming the views of that illustrious person who first brought the light of the reformed Gospel to Scotland. †

FRANCIS LAMBERT was born in the year 1487, in Avignon, a celebrated city in France, situated near the river Rhone, upon the confines of the Alps, which divide France from Italy.‡ His father, who was of Burgundian extraction,

* "Quanta et quam constans concordia animorum," &c. (says a celebrated writer): "How great and how constant was the concord and conjunction of soul, at Wittenberg, between Luther and Melancthon; in Switzerland, between Zuinglius and Ecolampadius, and afterwards between Bullinger, Martyr, &c.; in the territory of Geneva, between Calvin, Farel, and Viret; in France, between Faber of Estaples and the Ruffi; at Strasburgh, between Bucer, Capito, Hedio, Gryneus; between Cranmer, who promoted the work of God in England, and Knox, the Reformer of Scotland, and between Calvin and the Helvetian divines; in the Palatine, between Ursin and Olevian! What eminent ministers of Jesus Christ! Yet in these teachers of different regions, and many others who were their contemporaries, whose names I here pass over, not only the same zeal in the cause of God, but mutual fraternal love did burn, without emulation or envy; if we except the more violent attack of Luther upon Zuinglius, who, however, appeared to be reconciled to him at the conference of Marpurgh. But, among the rest, and many other illustrious persons, there subsisted a concord, which was not only wonderful, but, to speak the truth, divine."—*Vitringa in Apocalypsin*, p. 199. Not.

† See Life of Patrick Hamilton.

‡ A short account of the life of Lambert was published by two German

was secretary of the Pontifical legation and apostolic palace; Avignon having been for some time a residence of the Popes. He died when his son was very young.

The sovereignty and power of divine grace are often very conspicuous in its operation upon the minds of those who are placed in situations most unfavourable to religious impressions, whose knowledge is small, and even clouded with error or superstition. From early youth, Lambert was deeply impressed with a sense of religion; and afterwards, when his knowledge was greatly increased, and he had frankly renounced his former errors, he could not deny the work of the Spirit of Christ on his mind at this period. Being desirous to devote himself to religious meditation and practice, he, in the fifteenth year of his age, entered a Franciscan monastery of the order of Minorites, called Observants, at Avignon. His youthful mind was imposed upon by the exterior show of humility and sanctity which these monks assumed. He expected to be associated with persons who, having retired from the world, were wholly occupied with religion, "prayer all their business, all their pleasure praise." But how was he disappointed to find, that under a sanctimonious garb and outward carriage, were concealed all the passions and vices of men of the world! Let us hear his own words, in a writing which he afterwards published, assigning his reasons for relinquishing the order. "I admired their decent dress, their humble countenance, their downcast eyes, the delightful expressions of feigned piety which they uttered, their naked feet. I praised the gravity of their gesture, their slow step, their folded arms, and their exquisite and finished mode of preaching. I was ignorant of the heart of the wolf which lay concealed under the clothing of the sheep. But God, in his deep counsel, willed that I should be deceived by men, that I might dis-

authors. A number of particulars respecting him are to be found in the histories of Seckendorf and Gerdesius. Where no authorities are mentioned in this memoir, the facts are taken from, and depend upon, the authorities produced by Schoelhorn, in his *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. iv. p. 307, 309.

cover the reality of what was so much applauded; nor do I doubt that, by the providence of God, I was received into their society, and seduced by their artifice, that, in discovering the truth, I might be able to make public the abominations hid within these whited sepulchres."

During the period of his noviciate, the real state of the monastery was carefully concealed from him; but when he had professed and taken on the vows, they no longer used the same reserve or secrecy. Upon making the discovery, it is impossible (he tells us) to describe the grief and anguish of mind which he continued to feel; doomed as he was to live among men who vexed his soul with their unrighteous deeds, and then derided the concern which they had caused. Being appointed to the public ministry of the Word, as soon as they found that he preached in a way opposite to their wishes, they violently opposed him. "The people," says he, "heard the Word of God, and received it with avidity; but these, like deaf adders that stop their ears, refused to hear the word of the Highest." Yet such was his reputation, that after some years he was appointed Apostolical Preacher.* This, though a laborious office, as it was conscientiously and painfully discharged by him, was an unspeakable relief to him, as it gave him an opportunity of being frequently absent from the convent.

After being fatigued with constant preaching during a number of months, he was accustomed to return to the monastery. "On such occasions," says he, "evil speeches, injuries, revilings, were my daily food." In the year 1518, while he preached in a certain city of France, the people were deeply impressed with his doctrine, and, as an evidence of their repentance, brought forth the pictures, chartels, and other instruments of superstition, by which they had been encouraged to continue in sin, that they might be committed to the flames. One of the preachers of Papal indulgences greatly opposed him; but he exposed so con-

* An Apostolical Preacher in the Romish Church does not receive this title from the Apostolical or Papal see, but is so called, because he is appointed to go about like the apostles, and preach the Gospel every where.

vincingly the wicked arts of this impostor, that the magistrates condemned and expelled him from the city. When he came to the houses of those who entertained the Minorites, and knew that they were notorious whoremongers, usurers, or injurious persons, he was accustomed secretly to reprove and counsel them. This the friars loudly condemned, "for they dreaded more," says he, "the loss of one supper, than the damnation of their hosts."

It would be tedious to rehearse the different instances of persecution which our young divine suffered, and his struggles to exoner his conscience in the situation in which he found himself. Wearied out with opposition, he wished to enter among the Carthusians. "I was afraid," says he, "to return to the common society of men, lest I should be a stumbling-block to those extensive regions in which I had preached the Gospel. I flattered myself, that though I could not preach the Gospel in peace, I might be allowed to profit men by my writings. But this also was an illusion of Satan."

The monks, having found some of Luther's writings in his possession, seized upon them, and having condemned them as heretical, caused them to be burned in the capital of the province. A short time after this, Lambert left France; and, having gone into Germany, he openly renounced the monkish order. Lambert left the convent, anno 1522, in the 35th year of his age, having spent 20 years under the monastic habit. Lest his enemies should seize him, or make an attempt upon his life, he was obliged to assume in public the name of John Serran.

Before going into Germany, he continued for some time in Switzerland. Wherever he came, he preached as often as he had opportunity, and conversed with all the learned with whom he met, desiring to increase his knowledge. Sebastian de Montfaucon, bishop and prince of Lausanne, heard him with approbation, and defended him against his adversaries. Having gone to Berne, he conversed with Berchthold Haller, who, at his desire, gave him a letter of introduction to Zuinglius at Zurich. Haller, in this letter,

mentions that Lambert's sentiments were not in every point scriptural, but that in many articles he had made proficiency, which, "considering that he was a Franciscan, an Observant, and a Frenchman, was wonderful." Zuinglius gladly received him. Lambert, in a sermon which he preached at Zurich, taught, among other things, the invocation of saints. Zuinglius affirmed that he was in an error. Upon this, a conference was appointed between them, in which Lambert, overcome by the force of truth, confessed his error, and, with folded hands, publicly gave thanks to God. *

Immediately after he reached Germany, he published to the world his reasons for renouncing the monastic order. This publication concludes in the following manner:—"I revoke what I have preached any where, which does not thoroughly agree with the simplicity of the sacred Gospel. I beseech all who have heard my sermons, or read my writings, to reject whatever in them may be discordant with the truth now revealed. And I trust that he who hath brought me out from captivity worse than Egyptian, will enable me, by future writings, abundantly to repair all my errors. I renounce the Pope as antichrist, and all his decrees, not wishing to be a partaker of his apostate kingdom; and am willing to be excommunicated from it, as I am persuaded it is excommunicated and accursed of God."

Coming to Isenac in the end of 1522, he expounded the Gospel according to John, and exhibited, for disputation, certain positions concerning confession, satisfaction, clerical matrimony, &c., which greatly provoked the priests, but contributed to the progress of the Reformation. In January 1523, he came to Wittenberg, where he was kindly received by Luther, who entertained him in his house for a considerable time, and afterwards applied in his behalf to the Elector of Saxony, through Spalatinus, his chaplain and counsellor. The letter which he wrote on this occasion shows the high regard which he had for the man:—"There is with me at present John Serran, whose real name is Francis Lambert,

* Gerdes. Hist. Evang. Reform., tom. i. pp. 277, 278.

who, by persecution, is reduced to exile and poverty. Concerning the integrity of the man there is no doubt. Although we have abundance of lecturers, yet, if possible, I would not have him dismissed. He pleases me in every respect, and, as far as can be judged of any man, I think him worthy of being supported in his exile. But you know my circumstances do not put it in my power to do this. It is my opinion, that the prince should be advised, in the love of Christ, to settle 20 or 30 florins upon him, until such time as he can be supported by his countrymen, or his own labours." He was accordingly provided for, first by Spalatinus, and afterwards by the Elector.

Lambert did not waste his time in idleness at Wittenberg. It was matter of great grief to him, that, from ignorance of the German language, he could not preach to the people. But he expounded the Scriptures in Latin to the students who attended him; and as soon as he finished a book, he printed his commentary upon it, first in Latin, and afterwards in French. This last he did with the view of disseminating the doctrine of the Gospel in his native country, the reformation of which he ardently wished. It was not long before the fruit of his labours, in this respect, began to appear. His publications, which were sent to different places in France, diffused the knowledge of the truth, which was received with avidity by many, particularly in those places where he had travelled as apostolical preacher.

In the year 1524, he received an invitation from a number of persons in Metz, a city of Lorraine in France, to visit them, and preach the Gospel there, urging, that there was a promising prospect of success, although much opposition might be expected. For such an opening he had anxiously waited, and was prepared to risk his life in the attempt. But, upon consulting Luther and Melancthon, they strenuously dissuaded him from it; they urged that he was already settled in a sphere of usefulness; that it was not his duty to leave it on such a precarious design; that so great were the fury and power of the adversaries of the

Gospel in that country, that he could not expect to obtain liberty to preach, or to escape with his life. These arguments, though they staggered, did not satisfy his mind. He felt a strong inclination to preach the word of life in France; he was afraid to resist the call of his countrymen. His mind was greatly distracted, and sleep departed from him. At last he had recourse to the lot, which he looked upon as a method of obtaining the decision of heaven in extraordinary and important occasions, and upon this left Wittenberg, and repaired to Metz. But let us hear him giving an account of the matter in his own words, in an apology to the Elector of Saxony:—"Perhaps you were displeased that I, about a year ago, left your territory, in opposition to the advice of all my friends, and without first consulting your excellency, then at Nuremberg. But whosoever is angry with me, let him, I pray, be angry, and not sin. Verily God called and commanded me to leave Wittenberg, and go to Metz, and, in the event of their not permitting me to preach Christ there, to repair to Strasburg, or some other city of Germany, bordering upon France, that I might be near to my brethren, and ready to give them assistance, until I should be called elsewhere. The command of God was urgent; I durst not for a moment delay complying with it; I could have had no rest in resisting it. It did not proceed from contempt or ingratitude towards your Highness. God forbid."

The people of Metz received him with joy; the magistrates of the city were friendly to him; but the inquisitors and monks raged against him, excited an insurrection, and would have thrown him into prison, had not the senators interposed. He found himself obliged to leave Metz, and retired to Strasburg, where he encouraged the friends of the truth by his writings. Though disappointed of his expectations at Metz, he was not discouraged. The Word of God was not bound. After mentioning the martyrdom of John Castellan, who had been a preacher in that city, he says, "God fought with him against his enemies, and, in the place of one, has raised up a thousand. And if they shall

also kill me, and Christ shall think me worthy of the glory of martyrdom, ten thousand shall rise up in my room."

Such was the fame of Lambert's piety and talents, that the Landgrave of Hesse sent for him to assist in promoting the reformation of religion within his dominions. He was present at a synod assembled by that prince at Homberg in 1526, drew up the propositions to be disputed, and was chosen to defend them in the Latin tongue, as Adam Crato did in the German, before an immense multitude of people, gathered from all parts of Hesse. Only two persons appeared to oppose them, who, immediately after the dispute, left the country. In 1527, he was made principal of the newly erected college at Marpurgh, in which station he laboured with indefatigable industry until his death, forming the minds of many for the ministry, and diffusing the knowledge of the Scriptures by his writings.

One of the last public acts of his life, was his attendance upon the conference held at Marpurgh in 1529, between the Saxon and Helvetian divines, at which Luther and Zuinglius, with many other eminent men, were present. This was procured chiefly by the zealous exertions of the Landgrave, with the view of settling the differences among the Protestants, occasioned by their discordant sentiments respecting the Eucharist. On this occasion, Lambert gave a striking display of that candour and love of truth, for which he had been always distinguished. Before this, he had been inclined to the sentiments of Luther upon the subject, and lay under great obligations to that reformer. But he resolved (as he afterwards wrote to a friend) "to seek the truth, and to regard, not by whom this or that should be spoken, but what should be spoken." Accordingly, being convinced by the arguments of Zuinglius and his friends, he embraced that side of the question, and persevered in its maintenance. *

* Some Lutheran writers have called in question this fact. But it is sufficiently authenticated. The Landgrave said to a Silesian gentleman, "that some thought that the Marpurgh conference had been of no advantage; but they were mistaken, for both he and his divine, Francis Lambert, had, by means of it, embraced the true doctrine of the Eucharist." The

In the year 1530, Lambert was seized with the plague, or, as some writers assert, with the English sweating sickness, which then raged at Marpurgh, and died greatly regretted, as he had lived esteemed, both by the Saxon and Helvetian divines. He was, says Schoolhorn, "a man pious, learned, laborious, of the most ardent zeal for propagating the truth, and, while tossed from place to place by reverses of fortune, studying to do good to all by pen, lip, and life." And Wiseman, a celebrated Lutheran writer, gives him this character: "fervid, ingenious, intrepid, and endued with a deep sense of religion, as his acts and writings testify."

As the Reformation derived advantage chiefly from the writings of Lambert, it may be proper to mention his principal works, particularly his commentaries upon Scripture. He published a commentary upon Luke, printed at Wittenberg, anno 1523; a commentary upon marriage, Norinberg, 1525;* upon the Song of Solomon, 1525; upon the vocation of the faithful, the vocation of the ministry, and Matthias by lot, &c., a collection of almost all things theological; a commentary upon Hosea; upon Joel; upon Amos; Obadiah and Jonah; upon Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, —all printed in 1526; upon Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; upon prophecy, learning, &c., 1526; of the causes of the blindness of many ages; an exposition of the Apocalypse, 1528; besides some other works which he published under the name of John Serran.

The writings of Lambert had the honour of appearing in the Popish *Indices Expurgatorii*, and they are mentioned in a list of books prohibited in England, together with the New Testament, in the year 1529. †

divines at Strasburgh are said to have suppressed a letter which Lambert had written on the subject.—*Hottinger. Hist. Sacrament.*, ii. p. 80. *Gerdessi. Histor.*, tom. ii. 165, comp. 216. Micrelius (a Lutheran author) enumerates "Franciscus Lambertus" among the divines of the Reformed Church.—*Syntagm. Eccles. Histor.*, part iii. p. 426.

* This was occasioned by his entering into the matrimonial life, contrary to the rules of the Popish church as to clergymen.

† Fox's Acts and Monuments, pp. 928, 929, edit. 1596.

LIFE OF DR ANDREW RIVET.*

With the numerous writings of this eminent divine, the learned of different countries have long been acquainted. They have been deservedly held in great esteem in Britain, although none of them have been translated into the English language. The particulars of his life, and of his godly and most edifying death, are less generally known. The following account, drawn from the most authentic sources, may not therefore be unacceptable, or altogether useless. If some parts of it concern more immediately the scholar and the divine, in others the Christian will find himself interested.

The family of Rivet, originally from Orthes, settled in St Maixant, a city of the Province of Poitou in France, towards the end of the fifteenth century. William, the grandfather of our divine, had three sons, James, Andrew, and John. These, together with their father, embraced the reformed doctrine when it began to spread in France, and persevered in their adherence to it, notwithstanding all the severities to which this exposed them; a laudable example, which was long followed by their posterity. The descendants of the two oldest sons continued to occupy respectable and even honourable stations in their native country. The youngest, John, married, in 1566, Catherine Cardel, daughter of James Cardel, Lord of Morinieres, a person respectable for his rank and talents, and who, though he never separated from

* From the Christian Magazine, Vol. IX., October 1805.

the Church of Rome, was favourable to the cause of the Reformed. The young lady had, before her marriage, openly espoused the doctrines of the Reformation, and was a woman of a superior mind, adorned with many virtues, and eminently pious. She bore her husband three sons, Andrew (the subject of this memoir), John, and William. Their second son, John, a youth of great hopes, died prematurely, while he was successfully prosecuting his philosophical studies in Scotland. The youngest, William, after he had studied in France, Scotland, and at the University of Leyden, was ordained pastor at Taillebourgh, in the province of Saintonge. He enjoyed the esteem of the reformed churches in general, and of those of his own province in a high degree, and lived to an advanced age, having survived, for a considerable time, his eldest brother, of whom we now proceed to speak more particularly. *

ANDREW RIVET was born at St Maixant on the 22d of June 1572. By a dangerous fall which he received in his infancy, through the carelessness of a servant, his life was for some time despaired of. Struck with the danger, his pious mother devoted him to God, promising, in concurrence with her husband, that, if his life was spared, he should be educated for the sacred ministry; and, with a view to this, both of them often poured out the most fervent prayers and tears for the divine blessing upon him. Many are now become so enlightened as to despise all such exercise as this, and condemn parents for setting apart in their intentions, or training their children to the ministry; yet it is undeniable, that many who have been eminently useful in the public service of the Church, have been thus early devoted; and it rather appears, that parents do therein act a dutiful part, while their resolutions and promises are formed and prosecuted with submission to the arrangements of Providence,

* Mr William Rivet was the author of several works. He wrote a treatise "De Libertate Ecclesiastica," another, "De Convivio Sapientiæ," and some tracts against Veronus, besides an apologetical epistle against Amyrald, printed in his brother's works.—*Andr. Riveti Opera*, tom. iii., Dedicatio.

and with a view to those gifts which the Head of the Church may be pleased to bestow.*

After being taught the first principles of the Latin tongue in his native city, young Rivet was put under the care of Monsieur Blacher, minister of St Gelais, with whom he not only made great proficiency in Latin and Greek, but also acquired some knowledge of Hebrew. Being deprived of this teacher by the persecution which then raged, he returned to St Maixant, and was taught by Adam Newton, a Scotsman, who, returning to his native country, was made tutor to Prince Henry, eldest son of King James. † After his removal, being discountenanced by the master on account of his religion, Rivet went to Rochelle, where he studied under the following masters :—Philip Birgam, Professor of Hebrew; Peter Martin, Professor of Philosophy; and Peter Rose, Professor of Eloquence. Having a strong desire to visit foreign universities, he meant to have gone to St Andrews, in Scotland, which at that time flourished under the care of the celebrated Andrew Melville; but the fame of the University of Orthes, in Bearn, which the King of Navarre had recently founded, attracted him. When young men rise from the languages to the study of the higher branches, few of them carry along with them that diligence and ardour which are requisite for prosecuting them. On the contrary, having escaped from their former restraints as from a prison, they often spend the liberty which they now feel in idleness or in dissipation. The plan pursued in the University of Orthes was calculated to prevent this evil. Besides the public professors, there were two teachers, who met with the young men every forenoon and afternoon, to repeat the instructions of the professors, over and above the examination and disputation. John Josion was at this time Professor of Logic and Ethics; Alexander Blair, ‡ of Physics and Meta-

* [The reader may be reminded by this of a similar incident recorded in the Life of Dr M'Crie, p. 5.—Ed.]

† This was the person whom King James employed to translate Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent into Latin.

‡ During the sixteenth century, Scotsmen were to be found as tutors in most of the principal schools on the Continent.

physics. So successfully did young Rivet prosecute his studies under these professors, that in 1589 he was admitted Bachelor of Arts; and in the following year he attained, not without applause from a numerous audience, the highest degree in philosophy.

Having gone through this course of preparation in secular learning, he entered upon the particular study of divinity, to which, like another Samuel, he had been early devoted, and with a view to which all his studies had been conducted. He could with ease read the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New in Greek. What was more, he began to feel a profound devotion for the Scriptures, and an ardent thirst for becoming acquainted with their contents. He studied divinity under the celebrated Lambert Danæus. When he had attended his lectures two years, the academy being broken up by the violence of the Papists, he was forced to separate from his beloved teacher, and returned to Rochelle. Here his fame reached the Duke of Tremouille, who, being desirous of securing him for his church at Touars, employed the Rev. Francis L'Oyseau, his chaplain, to speak to his parents, and actually allowed him the amount of the stipend during the remaining period of his studies. John Baptista Rotan, a divine of the University of Heidelberg, a disciple and acquaintance of Zanchius, acted at this time as pastor and professor at Rochelle. Pleased with the abilities and application of Rivet, he encouraged the young divine by private advices, and spoke highly in his commendation to others. As an evidence of the ardour with which he prosecuted his preparation for the ministry, it is mentioned, that besides performing the ordinary exercises prescribed to the students, he associated with some of the more advanced, who met four times a-week, and by turns delivered private discourses among themselves, by which he acquired a habit of composition, together with a readiness of expression.

The church of Touars, being now destitute of a pastor, earnestly pressed his license. In consequence of their solicitations, he appeared before the Synod of Niort. So youthful was his appearance, that some of the ministers entertained scruples about proceeding; but such was the uncommon

satisfaction which he gave on his trials, that with the utmost unanimity he was judged worthy of the ministry by the whole of that large and respectable body. He was accordingly ordained, at Touars, on the 24th of March 1595, in the 23d year of his age; Mons. St Joyeuse, minister of Nerac, presiding on the occasion.

Having obtained a settlement in the Church, Rivet did not relax in the prosecution of his studies. "He did not act like many theologians," says Monsieur Dauber, in a funeral oration pronounced after his death, "who fix this as the goal of their exertions, and having attained it, become solicitous about an advantageous marriage, and then give themselves up to indolence, without being concerned about adorning the spouse of Christ, or rendering themselves more fit for preaching the Gospel of Christ." Nor was he even satisfied with what many good men make the summit of their ambition, the promoting of the good of their own church; although this is no small or illaudable object. The views of Rivet were still more enlarged. The charge upon which he had entered was indeed onerous, and difficult for a young man of twenty-three. In a numerous congregation, in a city which was the capital of the dukedom of Touars, where he had for auditors the Duke de la Tremouille and his court, he preached thrice every Lord's day, besides the performance of other parts of ministerial duty. But his desire was not merely to discharge these duties with diligence and approbation, but to advance the general interests of the Church at large. For this end he laboured to qualify himself to become an able champion of the truth. Nor did he want means for accomplishing this. The Duke de la Tremouille, his generous patron, directed Monsieur L'Oyseau to order a Parisian bookseller to purchase the best authors among the Greek and Latin fathers, and made a present of them to Rivet. Encouraged by this aid, he made a judicious division of his time between his pastoral functions and other studies, which he prosecuted with renewed ardour. He examined with accuracy all the controversies of the age, extracted the opinions of adversaries in their own words, and rendered himself

so familiar with the writings of the chief fathers of the Church, that he could produce them when necessary for silencing those who boasted of their authority. In all his controversies with the Papists, his superiority in this point is conspicuous. He did not confine his reading to theological writings; but, by an acquaintance with the most approved authors on different subjects, he increased his stock of knowledge, drew from them what was adapted to his subject, and was enabled to display a varied erudition in all his works. But he applied himself principally to the study of the sacred writings, and neglected nothing which was necessary for ascertaining and illustrating their meaning.

Monsieur L'Oyseau had, since his settlement at Touars, acted the part of a father to our young divine, who, in his turn, entertained for him the affection and reverence of a son. Their friendship was cemented by a marriage, which he now contracted, with the perfect approbation of his parents, with Susanna, the amiable daughter of this venerable pastor. * By this marriage he had four sons. During the first years of his settlement at Touars, public affairs were much embroiled, and his studies and domestic security were more than once interrupted; but an end was put to their troubles by the pacification at Nantz in 1598.

The uncommon diligence of our divine, joined with great piety, acuteness, and solidity of judgment, excited in all who knew him high expectations of his future usefulness. The province of Poitou were the first to recognise this; and when he was yet in his 28th year, they selected him, with others, to answer the writings of the adversaries. To this appointment we owe several of those publications with which he afterwards favoured the public. In the Provincial Synod he was often employed as secretary and president. He was deputed to the National Synod of France, anno 1601. Of this venerable assembly he was five times a member, thrice he was chosen secretary, and once president. In the Acts

* He had been pastor of Nantz, which he was forced by persecution to leave, but he was shortly after this restored to his flock.—*Quick's Synodicon*, i. 225.

of the National Synod which met at Tonneins, anno 1614, we find the following resolution:—"This Assembly approving the labours of Mr Andrew Rivet, pastor of the church of Touars, and particularly those learned works of his published against the adversaries of the truth, gave him their thanks for them; and, as a testimony of that love and honour they bear him, do give him the sum of six hundred livres out of the common stock of all the churches." * By the Synod which met at Vitre, anno 1617, he was nominated, along with Messrs Chamier, Chauve, and Moulin, three luminaries of the French Church, to concert measures for promoting a correspondence with all orthodox Churches, and effecting a closer union among them.† Next year, when he with the same persons were on their way to assist at the Synod of Dort, they were stopped by a prohibition issued out by Louis XIII.‡ The second Synod of Vitre, anno 1617, appointed Mr Rivet to compose a history of the French Churches; and those nominated to collect materials in each province were enjoined to remit them to him. He excused himself to the Synod of Alez 1620, for not performing this task, as the memorials from the provinces had not been communicated unto him.§ His removal from France hindered the prosecution of this valuable undertaking.

Such was the opinion which they entertained of Rivet's sagacity and integrity, that the Duke de la Tremouille, and the celebrated Philip Morney, Lord du Plessis, the Governor of Saumur, consulted him on the most important affairs respecting the political security of the Protestants in France. In the year 1610, he accompanied the delegates who were sent from the Protestants to the Court upon the succession of Louis XIII., and was appointed to deliver an oration in their name to the Queen-mother, Mary of Medicis, in which he spoke with a mingled freedom and caution, which commanded the praises of the Duke D'Espernon and other courtiers, although it was not very pleasing to the Cardinals who

* Quick's *Synodicon*, i. 417. † Ibid., p. 499.

‡ Ibid., clxiii., comp. Dauberi Oratio Funebris in Rivetum.

§ Ibid., i. 480; ii. 10.

were present. He was present at a General Council of all ranks of the Reformed in France, which met at Saumur in 1611; and a Convention in the province of Poitou, which met in 1616, of which he was elected vice-president. In such assemblies the public good is not so much hurt by the adoption of wrong measures through inadvertence and mistake, which may be corrected by experience and future opportunities, as by the entrance of party-spirit, and a regard to private interest. On these occasions, Mr Rivet exerted himself to prevail upon all to study the common advantage of the body, and discouraged and steadily refused to join with those who wished to form parties, with the view of promoting their own interests. His remonstrances at the Convention of Saumur against this evil were remembered afterwards, when a remedy could not be so easily applied.

The fame of Rivet had now spread into foreign countries; and the States of Holland determined, if possible, to obtain him for the University of Leyden, which they had resolved to fill with the most learned teachers that they could procure. Upon application to the Provincial Synod of Poitou, seconded by the influence of Maurice, Prince of Orange, with the Duke of Tremouille, the States, not without difficulty, obtained a grant, with the consent of the church of Touars, that Mr Rivet should go to Leyden for a limited time. After the labours of twenty-five years among them with singular acceptance, he was dismissed, with many tears, by his own flock and his brethren in the ministry. His Excellency the Prince of Orange, and the curators of the university, wrote to the National Synod, which met at Alez 1620, for a prolongation of the term of his continuance, which the Synod granted, out of the high respect which they had for that illustrious prince, and their desire for an entire union with the churches of the Netherlands. The application was renewed at the Synod of Charenton 1623, when he was allowed to continue some time longer. It was not until 1631 that they yielded to his permanent establishment in Holland; such was the estimation in which he was held by the church of Touars, the province of Poitou, and

the whole Synod. During this time various attempts were made to settle him in the Universities of Saumur or Montauban.*

The qualifications requisite for filling the pulpit and the academical chair are different, and many who have occupied the former with usefulness and high acceptance, have been found unfit for the latter. The active part of Dr Rivet's life was almost equally divided between the two, and it is hard to say for which of them he was best qualified. If, during his pastoral incumbency, he had a regular opportunity of addressing a multitude immediately upon the concerns of their precious souls, and of assisting the ecclesiastical councils in his native country; on the other hand, in his academical station he was serviceable to all the churches, by training up for the ministry the youth who flocked from the different parts of Europe to Leyden; while the learned leisure which he enjoyed enabled him to plan, compose, and publish those works, by which he, being dead, yet speaketh. It was his happiness to be associated at Leyden with colleagues distinguished for piety, learning, and zeal for the truth, with whom he lived in habits of the closest friendship and unity, so that he was accustomed to say with particular satisfaction in his old age, that there never had been any strife or contention, or the slightest jar among them. The names of John Polyander, Anthony Thysius, Anthony Walæus, James Trigland, and Frederic Spanheim, are still associated with that of Andrew Rivet, and will long be remembered and mentioned with respect by those acquainted with their writings.

About the time of his removal to Holland, Dr Rivet was visited with severe domestic affliction. He lost his father, a venerable old man of eighty-one years of age; a few weeks afterwards, he was deprived of his beloved wife, whom he was forced to leave behind him at Touars, until she should recruit her strength, greatly reduced by frequent attacks of colic. This double loss affected him deeply; he felt himself reduced to a state of solitude in a strange country, burdened

* Quick, ii. 43, 112, 217, 288.

with the care of four male children, and distracted with domestic affairs, at the commencement of his professorship, the labours of which required the whole man. But his piety, and particularly his sense of the important duties of his station, overcame his feelings. That he might disengage himself from the cares of the family, he, the following year, married Mary Moulin, widow of Anthony des Guyots, a military officer of rank, the daughter of the Rev. Joachim Moulin, pastor of Orleans, and sister of the celebrated Peter du Moulin, pastor and professor at Sedan, a most accomplished and virtuous lady, with whom he lived nearly thirty years with the greatest comfort. It is mentioned, as an instance of his strict attention to his academical duties, that on this occasion he did not go beyond sea until the commencement of the anniversary vacation, and returned with his spouse before the time of renewing the lectures.

Being appointed by Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, to oversee the education of his son and heir, William, Dr Rivet removed from Leyden to the Hague in the year 1631. Though this necessarily caused an intermission of his academical exercises, he was continued honorary professor, and by his writings and attention to the welfare of the university, he was careful that this should not be a nominal title. Under the tuition of such a master, the prince, who was a youth of genius and amiable dispositions, made such proficiency, and exhibited such early proofs of wisdom, as excited the hopes, not only of Holland, but of the reformed world in general.

In 1641, Rivet accompanied the court of the Hague to London as domestic chaplain, on occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I. When he was formerly in England upon his own marriage, he was graciously received by King James; and such was the respect in which he was held, that Charles I., on the present occasion, presented him with his picture, together with a golden chain of great value. At this time, the affairs of religion were greatly embroiled in England, in consequence of the high hierarchical measures of Archbishop

Laud and his party, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to obtrude the liturgic worship and ceremonies upon Scotland, and laboured to spread Arminianism and Popery in England. The nation called loudly for reformation of religious, as well as of civil abuses; and various petitions were presented to the English Parliament for the abolition of Episcopacy, and other grievances. Dr Rivet made it his business to investigate the true state of matters, and the ground of the dissatisfactions. He was intimately acquainted with Archbishop Usher; Williams, Archbishop of York; and Morton, Bishop of Durham. These prelates acknowledged to him, that the Church of England stood in need of reformation, and professed their great dissatisfaction with the proceedings of Laud, who was then in prison. They consulted with him as to the best method of restoring peace to the distracted Church. They wished to adopt a middle plan between the discipline of Holland and England, acknowledging, that the latter was lax, but alleging that the former was too rigid. In doctrine, they, and particularly Bishop Usher, professed a cordial agreement with their brethren in Holland. During the time that Dr Rivet was in London, Messrs Henderson, Baillie, and Rutherford were also there, attending upon the Commissioners of Scotland for a treaty between the two kingdoms. They had several meetings with him, which were to their mutual satisfaction. "We have met at length sometimes with Dr Rivet," says Mr Baillie; "he is fully in our minds, and against the bishops." * Some years afterwards, when the Assembly of Divines at Westminster were labouring, against manifold opposition, to bring the Church of England to a nearer conjunction and uniformity with the Reformed Churches, some of their enemies endeavoured to prepossess the mind of Dr Rivet against them by false aspersions. Of this Mr Baillie complains to Mr Spang, minister of the Scots congregation at Campvere in Holland, in a letter, dated June 28, 1644. "Certainly Mr Rivet is very ill informed. As I am an honest man, I never heard man, privately or publicly, speak

* Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 295.

either of his person, or any of his writs, but with honour: if he or any there will give ear to all that is written from London at this time, they will wrong themselves. That of burning his, or any other divine's book over seas, is a malignant calumny." And in a subsequent letter he says, "I did assure you of the great falsehood of the informations which came to Dr Rivet." *

In the year 1646, our divine was placed at the head of the Orange College, which his Highness, Prince William, had newly founded and endowed in the city of Breda. In this station he continued until his death.

Though removed from France, Dr Rivet continued to take a lively interest in the affairs of the Reformed Churches of his native country. We need not therefore wonder that he did not remain an indifferent observer of the disputes concerning universal grace, which were excited among them, and by which they were so much divided and weakened. The seeds of the new doctrine were sown while Mr Rivet was in France, by Mr Cameron, a Scotsman, who was first minister at Bourdeaux, and afterwards Professor of Divinity at Saumur, a man possessed of a quick and subtle genius, of great reading, considerable eloquence, and very insinuating in his manners; but greatly addicted to his own opinions, and fond of novelty in his views of doctrine, and explications of Scripture.† His opinions took root, particularly in the University of Saumur; and two of his scholars, Amyrald and Testard, publicly circulated them in their discourses and writings. They did not deny, that by the purpose of God, and the death of Christ, the salvation of a certain number was secured; but they taught, that there was an antecedent decree, or purpose of God, to give salvation to all mankind through Jesus Christ, if they believed on him;

* Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 29, 34.

† Dr Cameron was called home, by King James, about the year 1622, and made Principal of the College of Glasgow, in the room of Mr Boyd of Trochrig, with the view of promoting conformity to the Articles of Perth, lately enjoined. He attempted to disseminate his new views in that university also.—See *Memoirs of Mr Robert Blair*, pp. 40, 41.

and that, in the same sense, Christ died for all mankind. This doctrine is substantially the same with that which was attempted to be revived in this country about the middle of the last century. In following out this opinion, Amyrald advanced a number of untenable and dangerous propositions, as to the means of salvation enjoyed by the heathen (teaching that there was a faith which might be derived from the works of creation and providence), and also as to the imputation of Adam's sin.

Mr Rivet was far from being satisfied with the opinions of Cameron; yet, from the strong manner in which he asserted the efficacy of Christ's death as to the elect, and from a regard to his talents, and the peace of the Church, he was willing that he should be treated with lenity, and exerted himself for this purpose. He did not even give a decided negative to a proposal that he should be settled as colleague with Cameron in the University of Saumur. But afterwards, when Amyrald taught more avowedly and boldly the sentiments of his master, he became sensible of the extent and dangerous nature of the evil. In the meantime, the new opinions continued to spread in France, and produced great agitation. Dr Rivet, who was now in Holland, was repeatedly urged by his French acquaintances to declare his sentiments upon the controversy, and to vindicate the doctrine received in the Reformed Churches. Hearing that the cause was to come before the National Synod at Alenson, anno 1637, he, in compliance with these solicitations, drew up a "Synopsis of doctrine, concerning Nature and Grace, drawn from the writings of Amyrald and Testard, with Reflections," which he sent to the Synod, with the approbation of the divines of the University of Leyden, Groningen, and Franequer. This treatise, which is published among the author's works, may justly be pointed out as a specimen of the most candid and pacific controversy. He first states distinctly, from their writings, and often in their own words, the sentiments of the patrons of the new doctrine, on the different articles which were controverted. Secondly, he separates, and mentions with due commendation, those

things in which they did not recede from the orthodox doctrine. He then more particularly points out those things in which they departed from the common doctrine, shows briefly the invalidity of their arguments, their inconsistency with other sentiments to which they still professedly adhered, and that all their refinements did not free the doctrine of predestination and grace from the objections alleged against it, or satisfy the adversaries. This treatise was read in the Synod, and contributed materially to elucidate the question, and to discover the dangerous tendency of the new opinions. "The Synod writes to you," says Monsieur l'Angle, in a letter to Dr Rivet, "and thanks you for the care you have of us. All good people think your book excellent. You have as many friends in the Synod as there are heads in it; for, thank God, your name is blessed in our churches."

Those who have attempted to introduce novel opinions into churches having a fixed profession of faith, have often denied any departure from the standards, and defended themselves from the writings of those who were never before suspected of entertaining sentiments such as theirs. On this occasion, the abettors of the new doctrine insisted that they had not departed from the common doctrine, or even from the very pointed canons of the Synod of Dort; and Amyrald, in particular, produced, in his defence, testimonies from the most celebrated Reformers, down from Calvin, closing the whole with the testimony of "Mr Andrew Rivet, minister of the Word at Touars." Daille, in his answer to Spanheim, made large additions to these testimonies; and the public were astonished to find (what had never before been suspected), that these lights of the Reformed Church were friends of a conditional election, and universal grace. But the illusion was transitory, and the triumph short. It is not difficult to extract from former authors, detached sentiments, or incidental and loose expressions, appearing to favour an error which was not then broached, or which they were not guarding against, while they wrote against adversaries of an opposite description. Persons of an impartial and comprehensive mind can easily discriminate between these

things, and will not protract a controversy by such methods, or for their own vindication, or even in support of what they reckon truth, impute opinions to men which are at variance with their avowed sentiments,—sentiments which pervade their writings, and which all the world considered them as maintaining. Dr Rivet, while he was prepared to defend his doctrine from the Word of God, was careful to vindicate the authors who had been represented as favouring the new doctrine; and, with the same view, he drew up a collection of testimonies from the public confessions and acts of the Reformed Churches, and from their most eminent writers, which he published separately from the Synopsis.

Though he was not without suspicions that Amyrald and his friends had not acted with sufficient ingenuousness, and still retained, under equivocal terms, their obnoxious sentiments, yet Dr Rivet acquiesced in the decision of the Synod, which, after exacting certain concessions and explications, enjoined silence as to the points of dispute. * But the controversy soon broke out with greater violence. Amyrald had been greatly irritated by the clear exposure which our divine had made of his tenets, and by his steady opposition to them. In a long preface to "A Specimen of Animadversions concerning Universal Grace," which he published in the year 1648, he attacked Dr Rivet with great virulence and abuse, accusing him of creating enemies to him in France, by private letters to ministers and people, and even persecuting him beyond seas, by inciting the Assembly at Westminster to condemn his doctrine. Thus rudely attacked in a book which was every where circulated, the venerable divine, at the age of seventy-six, again appeared in the field of controversy, and, in an "Apologetical Epistle," addressed to his brother, he repelled the assault with becoming dignity and spirit; but, at the same time, with a moderation in which he showed himself as much superior to his antagonist, as in years and learning. After a modest allusion to his long services and his age, with a complaint of the manner in which he had been treated, he gave a particular detail of all that

* This decision may be seen in Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 353–357.

he had done in the affair, either privately or publicly, which completely wiped off the aspersions which had been thrown upon him. The Assembly at London had also sent him a formal attestation, in which they unanimously declared, that he never made any representation to them, directly or indirectly, on the affair of Amyrald, nor had ever urged them to condemn his doctrine. *

Dr Rivet, now far advanced in years, still continued stout, and in general, healthy. In the year 1650, he wrote to his beloved and only surviving brother, William, lord of Champvernon, and minister of Tailleburgh, a letter concerning "a good old age." In it he says, "On the 2d of July last, according to the Gregorian computation, I finished my 78th year, and, on the day following, entered my 79th; my comfort, whom God hath yet preserved to me, having reached the 76th year of her age, and the 29th of our matrimonial connection. Both of us, thank God, enjoy a healthy old age, I particularly, who can either walk or stand (for I seldom sit) when I read or write. My eyes are not yet so dim as to require the assistance of glasses, which my wife has used for several years, as also her celebrated brother (Peter Du Moulin), who is four years older than me, and is a rare example of one who, at such an age, retaining his wonted strength of body and mind, still discharges his office in the church and in the university, to the singular edification of both." He then proceeds to mention, that their advanced age, and the disease with which they had lately been attacked, admonished both him and his brother to prepare for death, and rendered the subject of his letter proper for their meditation. The subject is excellently handled.† A rich vein of piety, erudition, and wisdom, matured by experience, runs through the whole. The philosophy of Cicero, and the morals of Seneca, are here refined and exalted by the divinity of Paul, and the wisdom of Solomon.

* Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 171. Epist. prefix. ad. Exercitat. Spanhemii. de Gratia Universali.

† This Letter, *De Senectute Bona*, is in vol. ii. of his Works.

We are now approaching to the close of the life of this great and good man. During the remaining part of this year, he was principally employed in revising his printed works, and in superintending a new edition of the whole, which had been much called for. He had the satisfaction of seeing the first volume in folio published in 1651, and proceeding with the remainder; but his attention to this work was withdrawn by events of a distressing nature; nor did he ever recover, so as to be able to resume it. He who had borne domestic trials with fortitude, who had laid in the grave a beloved wife, and three sons of great expectation, who had just arrived at maturity, now sunk under the calamities which befell the church and commonwealth. A dark cloud threatened to cover the British Churches, after a bright prospect of reformation. Late occurrences did not augur well to the reformed churches in France; and during the last year, they had been deprived of some great lights, his former acquaintances and dear friends. The recent death of Frederic Spanheim, that ornament of the University of Leyden, greatly affected him. But above all, was he afflicted by the mournful tidings of the death of the two illustrious members of the house of Orange—the father, who had always treated him with the most distinguished regard,—and the son, his pupil, of whose piety, ardent attachment to the true religion, and resolutions to set forward reformation, he had the most satisfactory proofs, but who was taken away in the 25th year of his age, after exciting hopes in all who knew him. The grief of Dr Rivet, on this occasion, was neither slight nor transitory. It was observed by his friends, that his visage was altered, and that his strength visibly decayed; yet he seemed to recover, and attempted by letters to console the widowed princesses. But his grief had taken a deep hold of him, and was the means of bringing on that inveterate disorder which, in a short time, put a period to his mortal life.

He who was made so instrumental in promoting the interests of the Church during the active part of his life, was honoured by God to give a remarkable testimony to religion

on his death-bed, which is deserving of a particular record, and of being more generally known than it has hitherto been.

Although Dr Rivet still enjoyed good health, with the exception of occasional attacks of the stone, yet his mind had for some time been turned to the subject of death, and he appeared to be impressed with the opinion of the near approach of his own dissolution. He often departed from his ordinary course in reading the Scriptures in his family, and selected such passages as Job xiv., Psal. xlix., cxliv., Eccles. iii., iv. Walking in the garden with a friend the week before he was seized with his last illness, and giving directions as to the dressing of some trees, "If I am spared," said he, "to the spring, the sight of them will give me pleasure; if not, I shall enjoy a garden infinitely more delightful." His friend suggesting that there was no reason for him speaking thus, as his constitution was so firm, he reproved him, and said, that he ought to speak to him in another manner; that he was arrived at that age when he should be daily looking for death; and that he had reason to thank God that he was prepared for an immediate departure. The same day being requested by Monsieur Hulse, the pastor of the French church at Breda, to preach the sermon after the dispensation of the Sacrament of the Supper, he chose as his text, Psal. cxliv., 3, 4: "Lord, what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! or the son of man, that thou makest account of him! Man is like to vanity: his days are as a shadow that passeth away." To a friend he signified, before going to the pulpit, that he had a design of choosing another passage more adapted to the occasion, but felt himself so strongly inclined to meditation upon death, that he could not apply his mind to any other subject. He delivered the discourse with a strong voice, and with great animation and fervency. Never did his audience hear from him a more excellent sermon, both as to the matter, and the weighty expressions he used. Every word which he uttered appeared to come from the heart, and to sink into the hearts of the hearers. He enlarged upon the shortness and vanity of human life, which

he illustrated by many striking comparisons. He placed death before the eyes of the aged; but when he came to that part of the sermon in which he mentioned the recent death of his illustrious pupil, his firmness gave way, and he melted into tears.

Next day he continued to enjoy his usual health; but on Tuesday, the 27th December,* he complained of a violent pain in the lower part of the intestines, caused by obstruction. In vain did the most skilful physicians use means to expel the cause of the disorder; its virulence resisted and baffled all their efforts. His body swelled, and the tumour ascending and spreading to his vitals, his heart and breast were excessively pained. When he learned the nature of the disease, he himself pronounced it mortal: "Not," said he, "that I refuse the use of remedies; for the sake of my friends, let every thing which is thought proper be done; as to the event, I rest securely upon my God." His niece, Mary du Moulin, having signified, in answer to his inquiry, that she also thought his disease mortal, he commended her for speaking to him in that manner, requested her never to leave him, but to endeavour to comfort and support him; "For, though I am not alarmed at death," added he, "yet, I am afraid I may sink under the acuteness of the pain." He then prayed thus:—"Great God, thou art my Father, and hast given me both life and the new life. Thou hast taught me from my early youth, and hitherto I have declared thy wonders; leave me not now in old age. Hitherto thou hast graciously continued me in uncommon soundness of body and faculties. Lord God, if it is thy will that I be farther employed in thy service, thou canst in a moment alleviate the disease; but if thou hast decreed otherwise, I am thy servant—thy will be done; only make me resigned to thy will. Let not the good Spirit depart from me; and since thou hast been pleased to lay me aside from thy work, grant that I may die in such a manner as to be an example to others; that I may persevere in that sound doctrine which I have taught, and give such a confession before

* Anno 1650.

witnesses, as may instruct and edify thy Church; that, by a lively faith, I may apply to myself the promises of the Gospel, to my eternal consolation. Thou knowest my debility and infirmities; suffer not these excruciating pains to carry me to impatience and complaints. Support me under them; keep the door of my lips."

He earnestly entreated his wife to leave him, and take another bed, that she might not be afflicted with the sight of his sufferings. He continued to pour out, in the hearing of his niece, the most pious ejaculations, expressive of patience, penitence, faith, and zeal, mingled with self-denial and abasement: "God hath wrought for me; I will mention his righteousness toward me. If I should say I am righteous, my mouth would condemn me. God forbid; rather I will acknowledge mine iniquity. I pray that my grief for sin may be increased as this body is rent with pain, that I may present the sacrifice of a contrite heart, pleasing to God. Accept, O Lord, this imperfect sacrifice, and let its defects be supplied by the perfect righteousness of the great High Priest." "GRACE," cried he again, "mere grace," and repeated Rom. viii. 33, 34. Awakening from a short slumber, he broke out, "I am God's, he shall save me. He hath honoured me with an holy vocation; he hath not allowed his gifts to be altogether useless in me; indeed I can say, that in his service I was far from being actuated by covetousness. I was first persuaded of the truth of the Gospel which I preached to others. Yea, I tasted of the good word of God; I felt its power penetrating even to the dividing of the soul and spirit. Thou knowest my heart, eternal God; thou knowest that I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, and that I have studied thy honour. I humbly acknowledge, that any good that is about me has flowed from thy grace; my defects I ascribe entirely to my own innate corruption. Alas! how often have I come short and sinned in the discharge of the duties of my sacred office, not only by omission but positive transgression. Long ago would I have been rejected, had I not had to do with a benign and forgiving Master. Enter not into judgment with thy servant. Pardon,

my God, pardon the iniquities of thy servant. I do not object to thy correction, only let not the temptation exceed my strength, lest I fall into impatience, and become a stumbling-block to others. O how light is the correction when compared with the greatness of my fault! How slight are any temporary pains compared with the eternal punishment from which I am redeemed by Him who poured out his soul on the cross for me; FOR ME—this is the language of faith, particularly applying the general promises! This indeed is a faithful saying, and worthy it is to be received by all, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the first. Seal all thy promises on my soul. Grant that from the bottom of my heart I may understand these delightful words, Be of good cheer, my son, thy sins be forgiven thee."

His wife having put him in mind that he ought to send for his son from the Hague; "By all means," said he, "it should have been done before. I desire to see him, not from any carnal affection (for I no longer love any according to the flesh), but that I may bless him before I die." He gave directions that every visitant should be admitted to him. "A man in my station," said he, "ought to be an example to others on such an occasion, and to give a confession of his faith, not to gratify vain gloriation, for it is a small matter with me to obtain the approbation of men; but I wish the salvation of many, and to bear testimony to the truth of those things which I have publicly taught." When a number of his friends were present, "Behold," cried he, "a monument of the great mercy of God! He hath loaded me with benefits temporal and spiritual all my life; and now, before excessive age has made me peevish and sick, he comes to me, he prevents me, he calls me. I do not mourn at leaving the world, I have lived long enough; I have been allowed to make a trial of all things, and have found them to be vanity and vexation of spirit. Christ is gain; in life and death he will not desert me; if he loads the body with pain, he increases the joy of the soul. Come, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul: I called upon him, he

opened his ear, he heard me, and blotted out my iniquities like a cloud." He would permit no minister to go away until he had prayed with him: "Pray," he would say, "it is a proper season."

His wife still continuing beside him, "It is grieving to me," said he, "to see one whom I honour so much, so aged, and feeble, thus deprived of rest, and distressed;" but finding that she was reluctant to leave him, he acquiesced: "Well, as you will have it so, stay; it is a satisfaction to me to see you; God will strengthen you." Throughout the evening of Friday the 30th, he endured the most excruciating pains; the intervals of relaxation were filled up with fervent prayers for the Church, the pastors, and magistrates. "O God, do not withdraw thy protection from these provinces; transfer not from them thy candlestick; let not thine anger wax hot on account of the great increase of wickedness and profanity. Incline the hearts of men to repentance, that thy judgments may be prevented. Preserve the body in unity; in the first place, keep them united to thee, without which all unity is but conspiracy. Grant that the people may remain grateful and kind to that prince who is the only surviving branch of that illustrious race which thou hast used to bring thy work to perfection in the midst of them. Inspire the boy* with the spirit of thy fear, of prudence, courage, and magnanimity; deliver him from profane men, from flatterers, and persons who minister to vicious and infamous pleasures; and give him the assistance of faithful and uncorrupt men, lovers of the truth and of equity. It is time, Lord, for thee to assist."

In the morning he was completely exhausted, by much speaking, and by abstinence; for such was the violence of the disorder, that his stomach instantly rejected even the smallest quantity of drink which he took to quench his burning thirst. His body, too, was tortured by the different remedies which the physicians were using. Yet he

* This was the young Prince of Orange, William, who was afterwards the instrument of the happy deliverance of Britain, at the Revolution, in 1688.

bore all with great patience, often saying, "I told you before that they would not avail; but it matters not, the usual practice must be followed; do what you think proper for your own satisfaction." While he lay quiet, he overheard them expressing their fears, that if there was not a sudden change, a delirium would come on, and a discharge from the mouth of what was not suffered to pass in the natural channel.* This greatly distressed his mind, and he again poured out his soul in prayer: "My God, have pity upon me, and free me from this disgrace which I greatly dread, for thou art merciful." And smiting upon his belly, "This sack," said he, "is corrupt and filthy; it is a sink, and collection of pains. I thank my God who hath afflicted me in this ignoble part, and hath, in the meantime, left my heart sound, and my brain free and pure. Grant, O God, what above all things I desire, that nothing may come from this mouth, breathing aught that is contrary to charity and thanksgiving. O, that it may never be contaminated with such filthiness!"

Next morning, which was the first day of the year 1651, as soon as he perceived the light, he said, "Lord, thou hast indulged me with the sight of another year; thou hast prolonged my life to the middle of this century." Being informed that the weather was inclement, he expressed an anxiety lest his son should be hindered. That day he was visited by a great number of acquaintances, among whom were some from his native province of Poitou. To them he spake thus:—"I rejoice that I have an opportunity of confessing my faith before you, who are my countrymen. I request you to treasure it up in your memory, and to testify it as it may be necessary. You see before you a man weak indeed, but without dissimulation, who attests, that he never wrote any thing which he has published, nor taught

* [In the medical report drawn up after his death, Dr De la Cruce mentions it as a singular fact, that this usual symptom of the disease never appeared in Dr Rivet's case. "It was well ordered," he says, "that the mouth out of which such sweet strains of heavenly eloquence had flowed, should not be thus defiled."—Ed.]

any thing by word of mouth, which did not accord with the sentiments of his heart, and with the doctrine delivered by the prophets and apostles. It is the same with what is contained in the public Confession of those churches in which I now live, and in which I am resolved to die. The Lord, the omnipotent God, confirm you in the faith, that no one may draw you away from it. Seek first the kingdom of heaven. Learn to number your days. Look at me; am not I an example to you? Eight days are now elapsed since I, then sound and healthful, addressed you on the subject of human weakness; see now in me the truth of what I spoke. Visible things which fall under the eye make a more deep impression than words that strike the ear." Then bidding them farewell, "the Lord," said he, "keep you from the allurements of the world, and give you an increase of his fear, and of all spiritual and temporal blessings."

Having risen from bed, and being seated upon a chair, he perceived that the swelling had now reached the cavity of his breast. Being apprehensive that his death was near, he sent for Dr Dauber the lawyer, and consulted him about appending a codicil to his testament. When this was finished, he resumed his bed with great serenity. He again requested his niece to remain with him, and assist him in his prayers. Then, as one rapt in spirit, he exclaimed, "My God, thou hast drawn me, and I was drawn. Thou hast known me from the womb of my mother with a knowledge of mercy and power. Thou hast called me, thou hast opened mine ears, and I was attentive. I have preached thy message in the congregation, and thy word was sweeter than honey in my mouth. Who am I, O God! dust and ashes, an earthen brittle vessel, which thou hast honoured, by pouring into it the sacred liquor, the seed of immortality! Thou livest, and thou makest alive; I shall not die, but live through eternity that life which is hid with Christ in God. What can I say more? I am unworthy of that faith which thou hast wrought in me, and of the benefits thou hast conferred upon me. It pleased thee that I should be

born of faithful parents, and especially of a holy mother, who, from my infancy, consecrated me to thy service, excited me to the sacred resolution by many prayers, and, with the most anxious care and affection, infused into me the seeds of piety. The omnipotent God, who works all in all, blessed her sedulous culture, heard her fervent prayers, and accepted my ministry."*

On Monday he rose from bed, and was able to walk to his study, and write two short letters, one to his brother William, and another to his brother-in-law, Du Moulin. He expressed great anxiety to see his son. The physicians made still another attempt to remove the obstruction, by the use of the bath and the application of clysters. These, with frequent fomentation, relieved him a little, and symptoms of convalescence even began to appear. But the disorder was inveterate, and the pains returned. On Tuesday, his niece perceived him to be more than ordinarily afflicted, and suspected by his sighs, that he laboured under more than bodily pain. At last, in a languid tone, he said, "Who is there? Is there any stranger present?" She assured him there was not, and inquired the reason of his disquietude, and of the absence of his wonted cheerfulness under his distress. "Alas!" answered he, "He who rejoiced my heart is departed from me; I have grieved the spirit of the Comforter. Wretch that I was! I listened to those who spoke of my restoration. I began to be pleased with the desire of life. Who would have thought it, after I had tasted the fruits of the celestial Canaan! What shall I do? Whither shall I go? When I speak, He answers me not. He hath deprived me of my wonted power of speech. Formerly a sacred fire inflamed my meditations; now vain thoughts drive across my mind. Ancient satire, and such trifles, intrude upon my recollection. Dearest niece!" said he, embracing her, "assist me by your discourse; pray that the Comforter may return." While she

* He more than once, on his death-bed, mentioned with the most heartfelt gratitude his mother, and her dedication of him to the ministry.

suggested such places of Scripture as, through the divine blessing, might be the means of comfort to him, he showed, by what he said at intervals, that his mind began to emerge from trouble. But so severe had the conflict been, that he fell into a swoon.

In the meantime, his son arrived from the Hague. Recovering from the faint, and seeing his friends around him, he fixed his eyes upon them, and with cheerfulness addressed them:—"Farewell, my dearest wife; we have lived in concord for thirty years. I thank thee for thy assistance, which has been a great solace to me. I rolled all domestic cares upon thee. Persevere, I beseech thee, in treating my children with love. And thou, my son, love and be observant of this dearest companion of my life, the partner of my joys and sorrows, who has discharged the duty of a mother to thee.* This I both request and command, as ever you would expect a blessing upon the substance acquired by my labour. Divide among yourselves, according to equity, without litigation and complaint. Manage thy affairs with gentleness and Christian prudence. Chiefly cultivate peace; O Frederick!" (alluding to the import of his name) "be rich in peace." Then, taking both their hands, and joining them together, "Promise," said he, "that you will cultivate a mutual and holy friendship." When they had readily done this, "I believe you," said he, "for I never had any reason to doubt of your sincerity." He then commended to his son the care and education of the children of one of his deceased sons, whom he had taken and reared as his own.

When the day broke on Thursday, "It shines," said he; "in a short time I shall not be able to distinguish between day and night. I approach to the last watch of the night which introduces the great and eternal day. I go to that place where the sun shall no more afford his light; but God shall be my eternal light." In the evening he felt extremely weak, and his speech failed. "I am exhausted; I am going hence; succour me, O Lord, do not tarry." But

* She was his step-mother.

about midnight he recovered a little, and again addressed himself to his friends around him, mingling, as usual, prayers with his discourse.

On Friday he was so exhausted and parched with thirst, not daring to drink, that it appeared as if every moment would be his last. Towards the evening the pains greatly increased, and the frequent returns of fainting admonished the attendants of approaching death. Yet even then his faith and patience grew stronger: "Weep not for me," said he; "this last hour has no terror to me. My body indeed suffers, but my soul is soothed by His consolations, and I am satisfied to the full." He then stretched out his finger to the boys, and spoke kindly to them. Having prevailed on them to go to an adjoining room to take some food, "My meat," said he, "is to do the will of God, and finish my course."

At midnight he called his wife, and took a cheerful farewell. "I go to my Father and your father. All shall be well. Amen, amen. Farewell, my son; farewell, dearest niece; fear not, I have prayed for you. I am ready. Come, Lord; I pant, I hope, I knock. Open, open, Lord, to thy poor afflicted servant." After this, he was not able to speak, except a few words. At eight o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 7th of January, the change of his countenance, and convulsive fits which he underwent, gave warning of a speedy dissolution. His friends, who were around his bed, continued, according to his former request, to suggest consolatory passages of Scripture, and to put up short petitions for him, to which he answered by a single word, expressive of his confidence and hope. "O great God! send thy Spirit of consolation into his heart."—"*He is come*," answered he. "Let him take the whole armour of God."—"*I have it.*" "Give him the crown of righteousness."—"*He will.*" After a short prayer, during which he remained with his eyes fixed, and his hands lifted up, one of the company said, "I think he is now rejoicing in the vision of God;" to which he attempted to answer, "*Oui*"—yes, and almost at the same moment gently expired.

Thus died Dr Andrew Rivet, in the 79th year of his age. It was intended to have subjoined a sketch of his character and account of his writings; but the very interesting particulars of his death have extended so far, that this must be postponed. That this example of a life highly useful, and a death so comfortable and triumphant may have a due influence upon all Christians, and on ministers of the Gospel in particular, is the prayer of PHILISTOR.

[So far had our Author proceeded with the memoir of this excellent divine. The subject was not continued in the Magazine; nor does it appear that he ever afterwards fulfilled his design of giving a sketch of the character of Rivet, or an account of his writings. We shall endeavour to supply, in part at least, and as briefly as possible, this blank, which will be regretted by such as have taken an interest in the foregoing memoir.

If we may judge from the liberal testimonies of his cotemporaries, and from the eulogiums, the epitaphs, and the funeral orations, which were called forth by his death, and are inserted in his works, no person in that age lived more generally admired and beloved, or died more deeply regretted, than Andrew Rivet. The style of high and unqualified admiration which distinguishes these productions, although, in ordinary cases, it must be received with considerable deductions, was certainly, in his case, no more than due to his character, as it appeared in his life, and as it is still attested by his writings. In one of them, he is described as "the prince of theologians, the honour of the church, the light of the academy, excelling in life and doctrine the fame which he will unquestionably leave behind him to the latest posterity. Adorning the profundity of his learning by a holy life, he has left behind him a name unsullied by a single stain, and crowned by a most blessed death." "Possessed," says another, "of a sublime genius, of stupendous erudition, of singular piety, and a rare combination of virtues, he was destined, by a course of Herculean labours, to clear his way through the most intricate controversies, and to restore the

purity of divine truth; while, by his noble voice and pen, he animated his fellow-labourers, and confirmed the hearts of the faithful." With all his commanding talents and varied erudition, Dr Rivet was a man of the most amiable dispositions in private life. Kind, conciliating, generous, and benevolent, he engaged the affections of a numerous circle of friends, secured at first sight the good graces of strangers, and could hardly be said to have had a personal enemy. The effect of these attractive qualities was aided, in no small degree, by his personal appearance, which, judging from the description of his friends, compared with the portrait prefixed to his works, was at once mild and majestic. He was of middle stature, erect in his carriage, with a large and prominent brow, an open countenance, and eyes beaming with a mingled expression of kindness and intelligence. Indeed, we might conclude, that the man who lived in terms of friendship and intimacy with such persons as Philip Morney du Plessis, Peter Moulin, Deodatus, Alting, Mestrezat, Spanheim, Maresius, Daillé, Drelincourt, Boyd of Trochrig, Buxtorff, and others of the same high stamp, must have possessed no ordinary share of mental and moral attractions. But the most distinguishing trait of his character was certainly an indefatigable vigour of mind, a quality which remained to the end of his life, unbroken by age, and undiminished by labours, so great, that, to us in these degenerate times of literary exertion, they might be deemed overwhelming. To look at the three ponderous folios, each containing upwards of one thousand pages, which contain his Latin works, one cannot but be amazed at the intellectual powers which have left such a gigantic monument behind them. And our astonishment is not lessened when we learn, that these works were composed in a standing posture, for he never sat down when engaged in study. His bodily health bore pace with his mental vigour. He never used spectacles, nor put on a cloak even in the midst of winter. Temperate in his habits, and simple in his tastes, he possessed in a singular degree, that tranquil equanimity of mind, which is the best preservative of health and happiness. His strong faith

enabled him to look down with contempt on "the things which are seen and temporal;" and no event, in public or in private life, however sad or unforeseen, could ruffle his temper, or even provoke his surprise. It was a common saying with him, "Nothing is impossible; I never wonder at any thing." And yet this serenity of mind was far removed from stoical apathy of heart: no man could feel more deeply. Of this we have an affecting proof in his grief for the death of the young prince, whose education he had conducted: all his friends were struck with the alteration produced on his appearance. He attempted to rally his spirits, but, says Dauber, "his grief had struck its roots too deeply, and had touched the vitals; he struggled against it for a little, but carried a sorrowful and broken heart with him to the grave."

The Latin works of Rivet are comprised, as we have just said, in three large volumes folio. The first contains his Exercitations and Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and the Decalogue. These are chiefly critical, and are distinguished for the learning and ability with which the various difficulties that occur in the sacred history are explained. The second volume is of a more miscellaneous kind, including, besides commentaries and meditations on the Psalms, on Hosea, and on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, his *Isagoge*, or Introduction to the study of the Scriptures; his *Criticus Sacer*, or an Examination of some Writings ascribed to the Fathers; Disputations on the Doctrines of Grace, and on the Popish Controversies; a Treatise on Preparation for the Lord's Supper; several Homilies; and his Letter on a Good Old Age. His third volume commences with his *Catholicus Orthodoxus*, a most profound and elaborate treatise, in which the testimonies of the ancient fathers are brought to bear with conclusive effect against the doctrines of the Church of Rome; *Jesuita Vapulans*, which is a defence of Peter du Moulin's Epistle to Balsac, and contains a vindication of Calvin and Beza, accompanied with a fearful exposure of the vices of the Romish clergy; his *Apology for the Blessed Virgin Mary*, intended to place her character in its true light, and refute the errors of those who dishonoured her, by making

her the object of Divine worship; his *Theological Disputations* on various subjects,—those on original sin and election, containing the most satisfactory explanations of these mysterious points; his *Treatise on the Imputation of Adam's sin*, in which he quotes no less than 166 authorities in proof of the doctrine; his *Controversy with Amyrald* on Universal Grace; his *Controversies with Grotius*, which refer principally to the loose principles advocated by that learned writer, who may be viewed as the founder of the Neologian school, and to his latitudinarian scheme for healing the divisions of the Church; and his *Mysteries of the Jesuit Fathers*.

Some of these works were translated into French. His French works were chiefly on practical subjects, such as repentance, piety, &c. In 1639, he published, "Instruction Chretienne touchant les spectacles publics des comedies et tragedies." Dauber informs us, in his funeral oration, that Rivet had written his own life in French, and expresses a hope that it would be given to the public; but of this work I can find no account, and rather think it was never published.—ED.]

MEMOIR OF MR JOHN MURRAY,

MINISTER OF LEITH AND DUNFERMLINE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*

THOSE persons who have been faithful in bearing witness for the interests of Christ, deserve to have their memories preserved, even although there be nothing very remarkable in their story. Several of the following particulars were never, as far as known to the writer, before communicated to the public.

MR JOHN MURRAY was a witness and sufferer for the Reformed principles of the Church of Scotland against the usurpation of the bishops, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was settled as minister of Leith, where he was colleague to Mr David Lindsay, who was made bishop of Ross. He opposed the appointment of the bishops, and denounced the innovations made in the discipline and government of the church. Archbishop Spottiswood, who was son-in-law to Bishop Lindsay, and others of that fraternity, being often in Leith, and being employed to preach for the bishop, Mr Murray watched them narrowly; and if they uttered any unsound doctrine, or endeavoured to support the authority of bishops over other pastors, he never failed, in his next sermon, to confute them. When the scheme of *constant moderator* was introduced, he opposed it in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, not only by his vote, but also by his strenuous reasoning, demonstrating that its tendency was to overthrow the liberties of the Church. When the six ministers, who

* From the Christian Magazine, Vol. VII., July 1803.

had kept the Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605, were pronounced guilty of high treason at Linlithgow, for declining the judgment of the secret council in that matter, Mr Murray publicly condemned the sentence, in his addition to the exercise at Edinburgh; and he kindly entertained the ministers at his house in Leith, when they were on their way to banishment. After this, Gladstanes and Spottiswood, with a number of other bishops, having come to Leith, with the evident design of triumphing in their success, he boldly challenged them in his sermon for obscuring the good cause, and slandering the banished ministers, to promote their own selfish and worldly interests. *

Being an eye-sore and continual restraint upon them in that situation, they were determined to have him removed from it, and waited an opportunity against him. This soon occurred, and they prosecuted it in a manner suitable to their character and designs. At a Provincial Synod in Edinburgh, in 1608, Mr Murray, having been moderator of the preceding meeting, preached on Gal. v. 1: "Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," &c. In this sermon, he rebuked the avarice and ambition of some of the ministry, who claimed superiority over their brethren, worldly dignities, and rich benefices, asserting this to be the cause of the distractions in the Church of Scotland at that time, as it had often been before. "We carry more credit," said he, "and are better accounted of in the hearts of those who fear the Lord, when we contain ourselves within the compass of our calling, with the style of Mr George, Mr John, pastor of such a place, than when we borrow, through ambition, the titles of worldly honour and dignities, loving the style of my Lord Bishop, better than to be called a faithful and diligent minister. The time hath been, when our Church and liberties have been as a defenced city or house; but now, doors and windows are partly cast open, partly broken up, and enemies entered; so that faithful keepers will be forced either to yield, or to suffer. But to suffer is far better. For, if either our liber-

* Cald. 561, 575.

ties, through craft, be undermined, or, for reward, given out of our hands, it is likely the Lord will never honour us with them again. But if, by violence, they be thrawn out of our hands, then possess we a good conscience, and, in God's mercy, shall repossess them again, when he thinketh time. Some of us, not contented with our standing in the ministry, have climbed up to higher places, both in kirk and commonwealth, than God hath called us unto, through covetousness, seeking the profits of this present and perishing life, through ambition affecting preferment, and imparity in power and authority over their brethren; who, to win to themselves preferment, have troubled the peace of Jerusalem, and hurt the liberties thereof. If any will call to mind the times past, when there was any trouble or stir in the Church, they shall find that the authors and instruments of it were ever some who, through covetousness and ambition, which two were the bane of the Church, have sought to themselves a pre-eminence among their brethren; whose deaths and epitaphs may be a terror to those who tread in their footsteps." The sermon was, without his knowledge, printed at London,—of which Bishop Bancroft getting intelligence, most probably from his good friends in Scotland, caused a search to be made among the printers, and, having seized upon it, put a copy into the King's hand. The King marked some passages which he called erroneous, and sent them, with the sermon, to Secretary Elphingston, charging him to examine Mr Murray, if the sermon was his, if he put it to press, and if he stood to the defence of the errors contained in it. He acknowledged that the sermon was what he had preached, and that he had given a copy of it to a friend, who importuned him for it; but maintained, that it was printed without his knowledge. He declared, that he could not retract any thing in it, nor acknowledge that it was erroneous, and showed that the King had put a harsh construction upon some passages in the sermon. The Secretary required him only to acknowledge that he had given offence, and promised him preferment, if he should leave the cause in which he was engaged. All the

answer he returned was, "God make me faithful in that glorious office whereunto I was called."

Upon the Secretary's writing in his favour to the King, it is said his Majesty was content to let the matter rest. But this coming to the knowledge of two of the bishops, they insisted for a sight of the sermon from the Secretary, and called a meeting of their brethren, who, after joint deliberation, drew up four articles of charge, in which they endeavoured to prove, from different parts of the sermon, that he had accused the King's Majesty. Though what chiefly galled them was the reproof of their ambition and avarice, yet they endeavoured to state the prosecution upon a ground which would appear less invidious, and more actionable. Having procured Mr Murray's citation before the council, the King's advocate produced the articles against him. He was appointed to give in answers next day. But, instead of giving particular answers to every article, which would have implied an acknowledgment of the council as the competent judge of his doctrine, he presented a supplication, in which he stated, that the charges were founded upon inferences drawn from his sermon, contrary to its scope, which was not directed against his Majesty, but against the evils which prevailed among the ministry, and begged that the trial of his sermon might be left to the presbytery, or provincial synod. The council were disposed to accept this as a sufficient answer; but the bishops insisted that he should give an answer in writing to every particular article, thinking by this to ensnare him. Being required to comply with this, he said, that his answer, though general, applied to every article in particular; that, if he were to answer formally, it would be by denying the inferences and that the places of his sermon would answer for themselves. He appealed to his hearers, among whom were many judicious noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers, if he had uttered any thing in that discourse which could bear the construction which was now put upon it. Chancellor Seaton still urging him to give in particular answers in writing, he answered with firmness, "I have

given my answer, my Lord; I have my calling to attend upon." The clerk having read the places from which the articles were drawn, it was clearly seen that his words were wrested. The chief persons in the council spoke in his defence at some length. Archbishop Gladstanes, in a passion, told them that the supplication which he had given in was in fact a declinature. But, instead of being listened to, he was rallied upon his logic. "Albeit ye be Lord of St Andrews," said the chancellor, "yet it seemeth ye have never been in St Andrews." Mr Murray was, in the end, called in, and favourably dismissed to his charge. The bishops, mortified with their own disappointment, and irritated by the manner in which they had been treated, sent up an information to the King, complaining heavily of the procedure of the council. Upon this, his Majesty, displeased that the council had showed so little deference to his own critical powers, and those of his bishops, sent them a sharp rebuke, and peremptorily ordered the captain of the guard immediately to apprehend Mr Murray, and to commit him to confinement in the castle of Edinburgh.*

The bishops, having got this faithful man removed out of their way, preached whatever they pleased in Leith without opposition, and held their principal consultations in that town. But they were not satisfied with his confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, which was too near to his parish, and the place of their consultations. They therefore sent up one of their number to London, with instructions drawn by the hand of Spottiswood, among which this was one, that he should obtain of his Majesty, that Mr John Murray be charged by the council to enter into confinement in the town of New Abbey, on the borders of England, near Dumfries. Accordingly, by the King's direction, he was brought out of the castle (where he had been confined about a year), and presented before the council. Large promises were made to him by the Earl of Dunbar, provided he would comply with Episcopacy; but he declared that he never would. The King's letter, stating the par-

* Cald. 575-578. Row of Carnock's Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland, MS. p. 185.

ticulars of his confinement, being read to him, he, with some temper, expressed before the council the feelings of a generous mind at the unworthy conduct of his persecutors. "It may be," said he, "it is his Majesty's will; but I know well that it is not his Majesty's invention, whom I never offended. It is the device of men maliciously set against me, without a just cause, for their own particular ends, before whom I may prefer myself in all loyal obedience to his Majesty, both as a minister and as a subject." The bishops felt, and were abashed. Chancellor Seator, gathering some courage, said, "that it was a most barbarous and unworthy dealing in the bishops to put one of their brethren in the ministry from the place where he exercised his calling, and cast him out to a remote part, where he had no provision allowed him. His calling, his quality, and the quality of the gentlewoman his wife, did crave another kind of respect, and greater discretion." The bishops were silent; the Lords of Council were almost ashamed of their own passiveness. But the former trusted to the efficacy of the King's missive; the latter were afraid of incurring his Majesty's displeasure a second time.

Mr Murray went to the place of his confinement, where his family suffered greatly both for want of fuel and provisions. His wife and children, who had been delicately brought up (for Mr and Mrs Murray were descended from, and connected with, some of the best families of the kingdom), unaccustomed to such hard treatment, became sickly, and at last two of the children died.* He had removed to Dumfries, where he preached for some time; but finding his situation little improved, and that there was no appearance of the malice of the bishops relenting, he resolved, without license either of King or council, to transport himself and family to Dysart. After having remained there privately for about half a year, he removed to Prestonpans, where he preached. Some years after this, he received a call from the town and parish of Dunfermline (with consent of the presbytery), to be their minister. His settle-

* Row's History, *ut supra*.

ment among them was obtained with great difficulty, after much interest being used. But he was not suffered to remain there long, for Spottiswood, his arch-enemy, being made Bishop of St Andrews in 1615, almost the first thing which he did, was to visit the kirk of Dunfermline, when he silenced Mr Murray, and devolved the whole charge of that extensive parish upon Mr Andrew Forster, a person destitute both of gifts and grace. This person, having been visited by Providence with sickness, was seized after his recovery with great distress of mind. He confessed that at the Assembly of Glasgow 1610, he had sold Christ for a paltry sum of money; and that, having a numerous family, and being very poor, he had, by means of a false key, at different times abstracted money from the kirk-box. One Sabbath, the subject in his ordinary course of lecture being John xii. 6, he was seized with such horror when about to begin, that he ran out of the pulpit, expressing, among other things, an apprehension that the magistrates were coming to take him out to execution. Being in this situation, he silenced himself, and requested Mr Murray, for Christ's sake, to take the charge of the congregation. And yet, some time after this, having been reduced to beggary, Archbishop Spottiswood intruded him, in spite of the people, into a country parish in Perthshire, where he died covered with debt and infamy.

Mr Murray, thus providentially restored to his ministry, continued to exercise it in Dunfermline from the year 1616 to 1622. No sooner, however, was a new occasion given for prosecuting him, by his nonconformity to the Articles of Perth, at that time ratified by Parliament, than he was summoned before the High Commission, removed from Dunfermline, and confined within the parish of Fowlis in Strathern. * Here he resided in Gorthie, which belonged to his brother, Sir David Murray, a courtier. Upon the

* It is probable that the cause of his prosecution was a small treatise published about this time (of which he was the author), entitled, "A Dialogue between Cosmophilus and Theophilus, against the Innovations on the Worship and Government of the Kirk of Scotland."

death of his brother in 1629, he removed again to Prestonpans, where he died in the year 1632.

On his death-bed he enjoyed much comfort. To those who visited him during his sickness, he delivered many excellent exhortations. In particular, he entreated them never to consent to the corruptions which had been introduced into the Church. He was not one of those who represent the external government of the Church as of trivial concern, comparing it to *anise, mint, and cummin;* he considered it as nearly connected with the rights of the Redeemer, and the promotion of practical godliness. He professed that "it was to him matter of much praise and joy, that the Lord had thought him worthy of the honour of suffering for the glorious cause of God, and of giving a testimony to his truth, before a corrupt generation; that it was his comfort on his death-bed, that he had never disfigured the well-favoured face of the Kirk of Scotland. As Christian experience and practical godliness have been so often pressed to the disparagement of all contendings about the external form and discipline of the Church, it may be observed, that in this eminent person they were closely united, as they have been in a great cloud of witnesses, with which we are compassed about." He said, "his keeping of himself clean from the corruptions brought into this kirk," albeit in weakness, "was a great comfort to him now in the time of his extremity. And any that have consented to them, if they were in my condition," continued he, "exchanging time with eternity, they would repent of their wicked courses, or else they would not find such comfort in death as I do this day. Blessed be the name of my gracious Lord therefor, in Christ Jesus my only Saviour." *

* Row's History, *ut supra.*

THE TABORITES;

OR, THE FOLLOWERS OF HUSS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

ABOUT the commencement of the fifteenth century, some of the writings of the English proto-reformer, Wickliffe, were carried into Bohemia, by a gentleman of that country, who had studied at Oxford. These writings recommended themselves to many learned Bohemians, particularly in the University of Prague, who were struck with the force of truth, and the knowledge of Scripture, which they contained. Among these was JOHN HUSS, an eminent pastor in one of the churches of Prague, and rector of the university there. He did not adopt all the opinions of Wickliffe, and remained under the influence of several of the errors of the age, which that great man had been enabled to throw off; but he adopted the leading sentiment which was the polar star that directed Wickliffe in all his inquiries after truth, viz., the supreme authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures as the rule of faith.† His doctrine, and his recommendation of the writings of Wickliffe, tended to open the eyes of

* From the Christian Magazine, Vol. VIII., 1804.

† "The authority of the holy Scriptures, which are the law of Christ, infinitely surpasses any other writing, how authentic soever it may appear, because the authority of Jesus Christ is infinitely above the authority of all mankind."—*Wickliffe's Trialous, apud L'Enfant's Council of Constance*, vol. i. b. ii. § 60.

many to the reigning abuses, and to lead others farther into the knowledge of the truth than himself. The fate of Huss is well known. Being summoned to appear before the Council of Constance, and refusing to abjure his opinions, he was, in pursuance of a decree of that council, burned alive in 1415 (as well as his disciple, Jerome of Prague), notwithstanding the safe conduct which he had obtained from the Emperor Sigismund.

In the meantime, the knowledge of the truth was spreading in Bohemia. About the time that Huss set out for Constance, Jacobel de Mise, or James of Misa, began to preach publicly against the practice of withholding the cup from the laity in the sacrament of the Supper; and showed from Scripture, and the practice of the primitive Church, that the eucharist ought to be administered to all the communicants in both kinds or elements. Having written to John Huss upon this subject, he, in several letters, expressed his approbation of this sentiment, and also composed a treatise in his favour. Jacobel being supported by several other priests, and by the approbation of the people, carried his sentiment into practice; and the communion was dispensed in both kinds, in several churches in Prague. The practice spread quickly through the different provinces of the kingdom; and the people every where flocked to those ministers who administered the ordinance after the scriptural mode.

We may now inquire into the origin of the name of *Taborites*, which was given to the followers of Huss. "The Taborites," says Mosheim, "derived their name from a mountain well known in sacred history." * Does the learned historian mean, that the mountain called Tabor in Scripture, lay in Bohemia? or does he mean, that the persons alluded to were addicted to the use of Scripture names? This mistake is the more unaccountable, as a little before he had mentioned a circumstance, which plainly suggests the true origin of the name. Speaking of a mountain in which they held their religious meetings, he says, "This mountain they call Tabor, from the tents which they first

* Mosheim's Church History, cent. 15, p. ii. chap. 3, § 6.

erected there for their habitation." * Those who wished to enjoy the communion as instituted by Christ, were obliged, as we shall see immediately, to repair to a mountain in the district of Bechin, where they erected a tent (or, as Mosheim says, tents), in which they celebrated divine worship. The Bohemian word Tabor signifies a tent. This name, therefore, they gave to the mountain; and hence they came to be known by the name of Taborites.

The account which L'Enfant gives of this matter is also inaccurate. In his history of the war of the Hussites, he says, that Ziska, their general, made choice of this mountain as a proper situation for a fortified city; that he ordered his people to erect tents in the places where they wished to have houses; from which circumstance, the mountain was called Tabor.† In his history of the Council of Constance, however, a different account is given. He there says, that Nicholas of Hussinetz (not Ziska), being banished from Prague, repaired to the place afterwards called Tabor, and made it a place of resort and worship.‡

But the most credible and authentic account of this matter is given by Laurentius de Byzinius, in a journal which he wrote of the wars of the Hussites, and which L'Enfant does not appear to have consulted. He was Chancellor of Prague, and alive at the time of which he writes. His account is to the following purpose. The communion, under both kinds, met with great opposition in the district of Bechin. The curates and vicars drove all who befriended it out of their churches. Being deprived of divine service, some of the pastors conducted their flocks to a neighbouring mountain. There they erected a tent in the form of a chapel, in which they performed divine service, and administered the communion to the people in both elements. The service being ended, they took down the tent, returned to their houses, and called the mountain Tabor. This happened in the year 1419. Their brethren from other villages having heard

* Mosheim's Church History, cent. 15, p. ii. chap. 3, § 3.

† Guerre de Hussites, p. 91.

‡ Council of Constance, vol. ii. b. 5, § 22.

of this, assembled with them, and proposed to encourage and strengthen one another, by meeting at the same place, and communicating together. "The report of these assemblies," says Byzinius, "having spread on all sides, they became every day more numerous. They came to Tabor, not only from the villages round about, but also from Prague, &c., and from many places in Moravia, some on foot, some on horseback; some from a religious view, to hear the Word of God, and communicate with their brethren; others from curiosity; and others with the design of acting as spies, and to seek something to speak against." * The same author gives us a particular account of their manner of worship. The most learned and eloquent of their ministers began in the morning, by preaching the Word of God to the people, divided into different companies; on which occasion they censured boldly the avarice and pride of the clergy who oppressed them. Other priests received the confessions; and then others distributed the communion under both kinds, which service lasted from morning till mid-day. At mid-day, they partook of a sober repast which was prepared for them. The refreshment being finished, the priests rose and returned thanks; after which they marched in procession round the hill, singing psalms and hymns, and then retired to their houses (says this author), without turning to the right hand or to the left, lest they should hurt the grass. So large were the assemblies, that on one day there were above forty-two thousand people present. Some lords prohibited their vassals from going to Tabor, under the penalty of death, and confiscation of their property; but they persisted in going at the risk of both.

When we consider the darkness in which the world was enveloped at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the opposition against which the truth was obliged to struggle, we need not wonder that it was gradually and slowly unfolded. The Bohemian proto-martyr wrote from his prison, in Constance, to his friends in Bohemia, "That he had a

* Diarium Belli Hussitici, p. 187; apud Beausobre Supplement a L'Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites, p. 14.

strong desire to expose unto them all the abominations of Antichrist, that they might know and guard against them. But he trusted in the Lord, that he would raise up to them, after his death, pastors who, by His assistance, would discharge their duty more fully and successfully; who would bring to light all the impostures, crimes, errors, guile, pride, hypocrisy, and impurity of the Man of Sin, and not be drawn aside from the truth, either by promises or threatenings." * The expectation of this confessor was not disappointed.

Some account has already been given of the restoration of the cup in the Lord's Supper, by the instrumentality of Jacobel de Misa,—of the general reception which this met with throughout Bohemia,—and of the crowds who assembled, particularly on the mountain which they called Tabor, to participate of the ordinance under both kinds, or elements. Still, however, the opinion of transubstantiation, the celebration of mass, and the practice of auricular confession, with other remains of Popery, were retained. But, having once begun to consult the Scriptures, and adopted them as the rule of their faith and practice, men could not long remain under the influence of these absurd and superstitious inventions. Accordingly, many of the Hussites, or Taborites, threw off these corruptions, and embraced the purity and simplicity of the Gospel.

This was the occasion of a great schism among the Hussites. Though all of them strenuously opposed the tyranny of the Court of Rome, and the corruption of the clergy, and zealously maintained the use of the cup in the Lord's Supper, yet a great part, timid, and prejudiced in favour of opinions and practices which had received the sanction of ages, and were every where submitted to, were averse to any farther reformation. A diversity of religious practice was introduced among them, and, after some time, the difference came to an open breach. Two parties were formed; the one of whom were called Calixtines, from their distinguishing tenet, which was pleading for the use of the chalice, or cup, in the Lord's

* Præfatio in Confessionem Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Picardorum in Bohemia, &c., p. 8.

Supper; the other retained the name of Taborites, which was formerly a name given to all the Hussites. The old city of Prague, the capital of Bohemia, with the principal nobility, adhered to the Calixtines; the inhabitants of New Prague, with those who dwelt at Tabor and the neighbourhood, were the principal supporters of the other party. This division was similar to that which, in the following century, separated Protestants into the two great bodies of Lutheran and Reformed.

They had all united in a solemn league to defend the communion under both kinds against the favourers of the Court of Rome and the Council of Constance, who, under the Emperor Sigismund, successor to Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, threatened to subjugate them. Even after their ecclesiastical union was marred, both parties occasionally joined their arms in opposing the common enemy: but their religious differences often interrupted their outward peace; and, at last, the variances which they produced ruined their affairs, and completely subjected them to their adversaries.

The first public difference which appeared between them, was principally on a political ground. The nobles and magistrates of Prague consented to treat with the Emperor, who amused them by this until his forces were collected. This happened in 1419. Ziska, the valiant captain of the Taborites, refused to accede to this treaty, and left Prague in displeasure. He, however, returned to its defence, when besieged by the huge army which Sigismund had gathered together.

While the Taborites resided in Prague on this occasion, they performed divine service according to the mode which appeared to them most scriptural. Their ministers wore their beards like other men, they had not the shaven crowns of the Popish priests, and they were dressed in clothes of a grey or brown colour. They did not repeat the canonical hours. They performed worship sometimes in the open air, sometimes in private houses, avoiding the churches, either because they were dedicated to saints, or because they were profaned by images. They observed none of the

ceremonies of the mass. Before communicating, the whole assembly, kneeling, repeated the Lord's Prayer. After this, the minister who was to officiate, approached a table covered with white linen, upon which stood the bread and wine. The bread was cut or broken, for they did not use wafers. The wine was not in cups of gold or silver, which had been consecrated, but in vessels of pewter, wood, or stone. The minister pronounced, with a loud voice, and in the vulgar tongue, the words of consecration. This being finished, he caused the other ministers present and the people to communicate. They did not elevate the eucharist after consecration, and consequently did not adore it; nor did they keep any of it till next day.

This service, so simple, so novel, shocked the university and a great many of the priests in the city of Prague. They had banished the costly and superfluous ornaments of the service, but they retained all the other rites, and in particular used the canon of the mass. Zealous for the old ritual, they could not refrain from publicly exclaiming against the Taborites for their neglect of it. These, in their turn, blamed the Popish service as totally destitute of Scripture authority, and stigmatized those who stickled for it as Pharisees. The people mingled in the quarrel of their priests; one party approved the Calixtine rite, another preferred the Taborite. Some of the inhabitants refused to receive the communion from the hands of their priests, unless they laid aside their sacerdotal vestments; and the women, at the instigation of their husbands, hindered them from performing the service with their ornaments. It was in this manner that, in the year 1420, the said division originated.*

After the raising of the siege of Prague, the Taborites presented to the city twelve articles, upon the acceptance of which, they engaged to defend it to their utmost ability; but threatening to leave it, if these were not complied with. These articles respected the punishment of notorious crimes, the restraint of luxury, the abolition of Pagan laws, the preaching of the Word, the regulation of the conduct of the

* Byzinii Diarium Belli Hussitici, apud Beausobre's Supplement, &c., 88.

clergy, the banishment of the faithless enemies of the truth, the abolition of monasteries, images, decorations in the service of God, and the extirpation of every antichristian plant. They concluded their demand with these words: "It is in the defence of these truths, dear brethren, that we have risked our property and our lives, and many of us have shed our blood. We are resolved, through divine assistance, to maintain them, and we wish that you should agree with us in them: in this case you may depend upon our aid as long as we live." The people of the new city readily received these articles; those of the old demurred, and demanded time to consult with the doctors of the university, who rejected some of the articles. The magistrates who were chiefly averse, were removed by the people to make way for the agreement; but their articles not being cordially adopted, the Taborites left the city.

It may be proper now to take a view of the doctrinal articles held by the Taborites, in distinction from the Calixtines. It is the more necessary to inquire into these, as they have been misrepresented by many writers. The principles of the Calixtines are easily ascertained. They demanded that the Word of God should be explained to the people in a perspicuous manner; that the sacrament of the Supper should be dispensed in both kinds; that the clergy, instead of bestowing all their attention on the acquisition of wealth, should occupy themselves about their proper business, and be ambitious of living like the holy apostles; and that transgressions of a more heinous kind, or mortal sins, should be punished. They represented many things in divine institutions as left to the regulation of human prudence, and thought that the institutions of the holy doctors were to be observed, when not expressly contrary to Scripture. The opinions of the Taborites have not, however, been so clearly stated. L'Enfant gives an account of an assembly composed of both parties, in which Peter de Maldonowitz read thirty-one articles as the opinions of the Taborites. But it is evident that many of these were disowned by them, and the historian affords us no rule by which to distinguish

those which were imputed, from those which were real, or those which were held by all, from such as were entertained only by a few. "Some Taborites," says he, "defended them all. Others more moderate, excepted certain articles which they allowed to be pernicious, and said were falsely imputed to them. At the Council of Constance," said one of their number, "they charged us with only forty heretical articles, and you load us with more than seventy. They demanded copies of the articles, that they might have it in their power to answer them." *

Nor does the account which Mosheim gives, do justice to the Taborites. "They not only insisted," says he, "upon reducing the religion of Jesus to its primitive simplicity, but required also, that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed in the same manner, the authority of the Pope destroyed, the form of divine worship changed; they demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which Christ alone should reign, and all things should be carried on by a divine direction and impulse. In maintaining these extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the Taborites, such as Martin Loquis, a Moravian, and his followers, went so far, as to flatter themselves with the chimerical notion, that Christ would descend in person upon earth, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the Church from its multiplied corruptions." † This is very inaccurate. "They required," indeed, "that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed, the authority of the Pope destroyed, and the form of divine worship changed;" but was not all this implied in "reducing the religion of Jesus to its primitive simplicity," which the historian does not blame? Were these "extravagant demands?" Were they not the same which were afterwards successfully repeated at the period of the Reformation? "The new hierarchy in which Christ alone should reign, and all things be carried on by a divine direction and impulse," was a sentiment entertained by a few of the Tabo-

* Guerre des Hussites, tom. i. 140. † Mosheim, cent. xv., cap. iii. § 6.

rites, not by all. It is equally injurious to them to say, "that the *principal* doctors among the Taborites flattered themselves with the chimerical notion that Christ would descend in person upon earth, armed with fire and sword," &c. Mosheim also imputes to the Taborites in general, the bloody maxims mentioned by him in the note. In short, it does not appear that the learned historian had duly attended to the diary of Byzinius, which he justly praises, and which L'Enfant certainly had not seen.

Byzinius, Chancellor of Prague at the time of which he writes, and a Calixtine, enables us to distinguish between the sentiments common to all the Taborites, and those which were maintained only by some of them. The following were the sentiments of the body: 1. "The faithful ought not to receive and believe as catholic truths what the fathers have written, but only that which is clearly contained in the canonical books of the Bible." 2. "Whoever studies the liberal arts, and takes the degrees of Bachelor, Master, or Doctor, is a vain man, a pagan, and sins against the Gospel of Christ." Beausobre has observed on this article, that it refers to the scholastic learning and sophistry of that time; and that the School, and the masters of the School, succeeded to the synagogue and the Pharisees against whom our Lord witnessed. 3. "It is not necessary to keep any decree of the fathers, any human rite, or tradition." 4. "Chrism, holy oil, extreme unction, the custom of consecrating all things, sacerdotal vestments, &c., ought to be abolished." This article explains the preceding. 5. "Children ought not to be exorcised before baptism; nor are god-fathers or god-mothers necessary." 6. "All missals, rituals, religious ornaments, ought to be removed and burned." 7. "Auricular confession ought not to be observed." In the discipline of the Taborites, however, public confession was exacted for public offences. 8. "The fasts of lent, and others, introduced by men, ought not to be kept." 9. "The faithful are not bound to keep any festival but the Lord's day." 10. "Every priest who officiates with the tonsure, the surplice, &c., or who says mass according to the accustomed rite, ought to be

despised as the apocalyptic harlot." 11. "It is not permitted to evangelical priests to enjoy temporal possessions." 12. "There is no purgatory: It is useless and senseless to perform good works for the relief of the dead." 13. "Prayer to departed saints savours of heresy or idolatry." Such were the opinions first entertained by the Taborites. Some things they may have carried too far. This is common at the beginning of a reformation, where men, in avoiding one extreme, are ready to fall into another; but still, as one has said, extreme for extreme, that of the Taborites was infinitely preferable to that of the Church of Rome.

Let us now hear the sentiments which are attributed by Byzinius, not to all, but to some of the Taborites (*sacerdotes quidam Taborienses*). The following is a summary of them: "That at the consummation of that age, Jesus Christ should come secretly as a thief, and restore his kingdom; that this should not be an appearance of grace, but of vengeance, and of retribution upon his adversaries by fire and sword; that at that period, every one of the faithful, even every ecclesiastic, would be bound to draw his sword, and shed the blood of the enemies of Christ's law; that all cities, towns, and villages would be destroyed and burned, except five cities, in which the faithful would take refuge; that the Taborites were the angels whom God has sent to cause the faithful to withdraw themselves from the places devoted to destruction, and that they were the army which the Lord had sent to purge his kingdom from all scandals, and to execute divine vengeance upon the nations that were enemies to the law of Jesus Christ; that, at the conclusion of this work, Christ would descend personally from heaven, in a visible manner, to take possession of his kingdom upon earth, and shall hold a great feast upon the mountains, as his marriage-feast with the Church; that after this coming of Christ, which shall precede the last judgment, there shall be no kings, nor princes, nor prelates, nor exactors, nor tribute; that there shall be no persecution of the saints, no sin, nor scandal, nor abomination; that there shall be no need of preaching, nor sacraments, nor temple, because the Lord Almighty shall

then be himself the temple of his people; that, when Christ has appeared in a visible manner, all those who are dead in Christ shall be raised, and shall come first with him—to judge the quick and the dead; after which, all the elect who are alive in all parts of the earth, shall be caught up in the clouds; and that this would arrive in a few years, so that some of those who were then alive, should see the risen saints, and among the rest, John Huss, because God would hasten it for the elect's sake."*

Such is the prophetic system ascribed to some of the Taborites, and which began to be preached by certain priests among them about the year 1420. Beausobre observes, that we have this account from their enemies, and is of opinion, that many things in it are exaggerated and misrepresented, if not falsely imputed to them. He thinks that they were of the same sentiments with the Millenarians. In his examination of the account, he has, doubtless, pointed out inconsistencies which render some parts of it suspicious. But it is unnecessary to enter into particulars. We know that in later times, when men have been enabled to throw off errors, and led to examine the Scriptures, there have arisen persons who have given way to delusions and dangerous extremes, particularly from an incautious and presumptuous interpretation of the prophecies. But these sentiments were not embraced nor favoured by the body of the Taborites. Accordingly, in a Synod held by them in 1422, they drew up a number of articles, in which, among other things, they condemned the disorders committed during the war by the licentious soldiery; and in particular, disavowed the impertinent applications which certain priests made of the words of Scripture, to authorise this license (*ineptis scripturarum per sacerdotes explicationibus*).†

Different conferences were held between the Calixtines and Taborites, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation;

* Diarium Byzinii apud Beausobre, supplement a l'histoire de la guerre des Hussites, p. 91.

† Vide Confes. Taborit. a Balthazar. Lydio edit. in Waldens., tom. i., cap. 48. p. 251.

but they were broken off without gaining the end. In one of these, at Beraune, in 1428, they disputed, not only on the seven sacraments, but on predestination, free-will, and justification.* The historian does not inform us what were the particular sentiments entertained by the Taborites on these last points; but it is highly probable that they were the same with those which were afterwards adopted by the Reformed Churches. The Eucharist was the principal subject of another conference.† The Calixtines did not differ from the Roman Church on this article, except in two things:—they administered it under both elements, and they gave it to infants. The last part of their practice they founded upon the words of our Lord, John vi. 53. In this the Taborites opposed them.‡ The Council of Basil, which met about this time, devised means for suppressing Hussitism, and their agents inflamed the differences between the Taborites and Calixtines.

At last, in a Synod which assembled at Kuttenberg in the year 1442, the Taborites, by common consent, drew up a confession of their faith. This confession may be seen at large in L'Enfant's history.§ It contains, in general, the same view of divine truth which was afterwards exhibited in the Confessions of the Protestant Churches. After the suppression of the Taborites, which was effected soon after this, the standard of truth was upheld by a secession which was made from the Calixtines in the year 1457. Those who separated joined themselves to the remnant of the Taborites. Terrified by the destruction of the latter, and the rancour with which they were prosecuted, they changed their name, and assumed that of Bohemian Brethren.‖ Churches composed of these continued to exist at the time of the Reformation, and entered into a correspondence with Luther, Melancthon, and other Reformers.¶

* L'Enfant, guerre des Hussites, i. 266, 267. † Ibid., ii. 142.

‡ Balthazar. Lydii notæ in disput. Taboritar, p. 132. § Tom. ii. 132.

‖ Narratiuncula de fratr. orthodox. in Bohem., &c., per Esrom Rudiger. script. an. 1579. Lydii proleg. in disput. Taborit., cap. ii.

¶ Lydii prolegom. in Notæ, &c., cap. ii., *etiam* Proœm., in Conf. fratr. Bohem.

Soon after the separation above mentioned, they published a confession of their faith; and afterwards, on occasion of various misrepresentations, they presented at different times to the emperor, and other princes, four other confessions, before Luther made his appearance. All of these exhibited the same doctrine with the original confession of the Taborites.

REVIEWS.

REVIEW OF MILNE ON PRESBYTERY AND EPISCOPACY.*

THERE are some controversies which are attended with such difficulties, and have been managed by persons of such established reputation, that it is incumbent, even upon him who has the truth on his side, to pause before he engages in them, and to inquire if he possesses the requisite ability and information, lest he should be foiled in the contest, and expose both himself and the cause which he has rashly undertaken to defend. There are other controversies of a very different complexion, but with respect to which also, a prudent person may reasonably hesitate before he embarks in them. The object of the contest may be frivolous, and the prize, though easily gained, may be unworthy and ignoble; or, although the armour of strong argument and extensive information may not be requisite, the combatant may need to be well practised in self-command, moderation, and patience, so as not to suffer himself to be provoked to contemptuous and improper language, by the ignorance, the petulance, or the abuse of his opponents. This must always be the case where prejudices are brought forward instead of arguments, and assertions substituted in the room of authorities; where a disputant makes a monopoly of all that is good to his own party, and loads the opposite with all

* The Difference stated betwixt the Presbyterian Establishment, and the Episcopal Church of Scotland. By the Rev. James Milne, minister of St Andrew's Chapel, Banff. A new Edition, pp. 80. Aberdeen, 1811. [From the Christian Instructor, Vol. V., July 1812.]

that is evil; and where claims, which could scarcely be admitted in the case of persons of acknowledged superior excellence, are set up in behalf of those who, in the judgment of all the world besides themselves, are at the very best no better than their neighbours.

We confess that we hesitated as to the propriety of noticing the work now under review; for which of the reasons just mentioned, we shall leave our readers to judge, after making them a little acquainted with its contents and strain. All that have turned their attention particularly to the subject, will readily acknowledge, that it is not so easy a matter, as might at first be imagined, for a person to give a fair and impartial statement of the difference between two religious parties, to one of which he himself belongs, and is zealously attached. Even granting that he is perfectly well-informed as to the history and sentiments of both; granting, farther, that he conscientiously intends to tell nothing but the truth; still his partiality to one side will manifest itself, will insensibly give a colouring to his statements, and, if he is not habitually and strictly on his guard, will betray him into inaccuracy and occasional misrepresentation. We took up this pamphlet with the disposition of giving to its author the full allowance, to which this common infirmity of our nature entitled him from a candid critic, and liberal opponent. Knowing just so much of him as that he was a minister of "the Episcopal Church of Scotland," we did not expect from him an absolutely fair and accurate statement of the difference between that church and "the Presbyterian establishment." We would have been happy, however, to have received from him information as to the peculiar tenets of those with whom he is connected; we would have passed with a smile the exclusive appropriation of the term *church* to his party, and admired, if not the tenderness of his conscience, at least the tenacity of his memory, which preserved him from ever carelessly bestowing that epithet on the Presbyterian establishment, through his whole book. We might have found it difficult to suppress our surprise at some of the sentiments avowed,

and have judged it necessary to correct some of the misstatements into which he had fallen. All this would have been an employment very different from what has fallen to our lot.

But, before proceeding farther, we shall lay before the reader some specimens of the strain in which the work is written. The following is part of his account of the origin of the Presbyterian establishment, which he ascribes to the exertions of Andrew Melville. And we select this the rather, because it is evident that the author has laboured it with great care, and expected that it would have a powerful effect upon his reader.

"Upon his return into Scotland in July 1574, he (Melville) began immediately, with the gloomy austerity of the puritanical religionist, the confident arrogance of the meddling demagogue, and the satirical ill-nature of the snarling cynic, to provoke discussions, and to create jealousies, with the intent of overturning Episcopacy, and establishing upon its ruins the ecclesiastical republicanism of Geneva. He had the address to raise a party of followers, who embraced his opinions, and entered into his views, with as much ardour as his most sanguine wishes could desire." * * * "The cause thus set on foot possessed little in itself, and derived less from its advocates, to recommend it to public favour. Among a people who knew and valued the words of truth and soberness, no esteem would have been conceived for such a cause—no ear would have been given to such advocates. But, at this period, which may be called the reign of fanatical delusion, the Scots were blinded and misled, in no ordinary degree, by its influence. They were, it is true, completely emancipated from the enslaving ignorance of Popish superstition: still they had minds uninformed or unsettled with regard to several things,—strongly disposed to insubordination, turbulence, innovation, and fanaticism; and therefore prepared, with precipitate inconsideration, to take moroseness for gravity, dogmatism for the conviction of truth, railing for the zeal of a fervent spirit, nonsensical cant for godly edification, rebellion for the spirited assertion of unquestionable rights, and obstinacy for undaunted perseverance in defence of truth and righteousness."—pp. 15-17.

The following is his account of the worship at present practised in the Presbyterian Church.

"The way of worship in the Presbyterian establishment, is conducted upon a principle which is indubitably fanatical, and encourages the ideas and feeds the hopes of the fanatically disposed mind; raises preaching to an eminence not its due, depresses prayer into the rank of a secondary and subordinate duty, and makes the holy communion

not, as it was designed to be, an act of devotion frequently performed, but, perhaps, with some few exceptions, a kind of spectacle annually resorted to; occasions an unjustifiable dependence on the officiating minister, and affords him, if he be in the interests of error, an opportunity of expressing, in public prayer, without any immediate check, notions, views, and feelings, prejudicial to true faith, sound morality, and rational devotion; keeps the prayers that are to be joined in unknown, until they are uttered; subjects devotion to unavoidable interruption, as often as they are not understood, or cannot be approved, and renders it always exceedingly difficult, sometimes wholly impossible, to recollect distinctly what has been asked of God; and, at the same time, is full of *omissions*, which, to a sober mind, conversant in the history of the primitive Church, must appear as unedifying as they are singular, and which are, in fact, palpable proofs of the frenzy of that fanaticism, to which they may be traced as their proper origin."—pp. 61, 62.

From these extracts, which afford a fair specimen of the work, the reader may form some idea of its strain and spirit. It is difficult to conceive any thing more remote from sober and dispassionate discussion, from the simple and fair statement of differences. Every thing is coloured, aggravated, or distorted. Its tendency is to provoke, not to convince; to inflame, not to inform. The object of the author seems to have been to extract the essence of all that had been said by his party in favour of their church, and to compress within the smallest possible bounds, whatever they had advanced against the Presbyterian establishment, and the conduct or principles of its promoters in former times. Add to this, that while he abstains from all reasoning, he has advanced, with the utmost dogmatism, propositions of the most disputable kind, or which have been refuted a thousand times, and has boldly asserted, as facts, a multitude of things discreditable and injurious to the Presbyterians, without deigning to take the ordinary course in such cases, of producing the authorities, or referring to authentic and credible vouchers. On this account we certainly are of opinion, that this pamphlet is, in itself, unworthy of any reply, or of a serious review. Yet knowing that there are many who are ready to be influenced by confident and strong assertions, provided they remain uncontradicted; presuming that the pamphlet has had a considerable

circulation, from the circumstance of its being *a new edition* of it which now lies before us; and not expecting, for the reasons already given, that any Presbyterian will think of undertaking a formal refutation,—we judge it proper to make a few strictures upon it, which may be sufficient to show how little reason the author has for the arrogant tone which he has assumed.

This pamphlet, then, contains a Dedication to the Author's Congregation, an Introduction, five Chapters, and a Conclusion. The first chapter treats "Of the Origin of the Presbyterian Establishment, and of the Episcopal Church of Scotland;" the second, "Of the Doctrinal Standards of the Presbyterian Establishment, and of the Episcopal Church of Scotland;" the third, "Of the Doctrine of the Presbyterian Establishment, and of the Episcopal Church of Scotland;" the fourth, "Of the worship of the Presbyterian Establishment, and of the Episcopal Church of Scotland;" and the fifth, "Of the Government of the Presbyterian Establishment, and of the Episcopal Church of Scotland." The whole pamphlet consists of only 80 pages, printed in a large type, and style sufficiently modern.

In Chap. I., Mr Milne runs over the whole ecclesiastical history of Scotland, from the establishment of the Reformation in the year 1560, to the Revolution in 1688. How either the Presbyterian establishment, or the Episcopal Church, could be considered as *originating* during that long period of 128 years, may appear mysterious to some; but the object of the author, in the narrative, is very evident. He dare not plead that the Church of Scotland, between 1560 and 1575, or "the reforming party in Scotland" (for he will not give even them the name of *Church*), was the same with the Episcopal Church.

"But," says he, "ignorant as that party appears to have been of the nature and constitution of the Christian Church, and exceptionable as some of their tenets must be pronounced, it may, notwithstanding, be affirmed, that their principles do, upon the whole, favour the Episcopal Church, and are against the Presbyterian establishment, in the questions concerning Church government, and the mode of celebrating Christian worship. It may also be affirmed, that the

Presbyterian establishment has adopted every thing novel in their sentiments; while the Episcopal Church differs from them in those things only, wherein they betrayed their want of the spirit of the primitive Church, and abandoned her doctrine and practice."—pp. 28, 29.

A very modest demand truly! A very equal partition! The bad and the good in our reformers was about nearly equal; the former belongs to the Presbyterians, the latter to the Episcopalians.

But let us hear what Mr Milne has got to say respecting the origin of Episcopacy, and the antiquity of its establishment in this country. "In order to avoid prolixity," he says that he thinks proper to wave inquiries respecting the plantation of Christianity in Scotland, "although not unconnected with the subject of this chapter." This may be deemed prudent, as well as proper, as he would have met, near the very outset, with (what has proved to all Episcopalians) a very puzzling point—the uncanonical and disorderly *Culdees*, among whom, *ordine inusitato*, even *bishops* were subject to a *presbyter*.* It might be equally prudent in him to decline entering into any statements to "justify separation from the Church of Rome," as he must have run the greatest hazard of driving upon the dreadful Scylla of schism, or, in avoiding it, of condemning instead of justifying the Reformation, or at least the principles and manner in which it was conducted in every Protestant country. He says, it is sufficient "to observe, that at the era of the Reformation, Episcopacy, in itself, was not considered by any of the Reformers as a part of those corruptions" of Popery,—pp. 12, 13. We think it sufficient to reply, that at the era of the Reformation, Episcopacy was not considered by any of the Reformers as a part of divine institution, but as a mere human appendage. On this ground, it was abolished and rejected by most of the Protestant churches. In England it was retained from political and prudential considerations. The English Reformers, including Archbishop Cranmer and his colleagues, were unanimously of opinion,

* Bedæ Hist., lib. iii. cap. 4.

and did not scruple to express their opinion, that bishops and presbyters were *all one* at the beginning of Christianity.* We can farther inform Mr Milne, that the showy and pompous ritual of ceremonious worship, for which he prefers the Episcopal so much above the Presbyterian service, was regarded by these men as a burden, from which they would willingly have relieved the Church of England, if the circumstances of their time would have permitted. † And we challenge him to produce a single writer of the Church of England, before Dr Bancroft, who pleaded for the divine institution of Episcopacy, or the necessity of the imposition of the hands of a bishop to constitute valid ordination to the ministry. Yet these are two points for which the Scots Episcopalians contend as stiffly, as ever they did for the most important and fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. Notwithstanding the antipathy which Mr Milne feels against Calvin for his "ecclesiastical republicanism," and his "execrable" doctrines, he would very fain introduce that Reformer as a friend of Episcopacy, p. 13. The decided and matured sentiments of Calvin respecting church government, are not to be collected from incidental expressions, or from complimentary titles which he gave to the English bishops, but from his "Institutions," in which he treated the subject professedly, from the constitution of the Church of Geneva, in which Presbyterian parity was established by him, and from that of the Reformed Churches in France and Scotland, in which his advice was expressly asked and followed. Where, and on what occasion, Calvin pronounced an *anathema* against the rejecters of the English hierarchy, Mr Milne has not been so kind as to inform us. We shall, however, do him the favour of pointing out the passage to which we suppose he refers; and give him the words, which he can insert in the next edition of his pamphlet. ‡ In that

* Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, vol. i. App. pp. 223–225, 324; vol. iii. p. 105. App. p. 88. Strype's Cranmer, App. p. 20. Collier's Hist. vol. ii. App. No. 49.

† See the authorities for this produced in M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 427–431. [Vol. 3, Note R, 5th edit.]

‡ "Talem nobis Hierarchiam si exhibeant, in qua sic emineant Epis-

passage Calvin is not speaking of the *English* hierarchy, and does not appear to have had the most remote eye to it. He is speaking hypothetically, and the supposition which he makes will not apply, in any of its parts, to the *English hierarchy*. Can it be said of it, that the bishops "hold of, and refer to no other head but Christ?" At the Reformation, was not the papal supremacy transferred to the prince in that country? Did not Calvin condemn this supremacy, and assert, that those who gave the title of supreme head, under Christ, to the King of England, acted both inconsiderately and blasphemously?* Can it be said of the English bishops and clergy, that they are "united by no other bond than the truth of Christ?" It is, however, readily granted, that Calvin, though he did not approve of the English hierarchy, entertained a justly high regard for the Protestant prelates of that Church; and they had the same regard for him. And we have not the least doubt, that they would have unanimously joined in pronouncing that person "worthy of every anathema," who would have presumed to speak of the Genevan Reformer in the manner Mr Milne has done in the note at the foot of p. 13.

We have already stated, that Mr Milne has not substantiated his narrative by references to authentic documents. In a note at the beginning of Chap. I., he says, "For the facts mentioned in this chapter, the reader is referred to 'Collier's Ecclesiastical History,' and to 'Sage's Fundamental Charter of Presbytery,'—a book which should be in the hands of every member of the Episcopal Church of Scotland," p. 12. This, except in one instance, is the only reference throughout that chapter, which is wholly historical. Every body acquainted with the writers named knows, that his reference to them

copi, ut Christo subesse non recusent; ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur; in qua sic inter se fraternam societatem colant, ut non alio modo quam ejus veritate sint colligati; tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fatear siqui erant qui non eam revereantur summaque obedientia observant."—*Calvinus De Necessitate Reform. Eccles.*

* Comment, in Amos, cap. vii. p. 1029, edit. anno 1576.

is the same as if a Romanist were to refer to Baronius and Bellarmine. Both Collier and Sage were tories, and *jure divino* prelatists, of the very highest stamp; keen opponents of the Revolution and of the Presbyterians; who wrote more as polemics, than as historians. What information could Collier have about Scottish affairs, but what he received from Scottish writers? Why is Spottiswood not referred to, an authority far superior to both? Is it on account of his sins, in not holding the divine right of Prelacy, and in freely giving the name *Church* to the Presbyterian establishment? And must he, on these accounts, be kept out of "the hand of every member of the Episcopal Church of Scotland?" Did not the author know, that the friends of Sage have been obliged to confess, that there is a number of mistakes, in point of fact, in the "Fundamental Charter;" * and that his opponents have demonstrated, that he has completely failed in his attempted historical proof of the hierarchical and liturgic principles of our Reformers? † Why, at any rate, should the reader be sent to search at large the "Fundamental Charter," for verifying the facts alleged by Mr Milne, when, after all, many of these are not to be found either in that work or in Collier?

An examination of some of his facts will show what reliance is to be placed on his statements, and how little reason he had for bringing them forward with such confidence. "In Scotland," says he, "the Reformation was carried on *chiefly* by *laymen*," p. 13. Were Guillaume, Rough, Knox, Willock, Harlow, Winram, Spottiswood, Douglas, and Carsewell, *laymen?* We have always understood, that it was *chiefly* by these men that our Reformation was carried on. He adds, "Presbyters, however, and also bishops, concurred in it." That a few bishops *concurred* in it, we allow; but Providence granted very little of the honour of advancing our Reformation to persons of that order. And although it should render that work still more vile in the eyes of Mr Milne and his friends, we must tell them, that even the

* Vindication of the Fundamental Charter, p. 79.

† Anderson's Letter of a Countryman to a Curate, *passim*.

bishops who embraced the Reformation were not admitted to exercise any ecclesiastical authority as bishops, and that, when some of them wished to be employed as superintendents, they were rejected for want of requisite qualifications.* So that, notwithstanding all the laborious researches and argumentative twistings of Sage, to disprove the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, it will remain a truth, that Scotland was reformed by Presbyters.

The author is evidently at a loss, in speaking of the settlement of religion at the Reformation. He would fain claim it as Episcopalian; yet, aware that he might be pressed with pregnant proofs to the contrary, he passes so many censures upon it, and makes so many concessions, as completely to enervate his plea.

"It must be confessed," says he, "that John Knox, by his stern temper, his violent zeal, his seditious principles, and his stubborn fanatical prejudices, contributed not a little to mar the work of reformation in Scotland. But John Knox, with all his extravagances of opinion, and irregularities of conduct, manifested no symptoms of irreconcilable hatred against Episcopacy. When the Reformation first obtained a national establishment, in 1560, he advised and sanctioned the appointment of superintendents, who, notwithstanding the democratical principles upon which they were constituted, did enjoy the superiority, and execute the functions of bishops."—pp. 13, 14.

We do not think it worth while here to defend the character of our reformer against the random strokes of this author; but we would request the reader to observe, that, according to Mr Milne, sternness of temper, violent zeal, seditious principles, and stubborn fanatical principles, are *not irreconcilable with Episcopacy.* And farther, that persons may "enjoy the superiority, and execute the functions of bishops," "notwithstanding the *democratical principles* upon which they were constituted." Why, then, we would ask, impute the introduction of Presbytery to the violent and "ecclesiastical republicanism" of Andrew Melville, when all these principles existed in that establishment which he is alleged to have overturned? Nor do we reckon it necessary to enter into any detail to prove, that the Scottish

* Knox's Historie, p. 327.

superintendents did not enjoy the superiority, nor execute the functions of bishops; as this has been so often and so triumphantly established. They were not episcopally ordained; they derived all their authority from the Church; the exercise of their power was bounded and regulated by the General Assembly, to which they were accountable, and did give an account of their conduct at every meeting; they were not acknowledged as holding any distinct or permanent office in the Church, but merely as persons to whom a provisional superintendency was committed, from reasons of expediency at that period. Even Archbishop Spottiswood, in attempting to evade these facts, has been betrayed into a glaring corruption of the original document.* Knox's advising the appointment of superintendents does not, therefore, prove that he favoured Episcopacy; and there is the best reason to think, that he continued to the end a strenuous opposer of its introduction into the Church of Scotland.

Mr Milne says, that "the entire appearance of the Episcopal polity was restored, and the official names appropriated to the Episcopal order were revived, by an Assembly convened at Leith, in January 1572. In the next Assembly, which met the same year, at Perth, on the 6th August, some, it is true, excepted to this settlement, and would agree to it only as an interim establishment. The ground of their discontent, however, was not Episcopacy in itself, but the revival of the titles of Archbishop and Bishop, which, in their blind and intemperate zeal against the Church of Rome, they imagined to be scandalous."—pp. 14, 15.

This is a very extraordinary passage, in several respects. Would not the reader imagine, that Mr Milne recognised this as a lawful Episcopal government, and allowed, that at last, primitive order was restored in the Church of Scotland? His language, on a superficial reading, would lead to this idea; but it is expressed with great caution. "The entire *appearance* of the Episcopal polity,—the official *names* appropriated to the Episcopal order, were revived." The fact is, that this was all that the convention at Leith did. They

* Comp. Spottiswood's Historie, pp. 152, 158, with the head *Of Superintendents*, in First Book of Discipline; Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 538, 539. See also Epistolæ Philadelphi Vindiciæ, apud Cald. Altare Damascenum, p. 724–728, Lugd. Batav., 1708. Petrie's History, pp. 218, 219; and M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 465–467. (Vol. ii., p. 283, 5th edit.)

expressly declared, that those to whom the official names of archbishop and bishop were given, should exercise no more power than had been given to superintendents, and that they should be subject to the General Assembly equally with them.* But as this agreement was not made by a regular and ordinary meeting of the General Assembly, the Assembly at Perth resumed the affair. And what did they do? "Some," says Mr Milne, "excepted to this settlement." But the truth is, that "the whole Assembly, in one voice, as well they who were in commission at Leith, as others, solemnly protest, that they mean not, by using such names, to ratify, consent, or agree to any kind of Papistry or superstition; and in like manner, they protest, that the said heads and articles agreed upon, be only received as an *interim*, until farther and more perfect order be obtained," &c.† The reader is requested to observe, that, in this important document on the subject, not only are the hierarchical titles protested against as Popish, but it is protested farther, that all the *heads and articles* agreed upon at Leith, be received only as an *interim*. "Unto the which protestation the whole Assembly in one voice adhere." The fact is notorious, that the Court were at that time pressing a species of Episcopacy upon the Church; and that the Church, when she acquiesced in this arrangement, for a time, religiously reserved her right afterwards to throw it off. After this, it is ridiculous to talk of the introduction of new principles from Geneva, to fabricate a plot against Episcopacy, and conjure a ghost to employ, "with indefatigable perseverance, all the efforts of a wild and ferocious bigotry for its extirpation," p. 15. It is pitiful to see the shifts to which Sage (who possessed respectable talents) is driven on this point; and indeed, he seems to have been sensible of his awkward situation, and quits it as soon as possible, with the significant words, "But enough of this, proceed we in our series."‡ After the failure of such a writer, we think it would have

* Petrie, p. 373. Fundamental Charter, p. 199.

† Calderwood, p. 57. Petrie, p. 376. Fundamental Charter, p. 204.

‡ Fundamental Charter, pp. 205, 206.

been but prudent in Mr Milne to have passed over this point altogether, even though it had been at the expense of suppressing the laboured portrait of Andrew Melville, which he has modernised from Sage.

As to his intemperate invective against Melville, we shall only say, that if he had known his real character, the eulogiums passed upon him by Scaliger and Lipsius, the esteem in which he was held by his learned contemporaries abroad, as well as at home, his fame as a divine and a poet, as well as a linguist, and the unprecedefited pitch to which he, in a short period, raised the literary reputation of his native country, Mr Milne would have spoken of him with a little more modesty. In what he has said about him, he has betrayed a gross ignorance of his character. "The dictates of prudence," says he, "or the suggestions of timidity, restrained him from appearing in person, and from being the first publicly to denounce Episcopacy," p. 16. All who know any thing of Andrew Melville, know this, that if his character is to be attacked, it must be in a different quarter from that of excess of prudence, or defect of courage.

But perhaps Mr Milne will succeed better in the next fact which he advances.

"There was, at this time, among the ministers of Edinburgh, one John Durie, a well-intentioned, but a weak and credulous man.—This minister, who afterwards saw his error, and repented of his rashness, was persuaded to declare, in an Assembly held in Edinburgh on the 6th of August 1575, that there were reasons which he and other brethren of his mind had to propose against the office and name of Bishop."—p. 16.

Now, there are several things here, which, though they should go down with "every member of the Episcopal Church of Scotland," will not be so readily credited by the stubborn Presbyterians. In the first place, they will not think it very likely, that "a weak and credulous man" would be placed among the ministers of Edinburgh, especially as great care was taken, at that time, to have the most able ministers planted in the principal towns. But, passing this, as it might be an oversight, they will be apt to think that Mr Milne was rather simple and short-sighted to give such a

description of Durie, when he intended to boast of his becoming a convert to Episcopacy; for where was the wonder that "a weak and credulous man" should, in the decline of life, have been induced to change sides? Had he represented him as a hasty, forward young man (either supposition would have been equally near the truth), it would have looked a great deal better.* But is it a fact that "this minister afterwards saw his error, and repented of his rashness?" So, indeed, Spottiswood has said, and after him Sage, and after him our author. But unfortunately for all three, it so happens, that there still remains the most satisfactory evidence of the falsehood of this allegation. Mr James Melville, minister of Anstruther, and son-in-law of John Durie, has left a diary of his own life, and of the transactions of his time, copies of which are in several of our public libraries. In this diary he relates, that he was present at his father-in-law's last sickness (the time at which his recantation is said to have been made), and that *as he lived, so he died*, continuing constant in his opposition to the measures which the king was employing to have churchmen introduced into Parliament, as a prelude to the complete establishment of Episcopacy. "The more I think on him," says his son-in-law, "the more [I praise] God that ever I knew him; praying God, that as I have seen the outgate of his conversation, as the apostle says, Heb. xiii. 7, so I may follow the same in faith. He oft regrated and inveyed upon the worldly fashions and business of the ministry, saying, he feared they should become as vile in the people's eyes as ever the priests were. And as concerning the matter of bishops, my uncle, Mr Andrew, expressed his mind therein in his epitaphs, which, being most pertinent for that which was even at his

* Spottiswood says, that Durie was "a man earnest and zealous in every thing he gave himself unto, but too credulous;" an epithet which that historian commonly applies to such of the opponents of Episcopacy as he thought well of.—*History*, p. 458. Sage says, that he was "*too too* credulous."—*Fund. Charter*, p. 219. Mr Milne (perhaps understanding the repetition of the adverb as emphatic) has turned this into elegant modern English—"a weak and credulous man."

death in hand, I have here insert. He desired, indeed, earnestly to have lived till the Assembly, which was hard at hand, that he might have discharged his mind to the king and brethren; but that which alive he could not, Mr Andrew supplied faithfully after his death. *Note*, It is good to be honest and upright in a good cause, for the good cause will honour such a person both in life and death."* We shall insert one of the epitaphs here referred to :—

> Durius ore tonans, Edina pastor in urbe,
> Arcuit a stabulis quos dabat aula lupos.
> Celurca in Cælum migravit nunc, quia non quit
> Arcere a stabulis quos dabit aula lupos.†

Thus has Mr Milne given us an opportunity of vindicating a very worthy man from an aspersion which has lain too long upon his memory. The Scottish Episcopalians have, somehow, been always singularly fond of availing themselves of the argument from the retractations of Presbyterians on their death-bed, and they have been as singularly unfortunate in managing it. Mr James Lawson, the successor of Knox in Edinburgh, having died in 1584, during his exile in England, Archbishop Adamson attempted to circulate a testament, which he alleged to have been made by him, retracting Presbyterian principles.‡ But it was so universally regarded as a forgery, that Spottiswood does not so much as allude to the allegation in his account of Lawson's death.§ We shall not repeat the account given in our last Number,

* Melville's Diary, pp. 335, 336, of the copy now before us. (P. 308, Ban. edit.)

† Ibid., p. 338. [I may here subjoin honest James Melville's rude translation of this epitaph :—

> In Edinbrouche the thoundering of Jhone Durie weill was harde,
> When courtlie wolffes from Chryste's flock he flegged and debarde.
> Now in Montrose to heavin he flittes, for grieff that he can nought
> The courtlie wolffes debar from Kirk, quhilk Chryste hes deirly bought.

There are seven of these epitaphs, and the point in each of them is the same, turning on the idea of his being unable to survive the introduction of Episcopacy. Never, perhaps, except in the case of Henderson, was calumny so completely answered.—Ed.]

‡ Calderwood's History, pp. 166, 174.

§ Spottiswood's History, p. 335.

of the recantation forged in the name of Mr David Calderwood, in 1622, and of its ill success.* Mr Alexander Henderson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and a commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, died soon after his conference with Charles I. at Newcastle. He was a man of too much note among his party, to be allowed to leave the world without making a recantation. Accordingly, the Episcopalians industriously circulated the report, that he was not only vanquished, but converted, by his royal antagonist.† But this was not enough, for within two years, a declaration, in the name of Mr Henderson (the forgery of a Scots Episcopal divine), was published, in which he was represented as expressing great contrition for acceding to the proceedings of the Presbyterians. Upon the appear-

* We may, however, add the information which Mr William Jameson has furnished respecting that forgery. "Scarce for a long time," says he, "could I be persuaded of the truth of this, so odd and so strangely qualified was the fact, till after much search I lighted on the book, which is now in my hands; it bears this title—'Catherwood's Recantation; or, a Tripartite Discourse. Directed to such of the Ministerie and others in Scotland, that refuse Conformity to the ordinances of the Church,' &c. London, printed by Bernard Aslop, dwelling in Distaffe Lane, at the Sign of the Dolphin. 1622. His epistle to the reader is, as he pretends, dated Amsterdam the 29th of November 1622, for it was reported that Mr Calderwood had died there. The pamphlet itself consists of 50 pages in 4to, stuffed with fulsome flattery of the king and the hierarchies, silly sophistry for prelacy, odious railing against the government and discipline of our Church and Reformers, and Mr Knox in particular." See "Some Helpes for Young Schollers" &c. (afterwards quoted), p. 8.

† Baillie's Letters, ii. 232. If we are to believe Episcopalian writers, Charles was a most powerful disputant, and had he been spared, must have soon taken off all the Presbyterian champions. Mr Carte, in his "Irish Massacre set in a True Light," tells us, that Mr Richard Vines, after returning from the Treaty at Uxbridge, assured one of his brethren, that the king "gave such evidences of Episcopacy, that the world could not answer; that he had convinced him it was agreeable to the primitive times; and that, among all the kings of Israel and Judah, there was none like him." To be sure, it is somewhat discreditable to this story, told by the half-brother of Mr Carte's great-grandmother, that Mr Vines should, four years after this, at the Treaty of Newport, have again entered the lists of argument with his Majesty, and reasoned as strongly as ever against Episcopacy.

ance of this, the General Assembly called and examined a number of persons who were present with Mr Henderson during the conferences at Newcastle, and during the time that elapsed from his return to Edinburgh till his death, who all declared that he had continued to the last constant and unaltered in his sentiments; upon which the Assembly passed an act, declaring "the said pamphlet forged, scandalous, and false, and the author and contriver of the same void of charity and a good conscience, and a gross liar and calumniator, led by the spirit of the accuser of the brethren."* In the middle of the 18th century, this convicted forgery was credulously revived by Mr Ruddiman, who, notwithstanding his learning, is well known to have laboured under the weakest prejudices on the subject of Jacobitism and Episcopacy. On that occasion it was triumphantly exposed by Mr Logan.† Another example may suffice. Mr Robert Calder, an Episcopal minister, and well known champion for primitive order, in a vindication of a sermon which he had preached, January 30, 1703, after introducing the story of Durie's recantation, asserted, that Mr John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, a contemporary of Durie, and a warm defender of Presbytery, had also retracted his sentiments before his death. In support of this assertion, he produced the following words, which he said Mr Davidson used in a small tractate at the end of a Catechism published by him, "Be obedient to archbishops and bishops, and stand not out against them as I have wickedly done." Mr William Jameson, Professor of Church History in Glasgow, suspecting the truth or the accuracy of the statement, applied to Mr Calder for a sight of the Catechism, who promised to procure it for him. He applied to him again, again, and again, but could obtain nothing but excuses and

* Acts of Assembly, p. 420–422, printed anno 1682. Livingston's Characteristics, subjoined to his Life. Ludlow's Truth brought to Light, or the Forgeries of Dr Hollingworth Detected, 1693. Laing's History of Scotland, iii. 340, 2d edit. Neal's History of the Puritans, by Toulmin, iii. 321–324.

† Logan's Second Letter to Mr Thomas Ruddiman, 1749.

evasions. Mr Calder had seen the book, and had read in it the words which he had quoted, but he had not a copy of it: he would procure it from the relict of an Episcopal minister who had it: her copy was gone to the country, but he would write for it: a letter would not do, he must go for it personally: he had not gone. Mr Jameson, having procured from Sir Robert Sibbald a copy of Davidson's Catechism, which *did not contain one syllable of the alleged retractation*, republished it word for word, and prefixed an account of the whole transaction with Calder.* We leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from this *regular succession* of fabrications.†

It would be easy for us to follow Mr Milne, *kata podas*, through the remaining part of his history of Scottish Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, and to show that the most of his alleged facts are false, misrepresented, or irrelevant. But we are afraid we would weary our readers, who must be of opinion, that the unsupported allegations of any writer are not entitled to such a refutation. We shall, therefore, be more general in our subsequent remarks. His account of the conduct of the friends of Presbytery after its establishment, is equally inflamed with that which he had given of their previous behaviour. Believe him, and you must conceive, that a sullen, fanatical, disorderly, and rebellious spirit, pervaded the whole land; actions, rash, daring, and subversive of public order, were perpetrated; excommunications fulminated; sermons and prayers stuffed with railing against private characters, and sedition against the government,—these formed the whole history of the Presbyterian period, until the sun of Episcopacy, rising gently, but irresistibly, by its benign influence dissipates the gloom, and drives the monsters of the night into their native obscurity. Believe him, and nothing was ever more quietly, more fairly, more Christianly effected, than the introduction of Episco-

* Some Helpes for Young Schollers in Christianity, as they are in use and taught—in the New Kirk of Salt-Preston; Discourse prefixed, p. 1–5. Reprinted in the year 1708.

† [These fabrications are referred to, though less minutely, in the Life of Henderson.—Ed.]

pacy into Scotland by James VI. No violence, no bribery, or corruption, on the part of the monarch; no perjury or deceit on the part of the prelates; not so much as a High Commission Court to be heard of. But primitive order, or the entire appearance of it, being restored, religion flourishes, and the people are all contented and happy, until the hydra, Presbytery, again rears its horrid head, and throws all things back into confusion and anarchy.

O fortunatam natam, me Consule Romam!

But let the truth be told, and how is the picture reversed! Who knows not the wretched system of favouritism under which James VI. acted from the time that he assumed the reins of government into his own hands in Scotland; his infatuated partiality to those who continually plotted his own destruction and that of the Protestant religion; and his persevering attempts to overthrow the liberties of the Presbyterian Church, which produced that spirit of firm resistance and bold rebuke on the part of the ministers, against which Jacobites have so often declaimed, but which the true friends of liberty will not scruple, in the main, to applaud?* Who is ignorant of the series of hypocrisy, dissimulation, and perfidy,—the low, mean, and unworthy arts,—the violent and unconstitutional stretches of power,—the flatteries, threats, bribes, imprisonments, banishments—by which Prelacy, with its train of arbitrary canons and childish ceremonies, was obtruded upon Scotland, and maintained for a course of years, in opposition to the known inclinations of the great body of intelligent ministers and people? And who without the pale of the Scots Episcopal Church needs now to be told, that the measure which at last aroused the spirit of the nation, and excited them as one man to throw off the yoke (the imposition of an Anglo-Popish liturgy and canons), was planned and executed in such a way as to proclaim the infatuation of its promoters, and to verify the

* Those who have read only the common histories of that period, would do well also to consult a valuable tract by Principal Baillie, entitled, "A Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland," printed anno 1646.

old adage, "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat?*" This is freely admitted by Clarendon and Burnet.*

We were prepared for a tragical account of the civil war in the reign of Charles I.; and from the spirit of the author, we were not surprised to find him improving the part which Presbyterians acted in it to the discredit of their religious system. His narrative of this presents the usual jumble to be found in the Tory historians of that period—a confounding of the patriotic resistance made by the Parliament to the arbitrary and illegal measures of Charles, with the excesses of violent republicans, and enthusiastical turbulent sectaries, in overturning the constitution. There are only two things in this part of his narrative, or rather invective, upon which we shall animadvert at present. The first is his assertion that the Scots sold their king to the English, when he had taken refuge in their camp, p. 23. This is a calumny as easily refuted as it has been frequently repeated. The well known fact is, that both the Scots and English Parliaments had been for years engaged in hostilities against the king, under the conviction, that he had formed the design of overthrowing their fundamental laws and liberties. When the royal party was subdued, and the king had fallen into the hands of one of the allied powers, why should an arrangement be represented as disgraceful, which had for its only object the committing of the keeping of the royal person to one of the Parliaments, until the subsisting differences between him and both were amicably settled? This was all that the Scots did. But did they not receive a sum of money for giving him up? They did not. The £200,000 which they received from the Parliament of England, was but a very small part of an acknowledged debt owing to them, as arrears to their army, by an express treaty made several years before. The payment of it was voted by the English Parliament *four months* before they had come to any arrangement with the Scots respecting the disposal of the king's person; and, during this interval, there were

* Clarendon's History, b. ii. p. 84. fol. Burnet's Mem. of the Dukes of Hamilton, pp. 29, 30.

several hot debates between the commissioners of the two kingdoms on this subject.* How then, without a violation of all truth, can these two transactions be identified? Whether the Scots did right or wrong in this measure, they cannot be charged with acting upon mercenary motives. But strong reasons were not wanting to persuade them to comply with the demand of the English Parliament. The king had always resided in England since the union of the crowns; the Scottish army had gone into that country as an auxiliary; their refusal to comply with the claim of the English Parliament would have involved the kingdoms in another bloody war; Charles had peremptorily refused to accede to the propositions for peace which they had presented to him; and, lured by the hope (which ultimately proved his ruin) that, amidst the divisions which prevailed, he would be able to manage, so as to resume his authority without restrictions, he had repeatedly written to London for liberty to repair thither, previous to the time that the Scots Parliament agreed to commit him to the English: in a word, before consenting to this, the Scots obtained the strongest assurances that nothing would be attempted injurious to his person and just authority. Besides, could they anticipate the tragedy which was acted *two years* after?†

The other assertion, that the Presbyterians were equally sharers of the infamy of Charles's murder, with the Independents and other English sectaries (p. 24), is, if possible, still more unfounded and calumnious than the former. Such language has, indeed, been often used in "Thirtieth of January" sermons, and similar publications, but it is not easy to conceive any thing more contradictory to the best established facts. In the English Parliament which restored Charles II., a member, wishing to curry favour with the new rulers, asserted in a speech, that those who first drew the sword in

* Principal Baillie's Review of Bishop Bramhall's Warning against the Scots Discipline. Dedic. pag. penult. Delf. 1649. Ludlow's Letter to Hollingworth, p. 67. 1662. Stevenson's History, iii. 1158–1168. Laing's History, iii. 342–344.

† See the authorities in last note, with Lord Hollis's Memoirs, p. 68.

the civil war, were equally criminal with those who cut off the king's head; but he was instantly ordered to his knees, and severely reprimanded. Of all others, the keen Episcopalians have the least reason to provoke an inquiry into the remote causes of this catastrophe. It was persons of this stamp who poisoned the royal ears with their fulsome adulation, and slavish principles; who, by preaching up the absolute authority of kings, and the passive obedience of subjects, pushed on a prince, too much inclined of himself to such principles, to adopt and persevere in those unconstitutional measures, which produced a breach between him and the Parliament. The conduct of the Episcopal divines who surrounded his Majesty, and inculcated upon his conscience the divine right and absolute necessity of Prelacy, was the principal cause of his rejecting the propositions made to him in the Isle of Wight, which was followed by his arraignment and execution. The Presbyterians, both in England and Scotland, were unanimously attached to monarchy; not an individual of them was a republican. One has only to look into "Baillie's Letters," and to read his confidential correspondence with his friends at that period, to be convinced of the dread which they all felt at the prospect of Charles's execution, and the horror with which they were struck at its perpetration. As soon as it appeared that his trial was intended, they publicly declared against it in their prayers, preachings, protestations, and remonstrances. We have now before us the representation of the Presbyterian ministers of London, presented to the General and Council of War, January 18, 1649, subscribed by 47 persons; and also that of the ministers of Banbury and Brackley, presented January 25th, subscribed by 19; in both of which they boldly censure that measure, and solemnly warn them against persevering in such wickedness. Representations and remonstrances, in the same strain, from the ministers of the other provinces, were also sent up to London; the number of subscribers to these amounted to about 800. A few Independent ministers also joined in these. The Scottish commissioners, acting under instruc-

tions from both church and state, used every means to induce the *Rump* of the English Parliament to desist from the trial of their sovereign, and entered a public protestation against their procedure. When Charles was executed, the English Presbyterians were not deterred by the threatenings of the army, from publishing to the world their detestation of the deed. The Presbyterians in Ireland acted in the same determined manner. * The bitterness with which Milton inveighs against them, in his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, is a convincing proof of the united and determined opposition which the Presbyterian body had made to the measure which he had undertaken to defend. Mr Christopher Love, an eminent Presbyterian minister, was executed on Tower Hill for favouring the royal cause. Did any of the bishops become martyrs in their master's cause at this time? Did they not either flee the kingdom, or conduct themselves in such a manner as to secure their safety under the republican and regicide government? We never heard of above two Episcopal divines (Dr Gauden, and Dr Hammond), who gave in any representation against the design of the sectarian government to execute Charles.

The account which our author gives of the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland, under Charles II., is of a piece with the preceding part of his narrative. He passes over the perfidy of the monarch in violating the most solemn engagements, and falsifying reiterated promises which he

* A Serious and Faithful Representation of the Ministers of the Gospel within the Province of London, to the General and his Council of War. Reprinted at Edinburgh, 1649. The Humble Advice of the Ministers of Banbury and Brackley (to the same). London, printed, 1649. A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London, 1649. A Solemn Testimony against the present Proceedings of Sectaries in England, in reference to Religion and Government, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly, Edinburgh, 1649. Bates, Elenchus, p. 11. Historical Essay on the Loyalty of Presbyterians, p. 240–249, printed 1713. A Sample of Jet-Black Prelatic Calumny, in answer to a Pamphlet called A Sample of True-Blue Presbyterian Loyalty, p. 89–110. Glasgow, 1713. Stevenson's History, iii. 1289–1302. Neal's History of the Puritans, by Toulmin, iii. 488–508.

had made to preserve Presbyterian government, with his ingratitude to men who had suffered so much for their adherence to him. He conceals the unparalleled treachery of Sharp, who, being intrusted by the Presbyterians with the management of their cause in Holland and at London, basely betrayed it, and continued to amuse them in his letters with the most false information, and the most hypocritical pretences, until the scheme for overthrowing their liberties was matured; securing to himself the archbishopric of St Andrews as the reward of his iniquity.* He keeps back the fact which even a bishop thought it necessary to record, that the managers in the Parliament which overturned Presbytery, and restored Episcopacy, were, during the time of its sitting, "*almost perpetually drunk.*" † While he describes at large the excesses of which he accuses the Presbyterians, he palliates and throws a shade over the arbitrary statutes, the bloody edicts, the fines, imprisonments, banishments, the tortures, intercommunings, executions, and massacres; the too faithful record of which remains to the eternal disgrace of the Government of that period, and the recital of which must make the blood of every person of humanity to run chill. He suppresses the issue of these measures, in bringing the nation to the very brink of Popery and slavery, from which it was delivered by the ever-memorable and glorious REVOLUTION. Instead of this, we have the following important piece of information:—

"At the Revolution, in 1688, the Scottish bishops taking the apostolic precept of submission to the supreme power in the most unrestricted sense, and reasoning upon the principles of the constitution as then generally understood, refused to transfer to King William the allegiance which they had sworn to their still living, but less conscientious Sovereign, James VII. For this reason they were deprived of their worldly dignities and emoluments; and, together with their ejected clergy, were thrown on the support of those who adhered to their ministrations."—p. 26.

And what friend of genuine liberty is not disposed to

* See the correspondence between him and Mr Robert Douglas, in Wodrow's History, vol. i., Introduction; and Burnet's History of his own Times, i. 129, 130, 170. Edinburgh, 1753.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, i. 168–174.

exclaim, Amen! so it was, and so it ought to have been? And this was "the origin of the Episcopal Church of Scotland."

Before leaving this chapter, however, we must not omit the concluding paragraph.

"It may be proper to add, for regulating the judgment in regard to some circumstances connected with it, that Christ allows not his religion to be propagated by doing violence to any man. Persuasion, and not compulsion, is the means of conviction which He authorises; and, indeed, the only means that can agree with the nature of man, who is a free agent, and suit the genius of Christianity, which is a reasonable service. Every Church, therefore, that either herself persecutes, or that instigates the magistrate to persecute those who dissent from her, forgets what spirit she is of, and incurs blame."—p. 29.

All this is very good.

"But, on the other hand, when such as think they are in possession of the truth, attempt to disseminate it by means that are unjustifiable, or illegal, and oblige the magistrate, in maintenance of the peace and order of society, to draw the sword, what they suffer on this account is not persecution, but the punishment which they deserve, and which Christ predicted would be inflicted on them, when he said, 'All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.'"—pp. 29, 30.

If this was not intended as an apology for the "severe coercive measures" adopted against the Presbyterians during the preceding reigns, we know no pertinent purpose for which it could be introduced; and if this was the intention, the reader is left to judge what confidence is to be placed in the fair principles of the foregoing paragraph.

It may not be improper here to give an extract from a Roman Catholic publication, which appeared within these twelve years. The author, after pouring the most virulent abuse on the Reformers in general, particularly those of Scotland, affects to confess that Catholics, as well as Protestants, "have been guilty of shameful excesses, under pretext of religion and zeal;" but he immediately turns upon his heel, and apologises for his party. "Yet give me leave to observe," says he, "that there is between them a *striking difference* in many respects. 1*st*, The Catholic religion was never introduced into this or any other country, by persecution, but by preaching; whereas the Reformed religion was every where introduced by fire and sword. When Ca-

tholic princes enacted severe laws against their Protestant subjects, it was to keep them in the ancient religion, which both they and all their ancestors professed, ever since the beginning of Christianity; whereas, when Protestant princes adopted similar measures towards their Catholic subjects, it was to make them forsake the old religion, in which they had been brought up, and to embrace a new modelled one. 3*d*, Protestant princes persecuted Catholics, for not submitting to the authority of a new Church which themselves allowed to be fallible, and for not adopting doctrines which themselves acknowledged might possibly be false,—which was an intolerable, cruel, and most absurd tyranny; whereas Catholic princes, when they used the like means, either to prevent their subjects from turning Protestants, or to call them back to the faith which they had themselves professed before, acted upon this principle, that these doctrines which they wished to enforce were infallible truths, being the faith of that Church which Almighty God always had upon the earth, in which he has always been worshipped according to his will, and which St Paul denominates *the pillar and ground of truth*."—"Catholics, through all the world, acted upon this principle, that the Church which the Protestants had left, and to which they wanted them to return, was that same Church planted by the apostles, and known in all ages under the name of the Holy Catholic Church, which all Christians are bound to obey—a fact which Protestants themselves cannot deny; but the consequences of which they strive to evade, by pretending, against the express testimony and promise of Christ, that the gates of hell have prevailed against it."* Satan will sometimes transform himself into an angel of light, and preach like an apostle of toleration; but examine him a little narrowly, and the cloven foot and forked tongue will appear.

In Chapters Second and Third, Mr Milne professes to

* "An Enquiry whether the Marks of the true Church be applicable to Presbyterian Churches: *Woe unto them! For they have perished in the gainsaying of Core.* Berwick, printed by Lochhead and Gracie, 1801."—p. 96-98.

state the difference between the *doctrine* of the Presbyterian establishment, and of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

The second chapter is a complete specimen of his favourite *argumentum ad invidiam*. Its drift is to excite prejudices against the Westminster "Confession of Faith," from the political principles and conduct of its compilers. We have already said enough to expose the futility and falsity of his charges on this head. In other respects, the Presbyterians have no more reason to be ashamed of the compilers of their Confession, than the Episcopalians of the framers of their Articles. It would be well if both classes in the present day were more like to their worthy predecessors, in orthodoxy, zeal for the truth, and a holy life. We have no desire to detract, in the slightest degree, from the merits of those men who composed the English Articles, for whom we entertain a high veneration. But it is not derogatory to them to say, that they were inferior in point of biblical learning, and accurate theological knowledge, to many divines in the 17th century, who were employed in composing the Confession of Faith. Mr Milne says, that the framers of the articles "proceeded with the utmost circumspection in this business; conferred frequently among themselves; and, after mature deliberation, came to a conclusion," p. 36. We have only to say, that from the records of the Westminster Assembly, it appears that they proceeded in the same way. And if they were not called to "give the highest possible proof of their sincerity, by laying down their lives at the stake for the Protestant faith," they, at least, gave as high proof of their sincerity as the non-jurant ministers at the Revolution did (p. 36), by renouncing their worldly emoluments, when they could no longer retain them with a good conscience.

In the third chapter, Mr Milne gives a very frightful representation of the nature and tendency of Calvinism, and extols the doctrine of the English Articles, which he asserts to be undoubtedly anti-Calvinistic. We do not mean to enter upon this subject here, but refer the reader to our review of the Bishop of Lincoln's pretended refuta-

tion of Calvinism;* and we believe that it will be the opinion of all, that if the bishop has failed in his attempt, the minister of Banff will not be able to boast of great success. We shall, however, state a few facts, of which we strongly suspect that he, and the Scottish Episcopalians in general, are in a great measure ignorant. He insists, as we have said, that the English Articles are anti-Calvinistical. For our part, we are so much convinced of the contrary, that we cannot perceive how an unprejudiced and ingenuous Arminian can, *ex animo*, subscribe them; and we do not wonder at the attempts, however unsatisfactory, which have been made to explain away the subscription as a mere bond of peace. But let the following collateral evidence be weighed. We know of none who deny that the confessions adopted by the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, Geneva, and Scotland, were strictly Calvinistic. But we have the unsuspected testimony of an English bishop, and a martyr too, that in the year 1550 (previous to the revisal of the articles), Archbishop Cranmer, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, St David's, Lincoln, and Bath, were sincerely bent on advancing the 'purity of *doctrine, agreeing in all things with the Helvetic churches.*" † Cranmer not only maintained a close correspondence with the Genevan reformer, and consulted him on every important step of the English reformation, but communicated to him his plan of a common confession for all the Reformed Churches, of which Calvin expressed his high approbation.‡ Knox, whose sentiments were thoroughly Calvinistical, was one of the persons employed in reviewing the articles. § The Puritans, who were decidedly of the same sentiments, never expressed the smallest scruple about the doctrinal articles; and the English dissenters continued to subscribe them until 1779. The applications for relief from this subscription were chiefly made by such of them as had imbibed Arminian and Socinian tenets,

* [Referring to two able articles in the Instructor for May and June 1812.—Ed.]

† Hooper *apud* Burnet's Hist. of Reform., iii. 201.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, 409, 410.

§ Burnet, iii. 212. Strype's Cranmer, 273.

and they were preceded by a similar application from several hundreds of Episcopal clergy, who were known enemies to Calvinism.* That the sentiments of the dignitaries of the Church of England were highly Calvinistical in 1595, is ut beyond all doubt by the "Lambeth Articles," "composed and agreed upon by John, Archbishop of Canterbury; Richard, Bishop of London; Richard, elect Bishop of Bangor; and sundry other reverend and learned divines there present."† The Lambeth Articles were adopted by the Irish Convocation, anno 1615, and ratified by royal authority.‡ Such also were the sentiments of the English bishops and divines who assisted at the Synod of Dort in 1618, when the Arminian tenets were condemned, and the Calvinistical doctrines ratified.§ Subsequent to that period, under the influence of Archbishop Laud, who had formed the mad scheme of bringing the English Church to a nearer conformity with the Church of Rome, great entertainment was given to the Arminian doctrines, on account of their affinity to the Romish; and from that period must be dated the gradual diffusion of anti-Calvinistic sentiments, which first infected the high-church, and afterwards spread among the low-church divines of that communion.

If we turn to Scotland, the evidence is equally strong. The doctrine of the old Scots Confession is unquestionably

* Bogue and Bennet's History of Dissenters, vol. iv. p. 155–166.

† Take the following as a specimen of them:—1*st*, "God from eternity hath predestinated *certain* men unto life; *certain* men he hath reprobated unto death. 2*d*, The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is *not* the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the persons predestinated, but *only* in the good-will and pleasure of God. 7*th*, Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to *all* men, by which they may be saved if they will."—*Collier's History*, ii. 644. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 462.

‡ Collier's History, ii. 708. Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, Appendix, pp. 30, 31.

§ Theologorum Magnæ Britanniæ Sententia, apud Acta Synodi Nat. Dordrechtanæ, p. 490–505. Hanoviæ, 4to. Some time after their return, the English delegates drew up and published a "Joint Attestation," in which they declared, that the judgment which they had given at the Synod was "not only warrantable by the Holy Scriptures, but also conformable to the received doctrine of our said venerable mother," the Church of England.

Calvinistical, and this was the creed of all the Episcopalians in Scotland until 1616. In that year the *Bishops* drew up a new Confession of Faith. And what was the strain of its doctrine? Rigidly Calvinistical. * The old Scots Confession was revived in the year 1670, in the oath called the *Test*, in which the whole Episcopal clergy swore that they "believed the said Confession to be founded on, and agreeable to, the written Word of God;" that they would adhere to it all the days of their life, and educate their children therein.† In the year 1692, four years after the Revolution, 180 Episcopal ministers, with Dr Canaries at their head, applied to the General Assembly, in their own name and in the name of the whole body of Episcopal clergy in the north, to be admitted to ministerial communion. On that occasion they not only agreed to take this formula, "I, A. B., do sincerely declare and promise, that I will submit to the Presbyterian government of the Church as it is now established in this kingdom;" but they also promised "that they would subscribe the said Confession of Faith (*the Westminster Confession*), and Larger and Shorter Catechism, confirmed by Act of Parliament, as containing the doctrine of the Protestant religion professed in this kingdom."‡ After this statement of facts, the reader may judge with what decency or consistency Mr Milne could give such a representation of the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as he has done. When he described it as making God, "in the very worst sense, a respecter of persons—an

* That Confession contains, among other articles equally strong, the following:—"This God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to the good pleasure of his will, for the praise of the glory of his grace, did predestinate and elect, in Christ, some men and angels unto eternal felicity, and others he did appoint for eternal condemnation, according to the council of his most free, most just, and most holy will, and to the praise and glory of his justice.—Albeit all mankind be fallen in Adam, yet only those who are elected before all time, are in time redeemed, restored, raised, and quickened again; not of themselves, or of their works, lest any man should glory, but only of the mercy of God." —*Calderwood's History*, p. 668.

† Wodrow's History, ii. pp. 193, 194.

‡ Anderson's Defence of the Presbyterians, pp. 7, 8.

unrelenting Deity—a tyrannical despot—charged with all the crimes which bring upon the reprobate everlasting damnation," a doctrine which "destroys the distinction between virtue and vice, and releases" man "from all responsibility for what he does,—nourishing a vicious indolence, fostering a presumptuous security, and raising and strengthening a fanatical confidence;" did he not know that this was the doctrine received, believed, and avowed, by the most distinguished Episcopalian divines in England, Ireland, and Scotland; and that it is the doctrine to which his own party offered to subscribe after the Revolution? In the meantime, all who adhere to this doctrine have the satisfaction to know, that his representation of it is as false and calumnious as it is destitute of all proof.

In his fourth chapter, Mr Milne attempts to show the superiority of the Episcopalian above the Presbyterian mode of *worship*. Here he is confessedly obliged to desert the rule of Scripture, and to take shelter under the practice of the primitive Church. "The sacred volume," says he, "prescribes only general, and apparently incidental, rules for the exercise of it." Now, if there is any thing about which God in every age has shown himself jealous, in guarding against human inventions and additions to his ordinances, it is in the matter of his immediate worship. How often are such declarations as this to be found in Scripture, "In vain do they WORSHIP me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men?" Matt. xv. 9. Mr Milne says, "The primitive Church, following, *as we may believe*, apostolic precedent, observed, besides the Lord's day, several other days in memory of Christ and of his martyrs;—offered up to God preconceived prayers, &c." But why should *we believe* this without a shred of evidence? Is there the least reason from all the New Testament to think, that the apostles observed the holidays in question? Can it be incredible, or is it unlikely, that the primitive Church early departed from the practice of the apostles, when we find particular churches so much inclined to it, while they were yet alive? "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years: I am afraid of you." Gal. iv. 10, 11.

We have innumerable examples of prayers, both personal and social, private and public, used under the Old and the New Testament. Dare the advocates of the Liturgy assert, that these were offered up according to a prescribed, or established form? Can they prove it in one instance? As to the Lord's prayer, have they as yet been able to prove that ever the apostles used it as a form, or that Christ intended that it should be so used? Do they imagine that the Presbyterians will agree to prefer the doubtful, uncertain, and uncanonical practice of the ancient Church (into which so much superstition soon crept), to the clear and undeniable practice of the saints, as recorded in the inspired Scriptures? "In the primitive Church," says Mr Milne, "communicants received the Eucharist in a worshipping attitude." But did our Saviour and his apostles receive it in that attitude? They did not. And Mr Milne should have known, that the Presbyterians, while they have such example on their side, can not only disregard the practice of (what he calls) the primitive Church, but can laugh to scorn all such puerile arguments, as that "the posture of sitting was introduced by the Arians," and that "the Pope communicates sitting." Mr Milne says that the first Reformers in Scotland used the Liturgy of the Church of England from 1557 to 1564; and that, when it was superseded, another form of prayer, known under the name of John Knox's Liturgy, was adopted in its stead. The first of these assertions, when advanced by Sage, was refuted by Anderson.* With respect to the last, it is sufficient to say, that what is called Knox's Liturgy is rather a Directory than a Form of prayer, the minister being left to vary from the words of it, or even to substitute other prayers of his own; of which any person may be satisfied by consulting the book itself. What the author has advanced in pp. 58, 59, as to assistance of the Spirit in prayer, is either flatly contradictory to Scripture and the doctrine of the Church of England, or it is altogether impertinent to the subject. And to dismiss this part of the subject, we may safely leave it to the

* The Countryman's Letter to the Curate, printed in the year 1711.

determination of any sensible serious person who has attended for some time in a Presbyterian and Episcopalian congregation, which of the two modes of divine service is the most simple, instructive, impressive, and devotional.

Mr Milne has not got much to say in behalf of Episcopal *government*, in the last chapter of his pamphlet. "Thus," says he, after amusing his reader for a while by some desultory reflections, "Thus do necessary *implication* and credible testimony," *i. e.*, human testimony, "evince the apostolic institution, and the permanent obligation of Episcopacy." And this is the only ground upon which the boasted divine right of Episcopacy rests, which is the very pillar of unity, one of the essentials in Christianity, without which there can be no church, no ministry, no regular dispensation of divine ordinances, and no ordinary or assured way to heaven! If Timothy and Titus be *unbishoped* (which they have been long ago, in the way of being advanced to the more honourable office of Evangelists), our author retreats upon the apocalyptic angels; if he cannot prove these to have been bishops (which none of his predecessors have been able to do), he entrenches himself behind the testimony of the early fathers, and then cries out, that, if we dislodge him from this last stronghold, we will go far to overthrow "the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament." The reader must be curious to see this evidence for Episcopacy, which is paramount to that for the sacred books. Take it in the author's own words.

"Clement, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, speaking, without doubt, of the ministers of the Christian Church, distinguishes them by the allusive names of High Priest, Priests, and Levites. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, does not, indeed, mention expressly the order of Bishops. That Epistle, however, clearly implies the existence of such an order in the Church. Besides, who were Clement and Polycarp? The former was Bishop of Rome, and the latter was Bishop of Smyrna, by the very appointment of apostles themselves."—pp. 66, 67.

In reply to this, we can only shake our heads, and say, if the authenticity of the New Testament depend upon such evidence as this, *actum est!* *

* "It is all over with it."

We have been induced to bestow attention on this work, chiefly because it afforded us an opportunity of correcting a number of misrepresentations in the history of our Church, which we know to be extremely common among a certain class of writers. In taking leave of the author, we would give him our advice, that if he shall resolve to write again upon this subject, he should select some one particular branch which he can discuss, in the way of bringing forward authorities for the facts which he alleges, and arguments for the positions which he assumes; in which case he may expect lenity to be exercised towards him, notwithstanding partial blunders, and transient transports of temper. But if he shall neglect this salutary advice, his future publications will be deemed unworthy of notice by Presbyterians, and after circulating for a while in the hands of a party, will go whither, we are afraid, the present, notwithstanding the notice we have taken of it, will soon be found,

In vicum, vendentem thus et odores.

In the meantime, we would recommend to him seriously to read over his own pamphlet, keeping in his eye, as he goes along, the sound advice which he gives to his flock, in the following passage of his dedication, with which we close our review.

"Love of the truth comprehends freedom from corrupt prejudice, from vicious attachment, and sordid selfishness; diligence and attention in seeking, patience and candour in weighing evidence; and resolution and courage to declare for the side towards which that evidence preponderates, to espouse the cause which it supports, to enter the path which it lays open; or, in other words, to embrace the doctrines, the certainty of which it proves, and to practise the duties, the obligation of which it establishes.

"This disposition constitutes what the Scripture calls the eye that sees, and the ear that hears; the infantile docility which qualifies for admission into the kingdom of God; the meekness which receives the ingrafted word that is able to save the soul; the honest and good heart in which it takes deep root and bears fruit. It is a disposition, therefore, without which the evidence of the Gospel cannot be assented to, nor its doctrines believed, nor its precepts obeyed; and which, for this reason, should be earnestly asked of God by prayer, and assiduously cultivated by all the methods proper for the purpose.

"This assertion is fully substantiated, and this duty is powerfully

enforced, by the treatment which the truth meets with from those in whose heart is no love of it. When the truth is laid before such persons, accompanied with an evidence which they find themselves to be unable to disprove, they are offended at it, and affect to hold it in contempt, or else try to divert attention from it, by arguments drawn, perhaps, with the confidence of ignorance, the inveteracy of prejudice, or the wrath of kindled resentment, from custom, from opinion, from personality, and from consequences, and addressed, not to the understanding, but to the habits, the prepossessions, the fancies, the affections, and the passions of men. It is manifest that these pervert their reason, and subject themselves to the inthralment of error. And can such conduct be blameless, and end happily?"

REVIEW OF SIMEON ON THE LITURGY.*

MR SIMEON is well known as a pious, evangelical, and eloquent preacher, and as the author of different publications, intended as *helps* to students and young divines in the *composition of Sermons*. In the former line his popularity is great, and we believe that it is deservedly so. In the latter department, his labours have also met with approbation; and although we do not apprehend that a person will ever become an able or distinguished preacher, by practising upon *skeletons* prepared to his hand, and have ground to fear that, in many instances, they have proved hindrances instead of helps to composition; yet, we are very far from denying altogether the utility of the design, or wishing to detract from the merits of its execution. The selection of texts is judiciously made; the divisions, although too strongly marked with uniformity on subjects very different, are, in general, simple, natural, and just; and the topics suggested for illustration are scriptural, apposite, and frequently striking. We have no doubt that they have afforded important and

* The Excellency of the Liturgy, in Four Discourses, preached before the University of Cambridge, in November 1811. To which is prefixed, An Answer to Dr Marsh's Inquiry respecting "the neglecting to give a Prayer-Book with the Bible." By the Rev. CHARLES SIMEON, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Pp. 111. Cambridge, 1812.

[From the Christian Instructor, Vol. VII., August 1813.]

useful hints to those who have looked into them solely with that view, and not for the purpose of servile adoption; and even when a very different use has been made of them, we have had the satisfaction to know that some congregations have had an opportunity of hearing good orthodox divinity, with which they never would have been edified, but for the "Helps to Composition."

In the present work, Mr Simeon appears before the public in a new character,—for we do not recollect that he has, on any former occasion, distinguished himself as a polemical writer. But though it be among his first essays in this line, it must be confessed that he does not display any symptoms of timidity, having, at the same time, entered the lists against the high church party, in the person of their redoubted champion, Dr Marsh, and against the whole host of Presbyterians, and Protestant Dissenters, in opposition to whom he engages to defend, not only the lawfulness and expediency, but also the excellency of the English Liturgy. This certainly required, on the part of the author, a competent portion of confidence in his own powers, in addition to a thorough conviction of the goodness of the cause in which he had embarked. Notwithstanding this, we entertain strong doubts as to Mr Simeon's being as well qualified for descending into the arena of controversy, as he is for ascending the pulpit. The truth is, that the preacher and the polemic, the orator and the controversialist, are two different characters; and the person who makes a respectable and even a distinguished figure in the former character, may make but a poor and awkward one in the latter. Tillotson could not have written the "Essay on Human Understanding," and Blair was not qualified for managing the controversy against Hume on Miracles. Mr Simeon will not, at least, be offended with our comparisons, especially when we add, that, as far as sentiment is concerned, we prefer his skeletons to the finished pieces of either of these celebrated preachers. The popular, the open, the declamatory style of composition to which public speakers are often habituated, however much it is suited to a promiscuous audience, and how useful soever it may be for ex-

plaining and impressing upon their minds great and acknowledged truths, disqualifies them for close argumentation, and for unravelling the intricacies, and exposing the fallacy of sophistical reasoning. Tropes and interrogations, emphatic pauses and expostulations, especially when they are accompanied with the corresponding gesticulations and tones, have a powerful effect upon hearers; but they lose much of their force when committed to writing, and the sturdy disputant, who often has not a spark of imagination, esteems them no more than the leviathan does brass and iron. Mr Simeon is not unacquainted with the rules of controversial warfare, and he has made abundant use of its tactical terms. He *takes his ground*, he *plants his foot*, he *challenges—dares—defies* his adversary, he *questions* him, he *drives him from every refuge*. But amidst these oratorical flourishes (which he might have spared without weakening his argument), we suspect that he more than once throws himself open to an acute and vigilant antagonist. We speak at present of his controversy with Dr Marsh.

The principal object of the tract before us is to establish, "The Excellency of the Liturgy," *i. e.*, the Prayer-book of the Church of England. Our author has chosen as the text of his discourses on this subject, Deut. v. 28, 29,—"They have well said all that they have spoken: O that there were such an heart in them!" Mr Simeon is aware, and he does not pretend to conceal, that these words have no manner of reference to the subject to which he has thought proper to apply them. He tells us, that after considering his text "in its true and proper sense," and after investigating "its hidden import, and spiritual or mystical application," he means to take it "in an improper and accommodated sense, and to *notice* it in reference to the requests which we from time to time make unto God, in the liturgy of our Established Church." We know that Mr Simeon can plead precedents for this, drawn from the practice of preachers of different ages, and of different communions. But this does not satisfy us as to the propriety or the decency of using a passage of Scripture as a mere motto, or set-off to a dis-

course, and after paying our compliments to it, and coldly *noticing* it in the introduction, to dismiss it altogether in the remaining part of the sermon. Perhaps we are uncharitable, but we confess that when we have met with a text used in this way, and have found the preacher discovering his knowledge of the passage, by first giving its proper sense, and then handling it in a quite different mode, we have been forcibly tempted to suspect, either that he wished an opportunity of displaying his ingenuity, or that he could not find a passage in the Bible which suited his subject. We are not so rigid as to find fault with the *occasional* use of a phrase or passage of Scripture by way of accommodation, in a sermon, or in any serious discourse; we think this may be done with propriety, and with happy effect; but we must protest against the common use of *texts* of this kind, so long as a text is considered as the theme, argument, and ground-work of the discourse to which it is prefixed. Mr Simeon appeals to the example of the apostles, "who not unfrequently adopt the language of the Old Testament, to convey their own ideas, even when it has no necessary connection with their subject," p. 28. But we beg leave to remind Mr Simeon (for he cannot be altogether ignorant of it), that the apostles do this only in the way of occasional and transient illustration, and not when they are about to establish a controverted doctrine, or to demonstrate the excellency of any part of the Christian system.

We have reckoned it the more necessary to give this caveat, because the author is a teacher of others in the art of preaching; and as his authority stands high, there is danger of his example being followed in a departure from the line of good sense and propriety. We are happy, however, to have it to add, that he has given us an excellent sermon on the proper sense of his text. In the first discourse he considers the words as setting before us the *sentiments* and *dispositions* which God approves: the *sentiments*—"They have well said all that they have spoken:" the *dispositions*—"O that there was in them such a heart." Having analysed the speech of the Israelites, which met with the divine approbation, he finds in it the following sentiments: "An acknow-

ledgment that they could not stand before the Divine Majesty,—a desire that God would appoint some one to mediate between him and them,—and lastly, an engagement to regard every word that should be delivered to them through a mediator, with the same obediential reverence, as they would if it were spoken by God himself." Now, this is worthy of Mr Simeon. It is natural, it is just, it is simple, and, at the same time, accurate and comprehensive. We should willingly extract the whole of the illustration of these particulars, so much are we pleased with it; and we cannot refrain from quoting the following paragraphs. Having illustrated the second sentiment from Deut. xviii. 15, and Acts iii. 22, Mr Simeon goes on thus:—

"Here it should be remembered, that we are speaking, not from conjecture, but from infallible authority; and that the construction we are putting on the text is, not a fanciful interpretation of our own, but God's own exposition of his own words. Behold, then, the sentiment expressed in our text, and the commendation given to it by God himself; it is a sentiment which is the very sum and substance of the whole Gospel; it is a sentiment, which whosoever embraces truly, and acts upon it faithfully, can never perish, but shall have eternal life. The preceding sentiment, that we are incapable of standing before an holy God, is good, as introductory to this; but *this* is the crown of all; this consciousness that we *cannot* come to God, and that God *will not* come to us, but through Christ. This acquiescence in him as the divinely appointed Mediator; this acceptance of him as 'the Way, the Truth, and the Life;' *this sentiment*, I say, God did, and will approve, wheresoever it may be found. The Lord grant that we may all embrace this sentiment as we ought; and that, having tasted its sweetness and felt its efficacy, we may attain, by means of it, all the blessings which a due reception of it will insure!"—pp. 9, 10.

In illustration of the third sentiment, he says,—

"The moral law was never given with a view to men's obtaining salvation by their obedience to it; for it was not possible that they who had transgressed it in any one particular, should afterwards be justified by it. St Paul says (Gal. iii. 21), 'If there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.' But the law could not give life to fallen man; and, therefore, that way of obtaining righteousness is for ever closed. With what view, then, was the law given? I answer, to show the existence of sin, and the lost state of man by reason of sin, and to shut him up to that way of obtaining mercy which God has revealed in his Gospel. I need not multiply passages in proof of this; two will suffice to establish it beyond a doubt:—'As many as

are under the law, are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.' Again, 'The law is our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.'—Gal. iii. 10–24. But when the law has answered this end, then it has a farther use, namely, to make known to us the way in which we should walk. In the first instance, we are to flee from it *as a covenant*, and to seek for mercy through the Mediator; but when we have obtained mercy through the Mediator, then we are to receive the law at his hands *as a rule of life*, and to render a willing obedience to it."—pp. 11, 12.

But we must leave, for the present, this pleasing theme, and advance, along with our author, to debatable ground. "Perhaps," says he, "there never was any human composition more cavilled at, or less deserving of such treatment, than our Liturgy. Nothing has been deemed too harsh to say of it." Without stopping to examine this appeal to the compassion of his readers, let us attend to his general vindication of it, as "lawful in itself, expedient for us, and acceptable to God." His first argument is, "The use of a form of prayer cannot be wrong, for, if it had been, God would not have prescribed the use of forms to the Jewish nation." But here we must stop the author *in limine*. He knows very well, that it is one of the first rules in controversy to state accurately the point in debate, and this he did not neglect to do in his prefixed dispute with Dr Marsh. How comes it about that he has omitted this entirely here? He speaks of the use of a form of prayer, of a precomposed prayer, and he seems to think that he will have vindicated his Church, provided he prove that it is not unlawful to pray in a form of words, or in a form that has been precomposed. But we must inform him, that we can grant all this, and yet insist that the practice of the English Church, respecting this part of Divine service, is unlawful, inexpedient, and unacceptable to God. The proper question is,—Is it lawful and expedient to have set forms of prayer for every part of the public service of God, the use of which shall be authoritatively *imposed* upon all the ministers of the Church, and which they shall be bound to *repeat invariably* on the same days of every recurring year, without the slightest diminu-

tion, addition, or alteration? The Church of England says, that it shall be so within the whole of her extensive pale; so it has been for upwards of two centuries and a-half; and because they could not submit to this, thousands of serious persons have been subjected to great hardships and sufferings, and myriads have been driven from her communion. And we affirm, that no arrangement similar to this is to be found in the history either of the Jewish Church, or of the Christian Church, during at least the five first centuries.

When the question is properly stated, our author's proofs must appear very lame. How does he prove that the Jewish Church had a prescribed and imposed liturgy? First, by the directions given to Aaron and his sons, respecting the manner in which they were to bless the people.—Numb. vi. 23. Now, although we should grant that the priests were always to employ the same words in pronouncing a solemn benediction on the people, does it follow from this, that they had also forms prescribed for all their public prayers? But we cannot even make that concession; for it is apparent from the passage, that they were not restricted to one form in benediction, but were left to choose among a number. "On this wise," or after this manner, ye shall bless; either saying, "the Lord bless thee, and keep thee;" or, "the Lord make his face to shine upon thee," &c. It was enough if they "put the Lord's name upon the children of Israel" in blessing them; as appears from the last verse of the chapter, which explains those which precede it. This view of the words agrees with the apostolical benediction, which is expressed in different forms, in different epistles. The next proof is nothing to the purpose, being a solemn deprecation or oath, in the case of manslaughter.—Deut. xxi. Nor can the prayer to be used at the offering of first-fruits (Deut. xxvi. 5) help our author's argument; for, not to mention that this is a singular direction limited to one part of the service, there is no evidence that the Israelites were confined to the repetition of the words there mentioned. When it is said (Jer. xvi. 19), "The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our

fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit;" must we understand this as a form of prayer which the Gentiles should use? Besides, the prayer at the offering of first-fruits was not a common prayer for the congregation, but to be used by "every offerer" individually; and our author does not plead for the expediency of forms "in private prayer," and thinks it "desirable that every one should learn to express his own wants in *his own language*." But why should we dwell on these things? Our author does not venture to assert that the Jewish Church had a common prayer-book, or that those who presided in this part of their religious service in the temple or in the synagogues, performed it according to precomposed and prescribed forms. If this had been the fact, would it not have been mentioned somewhere in the Old Testament? Would not these forms of prayer have been expressly recorded among the other forms of that Church, which have been so particularly and minutely transmitted to us? How strange is it that Christians should so eagerly strive to "put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples," which was not imposed on the Church of God while she was yet in a state of minority, under tutors and governors, and in bondage under the elements of the world? How strange that good men should, in extolling the excellence of a stinted liturgy, seem to forget, that "because they are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into their hearts, crying, Abba, Father."

To eke out his argument from the Old Testament, Mr Simeon has adduced the psalms sung in the Jewish Church. But he does not seem to be aware that this, instead of strengthening, cuts the nerves of his argument. For when the Jews had forms of *psalmody*, why had they not also forms of *prayer* for their public worship? We can produce their psalm-book; let our author produce their prayer-book. We find forms of psalmody expressly delivered to be used in public worship (1 Chron. xvi. 7), and we find them used in the ordinary service of the Church hundreds of years after they were composed (2 Chron. xxix. 30). Let Mr Simeon find the forms of prayer which were so delivered and so used.

In vain does he attempt to identify the two exercises; for, whatever similarity there is between them, it is evident, both from Scripture, and from the nature of things, that prayer and praise are two specifically distinct ordinances and parts of worship. They were so under the old, they are so under the new dispensation.—See 1 Cor. xiv. 15; James v. 13. There can be no joint singing without a prescribed form of words; but who will say, that a prescribed form of words is necessary to joint prayer? The reader will now judge what force there is in the following appeal of our author:—"What are hymns, but forms of prayer and praise? and, if it be lawful to worship God in forms of verse, is it not equally so in forms of prose? We may say, therefore, our adversaries themselves being judges, that the use of a form of prayer is lawful."

On the subject of our Lord's prayer, so frequently introduced into discussions respecting liturgic forms, we do not mean to enter at present, as we have already had opportunities of considering it. Mr Simeon has said nothing to prove that our Saviour prescribed it as a form to his disciples, far less that he intended it to be used in this way by the Christian Church after his resurrection. And he has said nothing to vindicate his Church for the frequent and unbecoming repetition of it in the service of the same day,—a practice which has long been offensive to serious persons, and which receives not the slightest countenance from the example of those ancient churches to whom our opponents appeal, who used it sparingly, and only in the more solemn parts of their service. On the practice of the post-apostolical Church, our author produces nothing but the testimonies of Lucian and Pliny, respecting the psalms and hymns sung by the primitive Christians, which are quite extraneous and inapplicable to this subject; and a trite reference to "the Liturgies of St Peter, St Mark, and St James," palpable forgeries, which no learned man ought to mention in argument. In the primitive Church there was no precomposed prayer, even in the celebration of the Eucharist. "The President," says Justin Martyr, in his account of their practice, "offers up prayers

and thanksgivings *according to his ability.*" * "We pray from the heart, without a monitor," says Tertullian, when speaking of the public prayers of the Christians, and contrasting them with those of the heathen.† In the writings of the fathers, we meet with the "reading of lessons,—the reading of the sufferings of the martyrs,—the reading of epistles" from churches or eminent individuals; but we believe it will be difficult to produce a passage from them, in which the "reading of prayers" is mentioned. We have catalogues of the furniture of the ancient churches,—the Scriptures, the holy table, the font, the wine, the oil, the candlesticks, the tapers, are mentioned; but not a word of a prayer-book, or a book of homilies. The bishops of those days could both preach and pray without book. Livy informs us, that, on a certain occasion, some persons took into their head to introduce new rites into Rome, and to pray after a different mode from the established liturgy of the empire, upon which the senate ordered all the new prayer-books to be delivered up against a particular day.‡ How then comes it to pass, that we never read, during the persecutions of the Christians by the Roman emperors, of their being called to deliver up their Liturgies? Had they possessed them, and been as fond of them as our friends of the Church of England are of theirs, we should have heard as frequently of the *traditors* of the Prayer-Book, as we do of the *traditors* of the Scriptures. Eusebius has told us, in his life of Constantine (lib. 4), that the emperor gave particular directions to have the different churches of his new

* Ὁ πρωτοστως ευχας ὁμοιως και ευχαριστιας ὁση δυναμις αυτῳ αναπεμπει. Justin Martyr. Apol. 2, Oper. p. 162. Lutetiæ, 1551. Origen asserts the same thing. Contra Cels. lib. 8, p. 402. Cantab. 1656. And the phrases ὁση (or ὡς) δυναμις, and κατα δυναμιν, are used promiscuously to express the ability of the speaker in prayer or in exhortation, by Justin, Origen, Eusebius, Basil, and Chrysostom.

† "Sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus." Apol. i., cap. 30. Among the heathen, the monitor or scribe was accustomed "præire preces de scripto," says Rigaltius on the passage. Compare Livy, Decad. 5, lib. i. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4, cap. 1.

‡ Hist. Decad. 3, lib. v.

metropolis furnished with Bibles. Had Dr Marsh been alive in those days, he would not have been so warm as the Bishop of Cesarea was in the praises of the piety of the emperor, and would have admonished him that he ought to have given orders that a Prayer-Book should be firmly bound up with every copy of these Church Bibles. And had Mr Simeon been alive, we suspect he would have found it an extremely difficult matter to collect as many copies as would have been sufficient for the purpose. The truth is, that the composing of set forms of prayer, the reading of them in public service, their general use, uniformity in the use of them, and the imposition of this uniformity, were introduced into the Christian Church at different and distant intervals; and the earliest of these practices will be found to have been much later than the fond admirers of liturgies do imagine and boast.

Our author introduces his illustration of the *expediency* of set forms of prayer with the following moderate sentiment:— "Let it not be supposed that I am about to condemn those who differ from us in judgment and practice. If any think themselves more edified by extempore prayer,* we rejoice that their souls are benefited, though it be not precisely in our way; but still we cannot be insensible to the advantages which we enjoy; and much less can we concede to any, that the use of a prescribed form of prayer is the smallest disadvantage." We think that the author has moderately retracted a great portion of this concession in the censures which he afterwards pronounces on what he calls extemporaneous prayer; but as we are not disposed to cavil at what we regard as the native consequence of his opinions, we shall endeavour, in our turn, to show our liberality, by approving of his first proposition on the utility of the Liturgy. "We say, then, that the Liturgy was of great use at the

* It does not follow from our not praying by a set form, that we must pray extempore. Presbyterians, at least, require premeditation and study in prayer as well as in preaching, and disapprove of mere extemporaneous effusions in the former as well as in the latter.—See Preface to the *Directory for the Public Worship of God.*

time it was made." We will not yield to Mr Simeon in gratitude for the Reformation, or in respect for those men by whose labours it was introduced into England; and we readily allow that the reformation of the Romish Breviary and Missal was a work of great consequence, and that the use of such a form of prayers was highly serviceable at a time when "the most lamentable ignorance prevailed throughout the land," both among clergy and laity. But this does not render us blind to the defects of the English Reformation, or of the English Liturgy,—defects of which its framers were abundantly sensible, which they lamented, which they sought to remedy, but which remained in spite of their wishes and their efforts. Those do little honour to their memory, and are little acquainted with their sentiments, who applaud it as next to perfect, and contend *tanquam pro aris et focis*, for every shred that pertains to it. "The use of the Liturgy is *equally expedient still!*" What! Is the Church of England, after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years, still in the same state in which she was at the dawn of the Reformation? Does the same "lamentable ignorance prevail throughout the land," after every part of it "was in a good measure irradiated with scriptural knowledge and with saving truth," and when the Liturgy has prevented this light from passing away like that of a transient meteor? How is it possible, in the nature of things, that any form of prayers of such extent, can be equally expedient and equally adapted to two periods so remote, and so different from one another? We perceive what our author means when he says,—"that the most enlightened amongst us, of whatever denomination they may be, owe much to the existence of our Liturgy;" but we must beg leave to say, that the preserving and reviving of evangelical truth, and of vital religion, is more indebted to those Puritans and Dissenters who have always objected to the Liturgy, than it has been to the reading and hearing of the most orthodox and pious prayers in that book; and that if their objections had been listened to, and their real grievances redressed, even in a moderate degree, those black clouds which have so often

overcast the horizon of the English Church, and still rest upon so great a portion of it, would have been dispelled, or never have been suffered to spread. Need we ask, who are at this day the most eager sticklers for the Liturgy? Are they the friends of evangelical doctrine, and of practical godliness? Does it offend them in the same manner as the faithful preaching and diligent labours of a sound and pious minister do? Do they seek to escape from its light? and, provided they are allowed to continue the dull routine of repeating and of listening to its forms, are they not satisfied and happy?

Our readers will not suppose, that we are of opinion that a person cannot be accepted of God, while he prays in words that have been composed by another. Persons may enjoy communion with God under administrations which are, in different respects, defective and faulty. But this is not the rule of our duty, and it ought not to induce us to countenance any practice which is unscriptural and injurious to religion, nor should it hinder us from seeking, in all lawful ways, to obtain the reformation of such evils. Mr Simeon confesses, that "the constant repetition of the same form does not so forcibly arrest the attention as new sentiments and expressions do." He refuses, however, that "it necessarily generates formality." But this assertion is either equivocal, or it contradicts what he had conceded. It is not the prayer considered in itself, but the frequent repetition of it, which we say natively tends to produce formality. Nor do we say that even this will extinguish, or altogether repress, the fervour of devotion in the breast of the genuine worshipper; but still he will feel its tendency to do so, and must struggle against it, while on the minds of others it will produce its full effect, and increase that formality and carelessness to which they are naturally inclined. From an anxiety to ward off this objection from the Liturgy, Mr Simeon gives a far more narrow view of the devotional spirit than is consistent with what he has elsewhere expressed. "Many," says he, "if their imaginations are pleased, and their spirits elevated, are ready to think that they have been

greatly edified. But real edification consists in humility of mind, and in being led to a more holy and consistent walk with God." Yet he had, a little before, mentioned it as one of the advantages of the Liturgy, that the soul of the worshipper was more likely to be "elevated to heaven" by means of it. We are no admirers of that religion which consists chiefly in having the imagination pleased, and the animal spirits elevated; and we were not a little surprised to find our author endeavouring to persuade his friends not to regret that their "fancy was not gratified, or their animal spirits raised," by the forms of their worship. We say we were astonished at this; for we had always thought that one of the great excellencies of the worship of the Church of England, according to the views of its admirers, was, that it was adapted by its showy, pompous, and diversified forms, to strike the senses of worshippers, and in this way to please the fancy, and give occasion to devotional feelings.

We cannot follow our author through his answers to particular objections against the Liturgy. We were sorry to find him defending many things which we did not expect that he would, with all his attachment to the book, have defended. His defence of the clauses in the burial service, which have so frequently been the object of censure, is completely unsatisfactory. His remarks on the baptismal service are erroneous and unscriptural. His encomium on the moderation and candour of the Liturgy, with respect to theological opinions, appears with a very bad grace, when coupled with his clumsy and inconsistent defence of the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed, which have no place in the religious service of any other reformed Church, but which must be frequently repeated in the worship of the Church of England every year. As it is apparent from what Mr Simeon says on this subject, that he must often have read that part of the Liturgy with a faltering tongue, we are astonished beyond measure to find him expressing himself in the following unqualified and offensive terms:—"The truth, the whole truth, is brought forward (in the Liturgy) without fear; but it is brought forward, also, without offence;—

ALL is temperate; ALL is candid; ALL is practical; ALL is peaceable; and every word is spoken in love. This is an excellency that deserves particular notice, because it is so contrary to what is found in the worship of those whose addresses to the Most High God depend on the immediate views and feelings of an individual person, which may be, and not unfrequently are, tinctured, in a lamentable degree, by party views and unhallowed passions." We regret exceedingly that Mr Simeon should, in this part of his work, have suffered himself to be so far carried away with the desire of vindicating a human compilation, as to do violence to the cause of truth, candour, and consistency. We regret that he should have perverted the meaning of several important passages of Scripture, and that he should have advanced a principle very derogatory to the whole of it. What can be the meaning of his representing the apostles as "*thanking God* for things, which, if pressed to the utmost meaning of the words, might *not* be *strictly true?*" And of his other assertion: "I conceive that *the less* addicted any person is to systematic accuracy, *the more* he will accord with the inspired writers, and the more he will approve of the views of our reformers?" We do not scruple to say, that such language, although it may proceed from inadvertency, or rather, we suspect, from confusion of ideas, is highly derogatory to the truth and Divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and exceedingly calculated to expose them in the eyes of their adversaries. To our ears it sounds more than harsh to represent the Scriptures as standing in need of the same allowances, and exposed to the same charges of inconsistency, with mere human compositions, and especially with compilations which, like the English Liturgy, were made up from a variety of books written in dark and superstitious ages. Let Mr Simeon glory, if he will, that *his* creed is *not systematically accurate;* we cannot suffer him with impunity to insinuate this charge against the infallibly true, and perfectly consistent declarations of the Holy Ghost. Let him omit, if he finds it necessary to do so, *consistency and accuracy*, in the list of the excellencies

of the English service-book; but let him not seek to blot out, or to obscure, these intrinsic excellencies and essential attributes of a volume, which belongs not peculiarly to him or to his Church, but which is the common property of all Christians, the revered standard of their faith, and the sacred deposit which they are bound to preserve and to defend.

It is not to be supposed that Mr Simeon could, in the bounds to which he has confined himself, consider all the serious objections which have been made to the Liturgy. He has not alluded to the preposterous directions for reading, in the public service, extracts from the Apocryphal books, including some of the most exceptionable and even ridiculous passages which these writings contain. While he has not failed frequently to notice and animadvert upon the repetitions which occur in extemporaneous prayers, he has set up no defence for the numerous repetitions of the same prayers, and of the same expressions, in the same day's service, which are authoritatively prescribed in the precomposed forms of the English Church; nor for the *Litany*, which, by some devotees, has been pronounced an "inimitable climax,"* but which we regard as the most exceptionable portion of the whole service, which we durst not repeat as long as we kept the third commandment in mind, —many parts of which bear more resemblance to an art, which we shall not name, than either to prayer or praise,— and than which, we know nothing which comes more directly under the description of the "vain repetitions," and "much speaking," against which our Saviour so expressly warns.

Thus have we shortly given our opinion of Mr Simeon's pamphlet on the English Liturgy. We have expressed that opinion with the freedom which we think it incumbent upon us to exercise in all such cases. We have even animadverted upon some of the statements with a considerable degree of severity—more severity, perhaps, than may be altogether agreeable to the feelings of zealous Episcopalians. This, however, has proceeded, we can truly declare,

* Christian Observer, vol. xii. p. 15.

from no desire to hurt or to expose the author, for whom we entertain much respect, and to whose able and pious efforts we think the Christian world greatly indebted; it has arisen solely from a conviction that those of his statements which we have censured are founded in error, and calculated to mislead, and that they originate not so much in mere unavoidable mistake, as in that overweening attachment to the forms of his own Church, which is so apt to pervert the judgment and impair the candour even of such a controversialist as Mr Simeon.

REVIEW OF SISMONDI'S CONSIDERATIONS ON GENEVA.*

WE have read this little tract with no common interest; and we consider it as entitled to a greater degree of attention from the British public, to whom it is immediately addressed, than, we fear, it will obtain. Its author is a professor in the academy of Geneva, and well known to the learned world, by his works on the "Italian Republics," and on the "Literature of the South of Europe." It discovers the same philosophic spirit, the same elegant taste, the same extensive acquaintance with history, and the same enlightened, benevolent, and liberal principles, which so eminently characterised the larger works of the accomplished author; and, in addition to these recommendations, it claims our particular notice, by bearing directly on the interests of religion, and of the Reformed Church. We cannot express the satisfaction which it gives us, to find a philosopher of the present day, and one whose literary character stands so deservedly high, appreciating, with such justice, the relations between the Reformed religion, civil

* Considerations sur Geneve, &c.; or, Considerations on Geneva, in its relations with England and the Protestant States; followed by a Discourse delivered at Geneva, on the Philosophy of History, by J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi. London, Murray; Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1814. 8vo. pp. 47. Price 4s.

[From the Christian Instructor, Vol. IX., October 1814.]

liberty, and literature; and pointing out, so seasonably and so eloquently, the importance of a close connection, and intimate union, among all the free, enlightened, and Protestant States of Europe.

This is a subject on which just and liberal views are exceedingly rare, even in this country, where, on many accounts, it might have been expected that they would be common. We shall not at present inquire into the causes of this. But as we are satisfied as to the fact, and convinced that it proceeds upon misconceptions, and is productive of consequences, which are far from being trivial, we are grateful to M. Sismondi for calling the public attention to the subject. And we shall endeavour to co-operate in promoting his laudable design, by laying before our readers the substance of the interesting information contained in his pamphlet, after we have submitted to them a few considerations on the general subject of the relations which bind Protestant States to one another.

Some may be apt to regard this as a mere political topic, the discussion of which is foreign to our province. We look upon it in a very different light. It involves, we acknowledge, political considerations; but it involves also others of a different description. It is a mixed question; and, like all questions of that nature, it includes interests of different kinds. The abolition of the slave trade was a political question, and the ultimate decision on it belonged to the legislature alone; but it was a question in which the friends of religion, morality, and humanity, were all interested; and they did not step beyond their line, when they collected information, reasoned, petitioned, and remonstrated, on the subject. In like manner, the present question claims the attention, and is open to the discussion, of the friends of religion, knowledge, and freedom, as well as professed politicians and statesmen. As the latter are too apt to confine their attention to considerations purely political, and, for the sake of these, will not scruple to sacrifice objects which are deservedly dear to a virtuous and enlightened people, it is peculiarly incumbent on the former

to awaken and enlighten the public mind, in a cause which relates to national duty and interest. Had we, indeed, any good reason to expect that the subject would be taken up, and treated as its importance deserves, in any of our miscellaneous literary journals, we might have waved the consideration of it, and would willingly have devolved the task upon those who could do it more justice, by viewing it in all its bearings and connections. But as we despair of seeing this done at present, we shall state our sentiments on the subject; and in doing this, while we shall study to avoid political disquisitions, as far as is practicable in a discussion of this nature, we shall express ourselves with the freedom of Britons and Protestants.

That religion is the firmest bond of human society; that the Protestant religion eminently tends to strengthen all the ties which subsist among the members of the same state, and to promote national prosperity; and that on these grounds, as well as on account of its intrinsic truth and excellence, every wise government will be disposed to give it the most decided public support and countenance,—are propositions which few Protestants, who have duly attended to their import and connection, will hesitate to admit. The extension, and the proper application of these principles, will go far to establish the point now under our consideration. If religion is the firmest bond of human society, its influence must extend to the union of nations, as well as of individuals in one nation. If the Protestant religion powerfully strengthens the ties which subsist among the members of the same state, it must operate proportionally in strengthening and drawing close the ties which subsist among different states. And, on this ground, not to insist at present on higher considerations, the rulers of a Protestant country act with the truest wisdom, when they recognise the peculiar and strong ties by which they are bound to other Protestant countries, and cultivate the closest and most intimate connection with them. But it may be proper to go a little more particularly into the subject.

The relations in which one community stands to another

are analogous to those which connect individuals in private life. They proceed upon the same general principles, and are regulated by the same laws. Necessity and utility may be sufficient to account for the ordinary intercourse of men in society. Individuals associate with one another, because they find this to be necessary for their subsistence, or useful for adding to their comfort and happiness. But if we proceed farther, and search into the causes of the closer intimacies of life, we will find that they resolve themselves into similarity of character—a similarity of sentiments and feelings, of pleasures and pursuits. Without this there can be no friendship; no close, cordial, or permanent relations. In the first stated case, the frequency of intercourse, which originates in necessity, or from motives of interest, tends gradually to assimilate the manners, sentiments, and feelings; but if any powerful cause should intervene, so as to prevent this assimilation, the connection which may subsist between such persons will be incomplete and loose, and continually liable to dissolution.

These observations admit of an obvious and easy application to national relations. The foundations of these, like the former, are laid in mutual necessity and advantage. Two nations establish an intercourse, and they regulate the terms of this intercourse by treaty, that they may enjoy mutually the blessings of peace, of trade and commerce, or of protection and assistance against the attacks of another nation. But relations founded on these considerations alone, must necessarily be loose and unstable. To secure a cordial and permanent connection between nations, there must be a sympathy,—a common feeling, which induces union, strengthens the bonds of self-interest, and counteracts those numerous causes of jealousy and variance, to which mutual intercourse gives rise. National advantages will be sacrificed to national prejudices, and the antipathies excited by discordant sentiments and habits often operate with more force upon a whole people, than even the rivalship produced by interfering interests. We cannot stop at present to confirm this observation, by examples which will

occur to every one acquainted with history. As the character of a people enters so deeply into the consideration of the relations which they are capable of sustaining with others, it is natural to inquire into the principal causes which lead to its formation. These are of various kinds. The character of a nation is affected by the nature of their country, and the habits of life to which they are accustomed —by their intercourse with other nations—by the nature of their internal government—and by their religious opinions and institutions.

Of all the causes which contribute to mould the minds and manners of men, and which give to nations, as well as individuals, a distinct and a decided character, religion is incontrovertibly the most powerful. Whether true or false, purer or more corrupt, it never fails to impress its character on the body of the people by whom it is received, and to give a strong bias to all their sentiments and all their feelings. And as that person would be reckoned a poor philosopher, who overlooked this in forming his estimate of the intellectual and moral character of a people; so the politician, who should testify his ignorance or his disregard of it, by leaving it out of his calculations, would show himself equally disqualified for managing the internal affairs of a nation, and for settling their external relations with foreign states.

To confine ourselves at present to the two religions which prevail in the principal states of Europe. Nothing can be more dissimilar and opposite than the genius of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant religions, and the effects which they are calculated to produce. The leading features of Popery, as such, are superstition and intolerance. And wherever it has been embraced by a nation, its tendency, and its effects (when not counteracted by some powerful cause), have been, to cherish arbitrary power, to crush the spirit of liberty, to check the progress of information, to retard improvements, and to engender a spirit of alienation, and hostility, and distrust, and jealousy, towards those whom it has stigmatised as heretics and schismatics. On

the other hand, the tendency and the effects of the reformed religion are equally obvious and extensive. Wherever it has been nationally established, or generally embraced, it has uniformly raised the character of the people; meliorated the spirit, if it has not improved the forms, of the government; diffused information; and imparted an impulse to improvement, in all that gives comfort and embellishment to life, or that conduces to the real strength and glory of a nation. We do not say that it has every where produced these effects in the same degree. Its influence has been retarded or accelerated by different circumstances in different countries. But we do mean to say, that wherever Protestant principles have had "free course," and have prevailed, these effects have followed; and there have appeared, in the body of the people, a love of civil liberty, genuine and regulated, a manly tone of independence, a virtuous feeling, an intelligence, a habit of industry, and a steadiness of conduct, not to be found in other countries. This, then, is the character which belongs to Protestant nations in common; and in the features of which they bear a resemblance, as the children of the same family. And upon this common character do we fix, as constituting the basis of those natural, close, and intimate relations, in which all Protestant states stand to one another.

After what has been said, we apprehend that the question needs only to be proposed, in order to its being properly answered. We shall bring it home to ourselves. Britain is a free, an enlightened, and Protestant nation. Who are our most natural allies? To whom do we stand most nearly related? And with whom can we expect to maintain the most stable and intimate bonds of amity? The free, the enlightened, and the Protestant states of the world, —must be the answer.

If any should infer from what has been said, that we argue for an exclusive relation between Protestant states, and hold every other to be either illegitimate or impracticable, they must have attended very carelessly to the strain of our reasoning. We know that there are relations in

which nations stand to one another as such, or which are founded on particular considerations that are purely political. Christianity teaches nations, as well as individuals, " if it be possible, as much as lies in them, to live peaceably with all men." Policy dictates the propriety, and in many cases the necessity, of forming alliances, and maintaining the relations of amity, with nations whose governments, religions, and manners, may be widely different from our own; and when such alliances have been contracted, the principles of Protestantism conspire with those of sound policy, in requiring that these should be preserved with the strictest good faith, even although they should involve stipulations less favourable to our national interests. But it will not surely be inferred from this, that there is no room for preference, and that all alliances are equally desirable, and equally advantageous.

In establishing the point in view, we might, at the commencement, have taken up higher ground. We might have set out by advancing the principle, that it is the *duty* of a Protestant nation, by the very law and spirit of their religion, to cultivate the closest connection with those who are of the same faith with themselves; to unite with them by the strictest bonds; and to afford them all the countenance, support, and encouragement, which is in their power. But although we would have been fully warranted in urging this primary and irrefragable argument, we have chosen to insist chiefly upon other considerations, in order to prevent cavilling, and to demonstrate, by an appeal to the principles of human nature and society, that what is enjoined as a duty, is founded on wisdom,—*que la haute sagesse n'est autre chose que la haute vertu.*

If we have not introduced into our reasonings the consideration of the common interest of Protestant states as such, it is not because we were convinced that this consideration is either unfounded or irrelevant. We know that the idea of *the Protestant interest*, which at one period engaged so much of the attention of our greatest statesmen, is now generally exploded, and that the very name is not to

be found in the vocabulary of modern politicians. We are so old-fashioned, however, as still to recollect it; we confess that we are unwilling to part with it; and it appears to us to contain as much meaning, and to convey an idea as valuable, as many others which occupy a conspicuous place in fashionable nomenclature. As to the particular means by which the Protestant interest is to be promoted and upheld, we are not at present called to state any precise opinions; but we certainly maintain, that in this term, which is wearing so much out of use, and even treated with ridicule, there is implied a doctrine deeply interesting to all the friends of Christianity and mankind, and of such importance as should save it equally from expulsion and contempt. We have lived long enough to observe, that principles which were considered as obsolete and antiquated, have revived, and have gradually regained that ascendency on the public mind which they had lost. We can hear from almost every quarter—from statesmen and from divines, that nations will uniformly act according to their particular interests, independent of their religious persuasions; and that, in conducting political affairs, religious considerations ought not to be allowed to intermingle—we can hear these things, without being in the least degree shaken in our conviction, that it is equally wise in point of policy, and right in respect of duty, for a Protestant nation to support the Protestant interest at home, and to encourage it abroad. It is true, that the state of Europe has undergone a great change since the beginning of the 18th century, and that there is not now, as formerly, reason for undertaking wars to prevent the undue aggrandisement of the Roman Catholic powers. For a considerable time they have not been capable, though they had felt the disposition, of uniting, and of carrying on joint measures, to weaken the Protestant interest. But the two interests still exist; and although the extraordinary events which for a number of years have agitated and convulsed Europe, blended them together for a time, yet will they separate and display themselves, as soon as things return to their ordinary course. Relations which have been created

by extraordinary and temporary circumstances, must cease with their causes, and must give way to those which are necessary and permanent, because they are founded in the nature of things. Without pretending to any superior sagacity, or exposing ourselves to the charge of indulging in political prophecy, we may add, that events may take place, at no distant period, by which the principle which we have endeavoured to establish, will be set in a practical, and, consequently, in a more clear and convincing light.

Having premised these things on the general question, we shall now take a review of M. Sismondi's tract, which particularly respects Geneva, and the relations which it sustains to England and other Protestant states.

M. Sismondi begins with an apology for publishing in England a discourse delivered at an anniversary on the Continent, for pronouncing such high eulogiums on his fellow-citizens, and for ascribing to them so great an influence upon the affairs of the world. We respect the modesty of the author, but we do not allow that the apology was necessary. He need not be ashamed of his discourse; and he has reason to be proud of his native city. Of all the independent states on the Continent which were swallowed up by the late revolutionary vortex, there was none whose fall we lamented more deeply than that of Geneva, and none in whose deliverance and recovery we so sincerely rejoiced. This republic had long presented a very singular and interesting spectacle. Its preservation in the midst of Europe, was like the preservation of a spark of fire in the midst of the ocean. Insignificant in population, and in extent of territory*—destitute of resources for repelling external aggression, and often without a single ally—possessing a government which has always been considered as leading to internal disunion and dissension—surrounded by powerful nations, which coveted its wealth, and were hostile to its civil and religious institutions—exposed to frequent attacks from an ambitious neighbour, who advanced pretensions of superiority over it,

* The population of the republic of Geneva, including the peasants, does not exceed 32,000 souls.

and who scrupled not to employ the arts of treachery and corruption in addition to force—this small republic continued, during nearly three centuries, to maintain its existence, its liberties, and its independence. We do not believe that an exact parallel to this is to be found in the records of history. Politicians may account for the singular fact, from the mutual jealousies of those powers which were most capable of injuring it, from the moderation of its counsels, and from its uniform resistance of all temptations to embroil itself, by seeking to enlarge its territories. We allow the influence of these causes; but we are persuaded that they do not fully account for the fact, and we are strongly inclined to ascribe it to the special interposition of that Providence, which is sometimes conspicuously exerted in behalf of a people preserved for important purposes in the government of the world, and which has been so often devoutly recognised in the solemn jubilees, by which the inhabitants of that city have commemorated the establishment of their liberties, and their deliverance from repeated attempts to subject them to a foreign yoke.

The internal state of this republic presents a spectacle no less interesting than their external preservation. Indebted to their reception of the Reformed religion for the first introduction among them of freedom and of letters, these continued to flourish under its fostering influence, and were accompanied by the cultivation of commerce and of all the arts. The existence of such a people in the heart of Europe, could not fail to produce the most important effects. And it will be found, in fact, that no state has had such influence as Geneva in keeping alive, and in diffusing through the Continent, the noble flame of religion, liberty, and literature —by her example—by the eminent men to whom she gave birth—by the learned works which issued from her press—and by the sanctuary which she afforded to those who were driven, by intolerance and persecution, from their native countries.

In speaking of Geneva as an important station in the Protestant Church, we are aware of the extensive change

which it has undergone, in a religious point of view, in the course of last century. We are aware that the theological creed, which was established in that city at the beginning of the Reformation, has been generally abandoned, and that sentiments opposite to those once embraced by all the Reformed Churches have been substituted in its room. Although M. Sismondi speaks too widely, and without sufficient knowledge of modern Church history, when he asserts, that "no Calvinist now follows the primitive doctrines of Calvin," yet we suspect that his statement comes near the truth as far as regards his native Church. We are aware, too, that the primitive discipline of that Church is greatly relaxed; that the religious character and manners of the people have suffered a consequent deterioration; and that their literature and philosophy, in various branches, are tainted with unchristian principles. These are evils which, in a greater or less degree, have infected every Protestant Church. But notwithstanding these things, which we deeply deplore, and by which the glory of the Reformation is tarnished, its influence weakened, and its progress impeded, we cannot but still regard Geneva as an important station in the Protestant world; as a bulwark against the superstition, bigotry, and intolerance which reign in Roman Catholic countries; as a centre from which the principles of civil and religious liberty may be diffused; and as the most accessible, safe, and hospitable asylum for such as are persecuted on the Continent for adherence to these principles.

In estimating the services which this republic may perform to the cause of Protestantism and general illumination, it is proper to recollect what she has done in past times. And here, instead of giving any statement of our own, we beg leave to lay before our readers, what we are certain will give them far greater pleasure—a translation of the striking, elegant, and concise representation of the author.

"*On a souvent apellè Geneve la capitale du Protestantisme, &c.* Geneva has been often called the capital of Protestantism, and she deserves the name. The whole of Protestant France held a constant communication with this small city, formerly so rich in illustrious

men: it was the centre of all religious education, the seminary of all the clergy, and the general library of all Protestantism. The persecuted Protestants in the Cevennes, Poitou, and Brittany, when they fled to this city, the only asylum, in the countries of their language, which remained open to their faith, fell down on their knees, when they discovered its spires from the top of the mountains, and gave thanks to God that he had preserved, upon the frontiers of their country, a place where they could freely adore and serve him. Geneva was the sacred city for all the French Calvinists, and she strove to render herself worthy of this noble title. Situated on the confines of three countries and three languages, always ready to receive the lights of Germany and of England, and to transmit them to France and to Italy, Geneva was, with respect to this last country, the only state which thought of carrying there the lights of the Reformation. In the valleys of Piedmont, under the King of Sardinia, there have always been a small people, poor, sober, and laborious, who profess Protestantism. The Vaudois of the valleys of Lucerne, of Peyrouse, and of Pragelat, owe to the benevolent influence of the Reformation, a liberal education, an universal acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, a probity and loyalty which will not be found in the rest of Italy. The descendants of the first preachers, and the first victims of the Reformation, having come to the knowledge of the truth even before the time of Wickliffe or John Huss, have not degenerated from their forefathers; yet they are nothing more than mountaineers, there is no city among them as a centre of illumination, regular instruction is unattainable among them, and they have no printing-press to multiply books of religion. Geneva is the capital of the Vaudois, as she is that of the Protestants of France. It is there that they come for instruction; it is there that their ministers come to learn theology; it is through it that they stand connected with the Protestant world."—pp. 12–14.

We are not sufficiently furnished with facts, to enable us to form a judgment respecting the late settlement in France, so far as religion is concerned. If we may judge from the representations in the common vehicles of intelligence, public opinion has set in, with a strong current, towards the old religion; and we have every reason to believe, that it has the fullest concurrence of the rulers, in their official character, as well as the weight of their powerful example, in their individual and private capacity. It is not without a mixture of regret and pity, that we have seen the revival of the most superstitious processions and vows, celebrated with a solemnity and splendour of devotion which would have suited the age of the sainted Louis, before the Reformation had exposed these fooleries, and taught Roman Catholics

to abridge their number, and conceal their extravagancies. Not that we were surprised at their reappearance, which we expected, upon principles similar to those which spread profaneness and profligacy over our own country, at the restoration of the second Charles. Nor are we so credulous or fanciful, as to suppose that all who join in these solemnities are converts to the Popish religion, and feel an inward reverence for the services which they countenance. This was scarcely ever expected. Some are influenced by sentiments of loyalty, and others by a desire to secure the favour of the court. Even infidels and sceptical philosophers will not scruple to assume the mask of devotion; and the mob will crowd to a Roman Catholic cathedral, and bow at the shrine of the Virgin, with the same eagerness with which they flocked to the temple of Liberty, and offered up their devotions to the goddess of Reason. But whatever be the principles of individuals, the effect is nearly the same, as far as regards the countenance given to the Popish cause; and when views of interest, or hostility to a political party, have induced men to profess certain religious sentiments, they will commonly acquire, from association and habit, a portion of the spirit of that religion of which they intended at first to assume only the exterior badge. Considering the state of public feeling in France, in connection with other circumstances,* we shall not be surprised to find, that the court of Rome is now able to carry some measures in that country, which were always warmly resisted during the reigns even of such of its monarchs as were most devoted to the Roman Catholic religion.

We are in a great measure ignorant of the particular state and prospects of those who profess the Protestant religion in that kingdom. And we do not expect that we shall derive much additional information on this subject,

* We are informed by Madame de Stael, that, in Germany, the reaction of the French Revolution is very visible in the change of religious as well as political sentiments; and that many, not only of the higher ranks, but also among the literati, have become Catholics, and are uncommonly regular and fervent in their attendance on its devotional services.

from our countrymen who have, of late, flocked in such crowds to visit France; from the tribe of tourists, who are performing their giddy round, without having a single rational object in view; or even from the graver company of our literati and connoisseurs, who have gone to be introduced to the sçavans of Paris, and to see the Academy and the Louvre. It is likely that they have been present at a sacred festival, or a high mass, and that they will be able, upon their return, to edify us with a description of those august ceremonies,—to dwell with rapturous enthusiasm on their effect,—and warmly to recommend the infusion, into the dull ceremonial of their native worship, of a portion of that spirit which can convert even philosophers, and raise sacred emotions in breasts which have not a spark of piety. But, perhaps, not an individual of them ever thought of inquiring for a Protestant assembly, or of attending worship according to the faith of their country.

It is generally understood, that, by the late arrangements in France, the two great bodies of Protestants or Calvinists, and the Lutherans, are to be protected in their worship, if not also that their clergy are to have salaries from the state. But we are left ignorant of the conditions on which these privileges are to be held, and of the restrictions by which they may be clogged. Now much, very much, depends upon these. That the liberty of worship generally announced in the new constitution is, or will be restricted, we think highly probable; and these restrictions may be of such a kind as to render it in a great measure nugatory and precarious, as in the case of the liberty of the press. M. Sismondi seems to apprehend, that one way in which religious liberty is in danger of being cramped, is by exacting subscription to theological tenets, which the Protestants of France do no longer believe. But there are many other methods by which the same object may be effected. The restriction under which the press has already been laid, must operate very powerfully in abridging their liberty. All pamphlets and books not extending to 20 sheets (which include publications most useful for diffusing knowledge among the

people), are at the mercy of censors appointed by the Government. And it is not difficult to divine in what manner these judges will often be disposed to act, in reference to such works as look with an unfavourable eye upon the religion of the state. Much depends also upon the power with which the Catholic clergy are intrusted. A great part of the continual vexations, by which the French Protestants, in former times, were harassed, arose from this quarter, and from the violence and bigotry of the people, inflamed by the representations of their priests, in particular cities and districts. Their liberty was abridged by laws restricting their churches to a certain number; prohibiting them from erecting places of worship within the walls, or within a certain distance, of particular cities; and by throwing such difficulties in the way of obtaining liberty to build one, even on tolerated ground, as amounted to a prohibition. Their universities* were from time to time suppressed, or laid under a temporary interdict; and they were prohibited from employing, as professors, foreigners, or those educated in foreign countries, or natives, who, by their zeal, or their writings in favour of Protestantism, had incurred the resentment of the clergy, or of the court. All these things took place while the Protestant religion was legally tolerated by an express edict, frequently ratified, and declared irrevocable, by kings and parliaments. We hope that such measures will not again be resorted to. We trust that the consideration of the evils entailed upon France by these measures, and by the issue to which they led—the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (which was one great, though remote, cause of the Revolution), with the recollection of the fate of the Stuarts, after they had been restored to the throne of Britain, will deter the family of Bourbon from following so mad and ruinous a line of policy. In the meantime, the recollection of what the Protestants have suffered in that country, and the consideration of their

* Protestant universities were erected in France during the reign of Buonaparte. We should like extremely to know their present state, their number, and the regulations under which they are placed.

present circumstances, may justify their friends in being jealous over their liberties.

Under all the wants which they may feel, and all the temptations to which they may be exposed, as a handful of dissenters, whose liberties are recently acquired and unfixed, who are but slenderly united among themselves, and destitute of internal resources for supplying their churches, the French Protestants will naturally turn their eyes to Geneva, whose inhabitants speak the same language, and profess the same religion, with themselves. This city must form the chief medium of religious intercourse and communication between them and the Protestant nations of Europe, a consideration which greatly enhances the importance of its liberty and independence. "It is of great importance," says M. Sismondi, "to the Protestant interest of Europe, it is of great importance to England, that there be, in the centre of the Continent, a free and independent city, speaking the French language, a city enlightened, and which enjoys a high reputation in literature and in religion, where the pure doctrine of the Reformation is freely taught, freely discussed, and freely reunited to that constant progress of knowledge and philosophy, which distinguishes the countries in which the English and German languages are spoken, but which, without Geneva, would be excluded from the countries where French is spoken. It is by Geneva that harmony can be maintained between those free countries where the Protestant Church is dominant, and those countries where liberty is insecure, or where the Protestant Church, forming only a feeble minority, may be led astray, corrupted, or enslaved. By means of Geneva, French books, calculated to maintain the noble spirit of Protestantism, may be got written and printed; from Geneva will proceed preachers, who unite French eloquence to the surer and more powerful authority of philosophy and reason."*

But there is another country, on the confines of which

* [The anticipations hazarded in the above paragraph, in 1814, have, even at this date (1841), been realized to a very considerable extent, in the operations of the "Evangelical Society of Geneva."—Ed.]

Geneva is also situated, with which it sustains various relations, and into which it has the opportunity of introducing the blessings of liberal knowledge and a purer religion. A country inhabited by a numerous people, intelligent, acute, ingenious, and capable of distinguishing themselves in every line to which their faculties may be directed—a country which has been the theatre of the greatest events, but which has long been doomed to moral and political degradation, under the influence of superstition and priestly domination, which have deprived it of its ancient spirit, and made it an easy prey to every powerful and ambitious invader—a country in whose fate every scholar feels so warm an interest, and for whose emancipation every genuine Christian will so fervently pray. We need not inform our readers that we refer to Italy. On more occasions than one has that interesting country exhibited symptoms of regeneration, and panted for that liberty which other countries in Europe were so happy as to acquire. The efforts, however, made for this purpose, premature but noble, generous, but too feeble for the resistance opposed to them, proved abortive, and the flattering symptoms disappeared. It may be enough at present simply to state, for the information of many of our readers, that, at the era of the Reformation, the lights kindled in Germany and Switzerland diffused no faint rays over the most of the Italian states; that many persons, eminent for literature and rank in that country, corresponded with the Reformers, approved of their doctrine, and expressed the most anxious wishes for its success; and that Protestant Churches were actually formed in several of the principal cities of Italy. These were, however, soon dispersed by the arm of violence, and the greater part of those who had declared themselves friendly to the Protestant Reformation, or who were suspected of cherishing a secret attachment to it, were forced to forsake their native country, and took refuge in Geneva.* But what we have particularly

* [The Author had intended at this time to draw up an account of the "Reformation in Italy," but laid it aside, and did not complete it till 1827.—Ed.]

to state is, that symptoms of a similar kind have recently reappeared, and that Protestant colonies have been planted in different quarters of Italy, by the zeal, and under the protection of the Genevese republic. Of this fact we were not aware until the appearance of M. Sismondi's tract, and we have no doubt that our readers will sympathize with us in the pleasure which we felt on perusing the following paragraph:—

"The influence of Geneva extends still farther in Italy. That city has the honour of numbering among its citizens the descendants of illustrious families of Lucca, Pisa, and Bologna, who, preferring the worship of the God of truth to honours and riches, left all to follow the Reformation. In our days, the active commerce of the Genevese has formed Protestant colonies in all the industrious cities of Italy, and into all of these they have endeavoured to introduce their worship. Some Genevese ministers conveyed joy to these small congregations, when, in their voyages, they performed divine service in the bosom of pious families. At Leghorn, the Genevese were united to the English flock; and when the hatred of the French government expelled all the English from Italy, the English preacher has continued to be paid by the Genevese colony alone. At Genoa and at Naples, a subscription was opened in the colony to establish a Genevese minister. At Naples, the minister was just about to be installed, when the war put an end to the whole business. There is likewise a proposal to establish at Corfu a Protestant church, with a Genevese minister. If the governments of the south do not forget that they owe their re-establishment to England—if they do not make a duty of intolerance—the time will perhaps come, when a chain of Protestant Churches will extend through all the cities of Italy, as far as Greece; and those who serve in these Churches will necessarily be taken from Geneva. We are assured, that in England it has been proposed, by some religious men, who are zealous for the propagation of Protestantism, to begin a subscription, and form a fund in favour of a certain number of Italians, Vaudois, and French, who should come to study at Geneva, and fit themselves there for the holy ministry, that they might afterwards diffuse and maintain the light of the Gospel in Catholic countries. If that project is carried into execution, it will only be the revival of an ancient institution, which the Revolution alone destroyed. The republic of Geneva had instituted a certain number of burses in favour of the Hungarians, and an equal number in favour of the Vaudois. Some students chosen by these foreign Churches have been supported during the four or six years which they devoted to theology and to preparatory studies. At the end of that time they returned to their native country, and carried into the hereditary states of Austria and Sardinia the lights of religion,

which their monarchs would not permit them to acquire at home." —pp. 14–16.

Different feelings are excited in our breasts by the reading of this interesting extract. It is impossible not to feel respect for the zeal displayed by the Genevese, in carrying their religion along with them into those places where they have established their commerce, and in providing the means of instruction and worship for their colonists. In this they hold out an example which ought to be imitated by all Protestant states. The Dutch government is likewise entitled to praise, for having generally acted upon the same principle in their system of colonization. We are sorry to have it to add, that, of all the nations who have embarked in such designs, Britain has failed most egregiously in the discharge of this duty. Independently of the moral criminality which it incurs, and the stigma which it fixes on the national character, such conduct is highly unwise and impolitic. Great multitudes of British subjects are stationed in places where they have no opportunity of enjoying the means of religious instruction and worship; the consequence is, that they either live as atheists, or they adopt the religion of those among whom they dwell; and such of them as return, come home destitute of any feeling of attachment to the civil and religious institutions of their country. Wherever Great Britain establishes a commercial company, or a trading factory, upon terms of reciprocal advantage, she has a right to require that freedom of worship, according to the religion of their country, shall be granted to them; and it is her duty to see that the means necessary for enjoying this privilege be not wanting. And the example of Geneva shows, that, provided sufficient zeal and prudence be displayed, the demand will not be resisted, even by those states which are supposed to be most jealously attached to an exclusive worship.

Another feeling which the perusal of the foregoing extract has excited, is a desire to obtain farther information respecting the proposal to open a subscription in England to

aid the Genevese in their laudable object of diffusing religious knowledge through the neighbouring countries. We do not mean to advise the hasty formation of a society for this purpose, but we certainly do think, that means should be used to obtain information respecting the practicability and expediency of the scheme; and, with this view, that a correspondence should be opened with Geneva by some of the friends of religion in this country. Indeed, we have long lamented, upon more general grounds, the want of some such correspondence, as a channel of intelligence, and a means of intercourse between Protestants in Great Britain and on the Continent.*

But while we rejoice in the prospects of any opening for the spread of evangelical truth in Italy, we "rejoice with trembling." We entertain great fears, that the Governments of the South of Europe will again "make a duty of intolerance;" and that the efforts of Geneva, unaided by the decided support of the great Protestant states, will be defeated and crushed. Indeed, there are not wanting strong presumptions, that the Roman Catholic interest is about to be strengthened and extended in Europe. We have already adverted to the case of France. In Germany, it is highly probable that the ecclesiastical states will resume their former place. In Spain, the Inquisition, the most powerful engine for suppressing free inquiry, has been restored, the hierarchy has regained its influence, and arbi-

* This want has been greatly felt since the decease of a venerable clergyman in our northern metropolis, who maintained a regular correspondence with intelligent Protestants abroad; and, by this means, as well as his acquaintance with foreign ecclesiastical literature, was enabled to communicate to the public much important information respecting the churches on the Continent. We know of no book so valuable, in this view, as the two volumes of Dr Erskine's *Sketches of Modern Church History*. It is much to be wished that some individual would imitate his laudable example, and favour us with an additional volume to his work. The deficiency is by no means supplied by the communications from abroad published in the Reports of the Bible Society. These are chiefly confined to a single object, and consequently give but a partial view of the state of religion on the Continent.

trary government has triumphed over the spirit of liberty. We know, that there are some who think that the violence with which these measures have been carried, will defeat their effect, and speedily produce a counter-revolution; but we can perceive no rational foundation for this opinion, whether we consider the general character of that nation, or the political state of Europe. In Italy, the Pope has been restored to his seat; and his first act is entitled to particular notice, whether it be viewed as a proof of his boldness, or of his knowledge of the general feeling throughout Christendom. He has publicly and officially restored the order of Jesuits, the most devoted satellites of spiritual despotism; who, after having incurred universal odium, and after being expelled even from Roman Catholic countries, on account of their political intrigues, and their dangerous maxims, were long ago suppressed by one of his predecessors; and he has, in the most unqualified terms, recommended their reception into every kingdom. It is generally understood, that he has revived his claims to sovereignty over those territories in Italy, which the pontiffs have delighted to call the patrimony of St Peter; and although we scarcely expect that he will present himself in person at the Congress of Vienna, we have no doubt that he will have a representative there, to urge his claims, and to watch over the interests of the See of Rome, and of the Catholic Church. Influenced by these, and similar considerations, we cannot but think, that the Protestant interest is concerned in the ensuing Congress, as well as the general peace of Europe; and we hope that the British minister, in particular, will recollect that he is the representative of a Protestant nation —of a nation to which, on account of its political weight, the other Protestant states look up for advice and assistance, and that he will act under the influence of the high responsibility which attaches to this character.

We were happy to observe, that our ambassador had given, in the name of the Prince Regent, strong assurances of friendship to the republic of Geneva, and of a disposition

to take an interest in her welfare. These are due to a place, which, to use the emphatic language of M. Sismondi, "is in some sort an English city on the Continent, an advanced post for political and religious illumination, an auxiliary school of English education—a city where they think, where they feel in English, while they speak and write in French—which is bound to England by a liveliness of affection, by a plenitude of confidence, by a hereditary attachment to the English laws, constitution, religion, and literature, to be found nowhere else on the Continent." "England," continues he, "must be satisfied, that, as soon as a new equilibrium is given to Europe, the principle of union among the nations must be their virtue and their liberty; that there can be no true alliance, no sure and indestructible alliance, but that which is formed between two people, by a community of sentiments, principles, and opinions,—but that which sanctions, in the heart of every individual of every nation, esteem, affection, and respect for the allied nation. England must also be satisfied, by the experience of the last 20 years, that royal confederacies, always variable, always dependent upon the caprices of a minister or of a mistress, upon the uncertain calculations of fear or of neighbouring interest, have no solid basis; that treaties are often violated as soon as they are concluded; and that the people, or the sovereign, who sees himself one day allied with the whole of Europe, may on the following day find himself abandoned by all the kings."

The discussion of the point which M. Sismondi reckons essential to the independence of Geneva and Switzerland, does not lie within our province; but we may subjoin the following paragraph, containing information as to facts, which, we apprehend, our readers will not at present meet with elsewhere:—

"On the Continent, Geneva has been the champion of double liberty, civil and religious—of English liberty—wise and powerful at the same time, progressive, and yet conservative (*progressive et cependant conservatrice*). Geneva, in the critical situation in which she is at the present moment, at the opening of the astonish-

ing road du Simplon, which will always hereafter be the principal point from which France will attack Austria in Italy, or Austria France, Geneva, trembling for her existence, turns her eyes towards England, and implores her protection. She dares to say, that the question of her independence is of much more importance to Europe than might be presumed from her smallness; that to this independence is attached that of thought itself, and of illumination, in all the south of the European Continent; that to this independence is also attached that of Switzerland; for, if the road of Simplon be abandoned to Austria, or to Piedmont, which will soon be but a feudatory of Austria, if Switzerland is embraced by the two grand military roads of the Valtelline on one side, of Valais and Chablais on the other, she is no more Switzerland; for she then no longer possesses neutrality or independence. In short, Geneva ventures to say, that the peace of Europe itself depends upon the peace and continued neutrality of that long range of mountains, lakes, and defiles, which stretch from Geneva to Basle, and from Geneva to Schaffhausen. The encounter between two empires, so formidable as France and Austria, augmented by Italy, can be deadened only by that immovable mass placed between them. The neutrality of Switzerland would contribute no longer to the peace of Europe, if these two great military roads are not included in it. If Geneva, Chablais, Valais, with the whole du Simplon, do not make a part of Switzerland,—if likewise the Valtelline, and all the communications of the Grisons, are not restored to it—these two countries will ever be the centre of all the attacks both from France and Germany. Their importance is incalculably increased since the accessions of territory obtained by Austria in Italy; and their rapid occupation, if the love of the people and zeal for liberty do not defend them against those who wish to trouble the neutrality, would expose Europe to continual wars and to violent revolutions. Let not England, then, withhold her protection from a small people, who are in a manner given to her; let her, in her strength, show herself generous to them, and soon she will find by experience, that what is magnanimous on her part, is also useful; and that the highest wisdom is nothing else than the highest virtue."—pp. 16–18.

The discourse on *The Philosophy of History*, printed at the end of this tract, although it involves a speculation which is interesting, and which the author has in some respects placed in a new light, we must pass over, as not immediately connected with the subject which has engaged our attention. We take our leave of M. Sismondi for the present, with sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem; and we should be extremely gratified to find him, at a subsequent period, taking up the same subject, and prosecuting

it on a more extensive scale; in which case, we might expect to find, what is not to be found in our dull pages, an interest and a charm imparted to the discussion, by one who has shown himself so capable (to employ his own description of the Genevese style), *d'unissant l'eloquence Française a l'autorité plus forte et plus sure de la philosophie et de la raison.*

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

REVIEW OF "TALES OF MY LANDLORD."

BY THE EDITOR.

THE History of this Review is soon told. When the "Tales of my Landlord" first appeared, few seemed to be aware of the real character and tendency of the novel. By the mass of readers, the fascinating fiction was swallowed, without scruple, as historical truth; and even those who had been taught to venerate the character of our persecuted ancestors, while they *felt* that injustice had been done to them, were unable to tell how far the truth of history had been violated in the caricature of the novelist. On the mind of our reviewer, from his intimate knowledge of the history, and sympathy with the principles of the Covenanters, the effect was very different. He perceived, at once, the design of the author, and the gross injustice of his representations. Indignant at this attempt, under the insidious form of fiction, to traduce the character of our humble but pious and patriotic fathers, and, at the same time, to skreen from merited opprobrium, and even to hold up to admiration, the worst of their persecutors, he had expressed his feelings to his friend, Dr Andrew Thomson, who engaged him to review the novel in the pages of the Christian Instructor. The correspondence which took place between them on this subject will be found in the Life of Dr M'Crie, p. 218–221.

The Review appeared in the first three numbers of the Instructor for the year 1817; and its appearance produced such a sensation in the public mind, that the author of the Tales found it necessary to vindicate himself in a review of his own production, which appeared in the Quarterly Review for January, the same year. "The late excellent biographer of John Knox," says Lockhart, "had considered the representation of the Covenanters, in the story of Old Mortality, as so unfair as to demand at his hands a very serious rebuke. The Doctor forthwith published, in a magazine called 'The Edinburgh Christian Instructor,' a set of papers, in which the historical foundations of that tale were attacked with indignant warmth; and though Scott, when he first heard of these invectives, expressed his resolution never even to read them, he found the impression they were producing so strong, that he soon changed his purpose, and finally devoted a very large part of his article for the Quarterly Review to an elaborate defence of his own picture of the Covenanters." —(*Life of Sir W. Scott*, vol. iv., p. 34.) The line of self-defence which Sir Walter adopted in the Review is curious and characteristic. At one time, he attempts to turn it off with a jest;—it is but "an idle tale," and he affects surprise that his reviewer should have taken up so seriously, what was intended merely for the entertainment of his readers. At another, he resolves to brave it out, by boldly vindicating his most obnoxious descriptions as "historical portraits, the truth of which will hardly be disputed." The same style of defence appears in his private correspondence. "I really think," he says to one of his correspondents, "there is nothing in the book that is not very fair and legitimate subject of raillery; and I own, I have my suspicions of that very susceptible devotion which so readily takes offence. Such men should not read books of amusement; but do they suppose, because they are virtuous, and choose to be thought outrageously so, 'there shall be no cakes and ale? Ay, by our lady, and ginger shall be hot in the mouth too.'" —(*Ibid.*, p. 44.) Writing, however, to another of his correspondents, he betrays the real secret, and plainly avows the

prejudices and prepossessions under which he wrote.—"As for my good friend, Dundee," he says to Southey, "I admit he was *tant soit peu* savage, but he was a *noble savage;* and the *beastly Covenanters*, against whom he acted, hardly had any claim to be called men, unless what was founded on their walking upon their hind-feet. You can hardly conceive the perfidy, cruelty, and stupidity of these people, according to the accounts they have themselves preserved. *But I had many cavalier prejudices instilled into me*, as my ancestor was a Killiecrankie man."—(*Life of Scott*, vol. ii., p. 134.) This unfortunate disclosure of his private sentiments must stop the mouths of those admirers of Sir Walter, who long persisted in maintaining that the author of the Tales had no intention to hold up the Covenanters to the scorn and contempt of his readers. The mistake, indeed, was natural, and partly excusable; for very few, it is believed, in the southern parts of Scotland, except such as may have lighted on some stray Jacobite from the wilds of Aberdeenshire, had any conception, that such rancorous animosity against our Scottish worthies, existed in a live specimen of the nineteenth century.

The author of the Review did not consider it necessary to answer this defence of the Tales; indeed, the article in the Quarterly being merely a repetition of some old scandals against the Covenanters, propped up by quotations from the most violent of the party, and references to acts and proceedings which were never owned by the great body of Presbyterians at the time, the answer to it was anticipated by the subsequent parts of the Review, which appeared in February and March. It appears, however, from the following fragment found among his papers, that Dr M'Crie had intended to answer another article which appeared in the Quarterly for January 1818, and which, with equal truth, he supposed to have come from the same pen. This was a review of an edition of "Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe,"—a work composed on the plan of Voltaire's edition of Pascal's Thoughts, being intended to throw discredit on the state-

ments, and ridicule on the sentiments of the author, in the form of notes.*

"This Review (says our fragment) is a continuation of the defence of the Tales of my Landlord, formerly inserted in the same work. It is impossible for any to read it in the most superficial manner, without this idea forcibly occurring to him. And, as every thing appears more natural in its own colours, and under its proper name, we think it would have been much better to have avowed the fact, when it could not be concealed, and have called it a review of the fourth and last edition of Tales of my Landlord.

"If we may credit common report, not only are the two reviews written by the same person, but that person is also the author of the celebrated Tales. We know that in these liberal days, there are not wanting instances of authors reviewing their own works, and loading themselves with the most lavish and meritorious praises. Some of them have risen so far superior to the weak prejudices which, under the name of modesty, long held writers under servile restraint, that they do not scruple to avow the fact, and glory in it, as all fair and honourable; nay, they insist that it is more honourable than the common practice, which is to get a friend to review your work, on the understood condition,—'You'll praise me, and I'll praise you in turn.' While others, that do not possess the same courage and independence of mind, have not yet acquired so much expertness as to conceal what they would wish to remain unknown.

"We acknowledge, also, that there are certain circumstances in the two reviews to which we refer, which give some countenance to the invidious report. The reviewer, with all the ease which he affects, betrays a *soreness* which a mere reviewer seldom feels; and he evinces withal a *shyness* in fighting, which seems to indicate recollections of a previous contest. We find traces of the same qualities which shine in the works of the writer, whom certain eulogisters (pro-

* This review is not, so far as I have been able to observe, ascribed to Sir Walter by his biographer, but it bears too strong internal evidence of being his composition, to admit of any doubt.

ceeding, we suppose, on the adage, *omne ignotum magnificum*) have designated, 'The Great Unknown.' We find the same affectation of extensive knowledge of history, joined with blunders which betray the superficiality with which it has been examined. We find every where the same display of striking talents, combined with a disposition to take up with trifles and puerilities, which could not attract the notice of a great mind; the same turn for humour, which indulges itself in the ridiculous, because it cannot rise to delicate or dignified wit; the same professions of moderation, which are continually contradicted by examples of the strongest, or rather the weakest prejudice.

"But, notwithstanding these probabilities, we are unwilling to give credit to the report. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, that the accomplished author of the Tales would ever condescend to such arts; or that he has suffered himself to become so much enamoured with his deeds, or so intoxicated with the love of praise, as to imitate the Macedonian madman, who

> "'Fought all his battles o'er again,
> And thrice he slew the slain.'

The most plausible reason we have heard given for the supposition which we have just set aside, is the complete incapacity of the conductors of the Quarterly Review to do any thing like ordinary justice to a work relating to Scotland. This rendered it necessary, it is alleged, for Scotsmen to undertake the task; nor did the accomplished writer alluded to come forward to offer his services, until they had gone the ridiculous length of finding fault with him for making his characters, in the Astrologer, speak Scotch instead of Gaelic! after which, he would have been inexcusable, if he had stood aloof through modesty. We are obliged to confess, that there is great reason in this, for, even as it is, they are incapable of printing the article transmitted from Scotland, without committing the grossest blunders, and find as great difficulty in expressing and spelling the names of some of its most distinguished characters, as Milton formerly pretended to find in those which were common in

the mouths of the public in his day. So that the Quarterly Reviewers may hereafter try the ingenuity of commentators as much as the following lines of the great poet have done :—

> "'What a word on
> A title-page is this !———
> ——— Why it is harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
> Colkitto, or Macdonell, or Galasp ;
> Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
> That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp.' *

"The conductors of the Quarterly Review certainly show their prudence in sending to Scotland for those articles which they are utterly incapable of writing themselves, or of procuring in their own country. But it does not follow from this, that they have fallen upon the best qualified for supplying them with accurate information. We have among us many who are as great strangers to the real history of their country, and to patriotic feelings, as those who never were north of London. We have writers of poetry and of romance, called National, who, amidst all the fine sentiments which they have uttered, have not uttered one sentiment truly Scottish, who have not yet been able to form a conception of the real Scottish character, who never were in the heart of Scotland, and are at home only when they are among marauding borderers, or demi-savage, pilfering, poignarding mountaineers."

Here, much to our regret, the fragment ends ; nor does it appear that the writer ever turned his attention again to the subject. The relic is chiefly valuable as containing Dr M'Crie's opinion, more frankly expressed than elsewhere, of Sir Walter Scott as an author. But we cannot help regretting that he did not prosecute his criticism on this article, which, along with its predecessor, might have furnished him

* This is taken from one of Milton's Sonnets, written in revenge for the sorry reception given to his book on Divorce, called Tetrachordon. Mr George Gillespie, here wrongfully named Galasp, was one of the Scots Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. The others were probably the names of Highland chiefs, which had come into notoriety, in consequence of the wars of Montrose.

with still ampler opportunities of exposing the misrepresentations of the party to which Sir Walter unhappily lent the aid of his brilliant talents. The article on Sharpe's Edition of Kirkton abounds with illustrations of the severe charges brought against Sir Walter in the above piece of criticism. The reviewer commences with a poor attempt to vindicate Mr Sharpe for the mode in which he has discharged the duties of editor to a work, written by a Presbyterian, on the history of the Church of Scotland, his qualifications for which are summed up in the following character:— "Mr Kirkpatrick Sharpe is an Episcopalian, and a Tory, or rather an old cavalier, with much of the respect for high family, contempt of the Covenanters, and dislike of democratical principles proper to that designation." He affects to blame the editor for "attempting to vindicate Charles's administration (indirectly at least), by recriminating on the whigamores, opening an account of murder with them, and reckoning confiscation for confiscation, and blood for blood." And yet it would be difficult to describe, in more appropriate terms, the character of the very article in which this censure is conveyed. Of the martyrdom of the Marquis of Argyle, Sir Walter speaks thus:—"Something had been done to intimidate opposers by the trial and execution of Argyle, *whose death was well deserved by many acts of falsehood and cruelty.*" While he condemns—which it is but fair to own he does both on grounds of policy and humanity—the persecuting measures adopted by Charles's government, he takes care to inform us that "these means had been taught them by the Presbyterians themselves." After allowing that "the balance of guilt, no doubt, inclines heavily on the side of the governors, whose cruel measures drove their unfortunate opponents not only to despair, but to madness," he hastens to relieve the dark retrospect, by dwelling, with evident satisfaction, on the minutest particulars regarding the assassination of Archbishop Sharp, from the account "drawn up by James Russell, one of the assassins." And having betrayed the "soreness" of the wounded author, by saying, "As in these happy days, we have neither to fear the

repentance-stool of the Kirk, or the *boots* of the Episcopalian privy council, we shall endure with much equanimity the harmless thunders with which zealots of either side may reward our critical labours," he adds, "When, however, the question is as to the rationality or decency, much more the sanctity and heroism of the *ultra*-Presbyterians, we confess, we could as soon bring ourselves to bow down and worship Apis, if we met him in Smithfield, with half a score of Whitechapel butchers at his heels, foaming, floundering, tossing, and goring whomsoever he encountered, as to reverence the memory of the Cameronian leaders, or consider them as the objects of any feeling warmer than commiseration, or a sense of the humiliating pass to which persecution can reduce men's understandings."

From this extract, the reader may form an opinion of Sir Walter's vindication, the drift of which is, that in all that he has said in ridicule or disparagement of the Covenanters, he had in his eye the *ultra*-Presbyterians, or Cameronians, as they have been called, and not the *moderate* Presbyterians, who peaceably availed themselves of the Indulgence, and submitted to the Government. He even goes so far as to "rejoice that the experiment of setting up Episcopacy, however promising, did not succeed;" and, "now that we hear no more of the Solemn League and Covenant," he is content that Scotland be left to enjoy the very harmless and respectable thing now called Presbytery. If Sir Walter derived all his ideas, as he certainly drew all his pictures, of the Covenanters from the writings of such as Russell the assassin, Howie of Lochgoin, Patrick Walker, or Peden's Prophecies, we might make some allowances for the unfavourable light in which they appeared to him, prejudiced, as he avowedly was, against the whole body.* The truth

* All these writers belonged to the party known by the name of Society People, or Cameronians. Russell went farther than many of his brethren. Patrick Walker, from whose writings Sir Walter seems to have drawn most of his materials, was a travelling packman, who picked up every story he met on his way, and told it in the most rude and ungainly style. His credulity must have been beyond measure, and his discretion pro-

is, that the party to which these writers adhered, by the dangerous sentiments which they vented, and the rash and questionable steps which they took, brought much reproach upon the cause of the Presbyterians, and afforded a pretext for the violent persecutions which were directed against the whole body; just as the writings of the party afford a handle to those whose object it is to vilify and misrepresent the Presbyterians to this day. But, reluctant as we are to strip this talented writer of the only apology which could extenuate his conduct, we are compelled to say, that even this cannot avail him. Even with regard to "the Cameronian leaders," we must deny that he has shown them any thing resembling either justice or mercy. They were good men and faithful, and would have suffered for their religious principles, though they had never gone the length of disowning Charles, or excommunicating his governors. But Sir Walter must have known, if he ever looked into the writings of Wodrow, Blackader, or even Kirkton, that the great body of the

portionably on the most limited scale. It is hardly possible to read his vulgar and gloomy pages, without an occasional feeling of disgust. The book called Peden's Prophecies, supposed to be the compilation of this Cameronian pedlar, is declared by Wodrow to be fictitious (vol. iv. 397, Burns' ed.); and Lord Grange, writing to Wodrow, says, "that what is true has been garbled, so as to give it a very different form and appearance."—(*Scots Worthies*, p. 516, M'Gavin's ed.) It was extremely natural that the followers of this party should have undertaken the task of recording the lives and sayings of our Scots worthies; but one cannot help regretting that it should have fallen almost exclusively into such hands. The consequence has been, that an undue prominence has been given to those who espoused the opinions of Cameron; while others, such as John Welch, Baillie of Jerviswood, and many besides, who did not embrace these extreme views, were passed by, and denied a place among the Scots Worthies, or in the Cloud of Witnesses. And another result has been, that the enemies of the Covenanters, from the author of Presbyterian Eloquence, down to Sir Walter Scott, have uniformly availed themselves of these well-meant but ill-judged publications, to ridicule the whole body of our suffering ancestors. With all their imperfections, however, these "simple annals" of the Covenanters will be read with deep interest by every pious and well-disposed reader; and it is only such a person who will know where and how far to make allowances for the troublous times in which our worthies lived, as well as for the peculiar views of their humble but honest admirers.

sufferers during this period were not Cameronians, and did not run into those extremes nor approve of those courses, which he animadverts so severely; and yet he did not scruple again deliberately to hold up these "ultra-Presbyterians" as affording a fair specimen of the Covenanters who suffered during the persecution. This is the main charge brought against him in the following Review; for, let it be observed, that the charge is, not that he confounded the *ultra* with the *moderate* Presbyterians, meaning by the latter term those who accepted the Indulgence, and who suffered little or nothing; but that he represented the whole body of *sufferers* as animated by the wild, violent, and enthusiastic spirit, which, even at the worst, can only be said to have characterised a few individuals. It must be regarded as no slight aggravation of the original offence, that after finding this charge so clearly brought home to him in the Review, he should have attempted to vindicate himself, by repeating the same conduct, still making the Cameronians the scape-goats for all his offences, and carefully concealing from the English reader the fact, that many of those who condemned the Indulgence, and who suffered for their religious principles during this reign of terror, were men of the most amiable characters and unblemished lives—men of rank, respectability, and learning,—and what is more, loyal and peaceable subjects, whose only crime was, that they would not forswear themselves, and subject their consciences to the dictates of an Erastian supremacy.

It may seem strange, that two authors, moving, as Sir Walter Scott and Dr M'Crie did, in such opposite spheres of the literary world, should have ever come into collision. But, with casts of mind, tastes, predilections, and courses of study, as different as can well be imagined, there were points in which they were likely to meet, though the meeting could hardly fail to be a hostile one. Both of them delighted in reviving the memories of the olden times, and the sentiments and feelings of both were moulded and modified, to a great degree, by associations with the men and measures of past ages. The sympathies of Sir Walter,

however, were all enlisted on the side of kings and cavaliers, or those who are called, by way of courtesy, "the great." His zeal to support the credit of this privileged order, joined with his admiration of the external splendours with which it has usually been surrounded, appear to have blinded him to many of the abuses of which it has been guilty, and to have so far triumphed over his native kindness of heart, as to reconcile him to the evils of popular ignorance, slavery, and superstition. The sympathies of Dr M'Crie, on the other hand, were all on the side of those, whether high or low, who had distinguished themselves in promoting the cause of true religion, and the freedom of the human mind. Without despising the embellishments, amenities, or pastimes of life, he was certainly much more disposed than Scott was, to apply the *cui bono* as his standard in judging of the importance of earthly things; he reverenced power and rank chiefly as the means of doing good. It may be added, that in making his indiscriminate assault on the Presbyterians of the 17th century, Sir Walter was, unwittingly, I have no doubt, striking deep at his reviewer's peculiar profession as a Seceder; for, though Dr M'Crie did not belong to the body usually known as Cameronians, he held, in common with all sound old Presbyterians, the grand principles for which the Covenanters suffered and bled. Had he lived in their days, he would doubtless have taken part with Welsh and Blackader, in preaching on the mountains, despite of the Government and of the Indulgence; and had he survived the Revolution, he would have joined with those ministers of the Church of Scotland, who condemned that settlement as sinfully imperfect, both on the part of the Church and State, inasmuch as it left unrecognised the work of the Second Reformation, and the Solemn League by which it was confirmed, and in behalf of which the Covenanters suffered and died.

Each of the Authors may be said to have succeeded, to a remarkable extent, in accomplishing the respective objects which he had in view. The author of the Tales has certainly succeeded more than any other modern writer, in prejudicing the minds of many against the Covenanters, and reawaken-

ing the dormant spirit of Jacobitism, especially in the upper classes of society; while the biographer of Knox, by his defence of these worthies against the misrepresentations of the novelist, has been almost equally successful, chiefly with another class of readers, in converting what was intended as a caricature of our pious ancestors, into the occasion of exalting them, more highly than they were before, in the esteem and veneration of his countrymen. Nor did it pass unnoticed, that the author of Waverley, when he had occasion, in his subsequent novels, to touch on the character of the Covenanters, treated them with much more respect, and even made some sort of compensation, as in the case of "Jeanie Deans," though a very inadequate one, for the wholesale outrage committed on those of her persuasion in the Tale of Old Mortality.

A reprint of the following Review was published some years ago, with the author's permission, in Glasgow; accompanied, however, with some extracts not according with his sentiments. The notes added to the present edition are chiefly intended to illustrate allusions which time has already rendered obscure, to obviate charges which prejudice may have more lately sought to revive, and to meet the arguments by which the author of the Tales attempted to vindicate them in the critical articles to which reference has been made.

REVIEW OF "TALES OF MY LANDLORD."

PART I.

Of all the classes of readers in this book-reading age and country, there is none more numerous, or less difficult to please, than the readers of novels. This is a very fortunate circumstance for book-makers and book-venders, or, as they may now-a-days be more properly termed, the wholesale and retail dealers in books; as it affords them an expeditious and lucrative trade, which they can carry on at small expense, and which remains steady and open, even when the market stagnates and is overstocked, for want of demand in the other articles of literature. The great object of habitual readers of novels is to kill time, and they are not very scrupulous as to the means which they employ to rid themselves of this troublesome companion. Their minds are vacant, and nature abhors a vacuum. There is nothing which they dread more than being left to serious reflection, or thrown upon their own internal resources. Their feelings, though often morbid, and requiring force to excite them, are not delicate; nor is their taste fastidious. The task of those whose employment it is to afford them amusement is not therefore one of great difficulty. It requires no superior powers of invention, or of wit, to dress up a story which will gratify readers of this stamp, and raise the wished-for alternations of emotion in the giddy breasts, or perhaps brains,

> ——" of th' unthinking rabble,
> Giggling, sobbing, at each frantic fable."

But the strongest and the most quick-set appetite will

be palled by indulgence, and will require to be whetted and humoured by nicer food or nicer preparation. This was the origin of the art and philosophy of cookery, and a similar cause has led to the improvement of that branch of the art of writing to which we refer. When we say this, we would not be understood as meaning to insinuate, that all those fictitious works which rise above mediocrity have originated from such inferior motives. We do not consider Count Rumford as occupying the same rank with ordinary writers on the culinary art, and we do not wish to confound sober reformers with demagogues who would debauch the minds and inflame the passions of the mob, to gain their own selfish and unprincipled ends. We are willing to allow that there are individuals who commence novel writers with the more generous and disinteresting design of reforming the public taste, and of furnishing more rational and refined gratification to a numerous class of readers. To such writers we are ready to give all the praise that is due. And, indeed, when we consider the mass of insipid, stupid, and pernicious productions with which our circulating libraries are stuffed, and which are daily tossed from hand to hand until they are literally worn to tatters, we cannot but think that a man of genius and taste who condescends to join such company, displays at once a great degree of courage and of self-denial, and we are not greatly surprised to find him choosing to send the offspring of his fancy into the world without his name, or under a false one, contented with enjoying his reputation, and the other fruits of his labour *incognito*, and concealing himself from the public by means of a complicated piece of literary machinery.

Most of our readers must have heard of, and not a few of them, it is probable, have read those popular novels which lately appeared in this northern part of the island, and which, from the peculiar manners which they represented, and the ability of their execution, attracted the attention even of those who have no predilection for this species of composition. The earliest of these cannot be called a finished piece of writing. The principal character in it

wants those great qualities which are essential to a hero; his conduct justly subjects him to the suspicion of cowardice; and he becomes a deserter and a rebel, without the excuse of being actuated by principle and conviction;—a piece of management on the part of the author, which can only be accounted for on the supposition, that he was not unwilling that the chief honour should be transferred to another individual, whom, even in these times, it would not have been prudent or becoming to have proclaimed as the hero of this story. Yet, in spite of these and other faults, by his picturesque descriptions of Highland scenery, by his striking, though sometimes exaggerated, delineations of Highland manners, and, above all, by skilfully combining his fabulous narrative with the interesting history of the Rebellion, and the fates of the adventurous and unfortunate Chevalier, the author has given an interest to the work which cannot fail to make it be read with pleasure, long after the charm produced by the novelty of its appearance has ceased. Next appeared "The Astrologer," disdaining to derive aid from any adventitious association with real history, and scarcely deigning to symbolize with the speech and manners of common life. Trusting to the preternatural powers with which she was endowed, this heroine came forth with more than Amazonian courage, and by the waving of her magic wand, and the unearthly sounds which accompanied it, enchanted and subdued all that came within the reach of her potent and irresistible spell. In truth, the picture of that singular, and now nearly extinct race of beings, the gypsies, is inimitably drawn, and their character throughout the piece is supported with the utmost propriety and consistency. We do not therefore wonder at the popularity of Guy Mannering in Scotland, where the language in which a great part of the work is written, and the manners it describes, are known; but we must confess, that we are somewhat at a loss to account for the fact, of which we have been assured, that it is equally popular in England, where we are persuaded, not one word in three is understood by the generality of readers, and where we should think the entertain-

ment derived from the story must have been in no small degree marred, by the continual exercise of turning over the two quarto volumes of Dr Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, or, when these were not to be had, the glossary to Allan Ramsay, or Robert Burns's Poems. Lastly appeared "The Antiquary." The popularity acquired by its predecessors was sufficient to put this work in motion; but it became stationary as soon as the impulse which they imparted to it was spent. Whether it is that the author, having exhausted his powers by the last effort, had not allowed them sufficient time to recruit; or whether, from certain leanings in his own mind, he was unwilling to make the Antiquary truly ridiculous; or whether (which we are rather inclined to think is the truth) antiquaries are a race of beings to whom the public are so completely indifferent, that it is impossible to interest them in a story that turns chiefly upon them and their pursuits;—the fact is certain, that, notwithstanding all the humour of Edie Ochiltree (and it is not small), and notwithstanding the excellence of particular scenes, the story was deemed tame and fatiguing; and the chief thing that will now induce any to read it (those who live on novels always excepted), is the information on the title-page, that it was written by the author of Waverley and Guy Mannering.

We have chosen to introduce ourselves in this way to "Tales of My Landlord," because we are convinced that they are written by the author of the works which we have just noticed. For what reason this information has been withheld, it is unnecessary to inquire. Perhaps it was on account of the fact stated above; perhaps the author intended to pay a compliment to the reigning passion for novelty; perhaps he wished merely to gratify his own humour. Our opinion as to the point of identity of original is founded on internal evidence. The resemblance is strongly marked, both on the general features and in the minuter lines. We can trace it in that wonderful talent for description which the author almost uniformly displays, whether he wishes to paint human beings or natural scenery,—the

sublimity of a battle, or the brawlings of a tap-room,—the movements of a hero, or the fooleries of a clown. We can trace it in the different kinds of character which he brings forward for exhibition, and in the partiality with which he selects, for his more careful and minute delineation, such as are to be found in low life. We can trace it in those marks of haste and carelessness which are every now and then reminding us, that he either will not, or cannot, take time to do justice to his own powers, and that he writes without having in his mind's eye that prospective arrangement which is necessary to prevent his story from having, in some parts, an unfinished aspect, and from presenting us, in others, with very awkward attempts to obviate the difficulties that his want of foresight has occasioned. And, finally, we can trace it in the uncommon ease, and the purity, if we may use the expression, with which the Scottish language is written—a quality in which the author has no compeer among those who have made the same attempt, and which resembles, to compare small things with great, the facility and correctness with which the learned in the 16th century wrote in the ancient language of Rome.

In the work before us we are presented with two tales. The one is comprised in the first volume; the other occupies the remaining three volumes. The first tale will, we doubt not, be interesting to those who are admirers of the local habits and opinions which are said to have existed a century ago in that district of the Scottish borders where the scene is laid, and which are chiefly known to the public by means of the writings of Walter Scott. From the natural and easy manner in which he describes these, the author appears to be a native of that place, or one who, from his infancy, has been accustomed to the relation of its traditionary history. With respect to the story, we cannot say much. The author himself seems to have been anxious to have done with it, and huddles it up at last in rather a careless manner; and we may be pardoned for following his example. Hobbie Elliot is a well-drawn character. Earnscliff, like most of the author's principal characters, does not do much

to give us a high opinion of him, although he says many good things. Of the Black Dwarf (whom some have taken for the hero of the tale), we shall say nothing,—only we do not think him a more unnatural character than Ellieslaw; nor do any of the misanthropic ravings of the former appear to us so incredible as the epistle which the latter is made to address to his daughter after the detection of his plots. The attempt to give interest to the story, by connecting it with the rebellion in 1715, fails as completely as the rebellion itself did, and serves only to embarrass the author. The undisguised manner in which the conspirators talk of their projected insurrection in the presence of Ratcliffe, even before they had formally resolved on it, and when they were aware that the better and greater part of the population around them was friendly to the Government, represents them as greater madmen than we imagine the borderers ever were. After this, the laboured description of the revulsion of spirits felt by them when they came to the decisive step, although it would have been striking in other circumstances, has something affected in it. At all events, when they had taken the leap, it is quite inexcusable to make a fool of such a respectable and sensible man as Ratcliffe appears to have been, by supposing that he would make a grave and serious speech, with the view of recalling such men to their allegiance, unless the author wished to exhibit him as so puritanical in his principles as to make the affair a matter of conscience, and to think it a duty to give his testimony against such courses; in which case (if our ideas of the character of the borderers, especially when they were heated with wine, are not very incorrect), these gentlemen would have sent him, as Lauderdale did his predecessors, to make his dying speech and testimony on the nearest gallows. In short, the Black Dwarf bears sufficient marks of being a child of the same family with the Astrologer; but, whether received before his birth or after it, he has had the misfortune to meet with some great injury, and is a dwarf.—We now go on to the second tale, or rather history as it should be called, which, from the nature of its contents, as well as

its size, demands more ample and serious consideration than the preceding one could claim.

On opening the second volume, and while we hesitated in turning the first leaf, we could not but feel surprised, that the author should have permitted himself to allow either the publisher or the printer to do any thing in such bad taste as to repeat the foolish lines, which must have been foisted, without his knowledge, into the title-page of the first volume, and also the quotation on the reverse in Spanish and English. Having ventured to turn the leaf, we were most agreeably disappointed at not meeting, as we had dreaded, with the huge bulk of *Jedediah Cleishbotham*, and being overwhelmed with his somniferous eloquence. This might help to increase the pleasure which we received from reading the preliminary discourse of Mr Patrick Pattieson. We do think that it is written in the very best style, and that it forms an introduction to the tale at once ingenious and appropriate. With some of his reflections towards the close of it we do not indeed entirely coincide, as will appear in the sequel; but as we are desirous to enter upon his story in good terms with him, we shall pass them over at present.

To enable our readers to understand the remarks which we are about to offer, it will be necessary to lay before them an outline of the story, which is called "Old Mortality," to intimate, that the principal materials of which it is composed were derived from the information of an aged Presbyterian wanderer who went by that name; although, in fact, by far the greater part of it is of such a quality as cannot be supposed to have been furnished by that, or by any other zealous and venerable Covenanter. The story is supposed to commence in the summer of 1679, immediately before that rising of the Presbyterians in the west of Scotland, which was suppressed by their defeat at Bothwell Bridge. Henry Morton, the hero of the piece, was the son of a country gentleman in Lanarkshire, who, during the civil wars between Charles I. and the Parliaments, had borne arms for the latter, and of course was a zealous Whig and Presbyterian. By his death, young Morton was left to the care of an uncle, a miserly

wretch, who neglected the education, and repressed the ardent spirit of his nephew.—Henry Morton was a Presbyterian because his father had been one before him, and he attended the sermons of a minister of that persuasion who had accepted the Indulgence because his uncle did so; but he took no farther interest in the affairs of that religious body, than by condemning the oppressions which they suffered, which was balanced by his accusing them, in their turn, of extravagance and fanaticism. But if he was undecided and lukewarm in politics and in religion, Morton was cordial and devoted in his attachment to Miss Edith Bellenden, a young lady, of course, of great beauty and accomplishments, who lived in the neighbourhood of his uncle, under the tutelage of her grandmother. He had reason to conclude that his addresses were not indifferent to the person who was the object of them; but the keen tory and high church principles of the old lady presented a formidable obstacle to his success, which was heightened by his having the accomplished Lord Evandale for a rival. Having gained the prize for shooting at a mark, at a weaponschaw or military review in the neighbouring village, Morton, according to custom, entertained the company at the inn, where he met with a stranger, who requested leave to accompany him home, as he meant to travel the same road. The stranger turned out to be John Balfour of Burley, who had just escaped from Fife after being engaged in the assassination of Archbishop Sharp. Concealing this circumstance, Burley acquainted Morton with his name, and requested accommodation for the night in his uncle's house, as he was in danger of falling into the hands of one of those bands of military who traversed the country to apprehend such as were obnoxious to Government. Although extremely reluctant to comply with it, Morton could not deny this request to one who had formerly been the intimate friend and companion in arms of his father, and he lodged him in an out-house. A few days after, a party of soldiers paid a visit to the place, and Morton having acknowledged, rather sillily, what he had done, was made prisoner, and carried to the castle of Tillie-

tudlem, the residence of Miss Edith Bellenden, where Colonel Grahame of Claverhouse was expected next day with his regiment. Claverhouse, after being made acquainted with the circumstances, was about to order the prisoner to be instantly shot, but finally yielded to spare his life at the intercession of Lord Evandale, whose interest Miss Bellenden had bespoke in his favour. Morton was present as a prisoner at the battle of Drumclog or Loudon hill, where Claverhouse was defeated. Having obtained his liberty, resentment for recent injuries roused his patriotism (this is not the author's phrase); he joined the victorious Covenanters, was chosen one of their officers, and admitted to their council of war. He now exerted himself in organizing their army, and in accommodating the differences between the rigid and moderate Presbyterians. In this he was far from being successful; yet he prevailed, before the battle of Bothwell Bridge, in obtaining the consent of the majority of the council to a moderate proposal, which he presented to the Duke of Monmouth, the commander of the king's forces, at a personal interview which he obtained with his Grace, in the presence of General Dalziel and Colonel Grahame.

Having escaped after the defeat of the Presbyterians at Bothwell, and sought refuge for the night in a farm-house, Morton found himself surrounded with a number of his late companions in arms, when (strange to tell!) instead of receiving him kindly, they resolve to *put him to death*, as a sacrifice to avert the wrath of Heaven, and in revenge for his having thwarted their more violent measures. When this horrid determination is upon the very point of being carried into execution, Claverhouse bursts into the house, and rescues the devoted victim. The risk which he had run from the fanatics, and the report of several acts of generosity which he had performed to the royalists, now secure to Morton the powerful patronage of Claverhouse, who conveys him to Edinburgh, and procures his pardon from the Privy Council, with liberty for him to retire beyond seas. Having arrived in Holland, he is admitted to a private interview with the Prince of Orange, who appoints

him to a command in a remote garrison. Some years after the Revolution, he returns to Scotland, and finds the Bellenden family excluded from their property, and Miss Edith on the eve of her marriage to Lord Evandale. He pays a visit to the house of his uncle, who is now dead, and has an interview in a cave with Burley, who is made to be still alive, and whose fanaticism is represented as having issued in the most furious and confirmed derangement. By the time that he returns from these excursions, the author has arranged a plan for removing the impediment that prevented Morton's union with Edith Bellenden, and accordingly Lord Evandale is removed out of the way by one of those violent *coups de main* which writers of novels so frequently employ, when they grow weary of their subject, or when they have involved it inadvertently in difficulties, from which they are unable to extricate it with dexterity.

This general outline is at least sufficient to characterise the class to which the tale belongs. It is by no means a story purely fictitious, but is of a mixed kind, and embraces the principal facts in the real history of this country during a very important period. The author has not merely availed himself incidentally of these facts; but they form the ground-work, and furnish the principal materials of his story. He has not taken occasion to make transient allusions to the characters and manners of the age; but it is the main and avowed object of his work to illustrate these, and to give a genuine and correct picture of the principles and conduct of the two parties into which Scotland was at that time divided. The person who undertakes such a work, subjects himself to laws far more strict than those which bind the ordinary class of fictitious writers. It is not enough that he keep within the bounds of probability,—he must conform to historic truth. If he introduces real characters, they must feel, and speak, and act, as they are described to have done in the faithful page of history, and the author is not at liberty to mould them as he pleases, to make them more interesting, and to give greater effect to his story. The same regard to the truth of history must

be observed when fictitious personages are introduced, provided the reader is taught or induced to form a judgment from them of the parties to which they are represented as belonging. If it is permitted to make embellishments on the scene, with the view of giving greater interest to the piece, the utmost care ought to be taken that they do not violate the integrity of character; and they must be impartially distributed, and equally extended to all parties, and to the virtues and vices of each. This is a delicate task, but the undertaker imposes it upon himself, with all its responsibilities. Besides fidelity, impartiality, and judgment, it requires an extensive, and minute, and accurate acquaintance with the history of the period selected, including the history of opinions and habits, as well as of events. And we do not hesitate to say, that this is a species of intelligence which is not likely to be possessed by the person who holds in sovereign contempt the opinions which were then deemed of the utmost moment, and turns with disgust from the very exterior manners of the men whose inmost habits he affects to disclose. Nor will the multifarious reading of the dabbler in every thing, from the highest affairs of church and state, down to the economy of the kitchen, and the management of the stable, keep him from blundering here at every step.

Such, in our opinion, are the laws of the kind of writing under consideration; and we are not aware that their justice will be disputed, or that our statement of them is open to objection. The work before us we consider as chargeable with offences against these laws, which are neither few nor slight.

The guides of public opinion cannot be too jealous in guarding against the encroachments of the writers of fiction upon the province of true history, nor too faithful in pointing out every transgression, however small it may appear, of the sacred fences by which it is protected. Such writers have it in their power to do much mischief, from the engaging form in which they convey their sentiments to a numerous, and, in general, unsuspecting class of readers. When the

scene is laid in a remote and fabulous period, or when the merits and conduct of the men who are made to figure in it do not affect the great cause of truth and of public good, the writer may be allowed to exercise his ingenuity, and to amuse his readers, without our narrowly inquiring whether his representations are historically correct or not. But when he speaks of those men who were engaged in the great struggle for national and individual rights, civil and religious, which took place in this country previous to the Revolution, and of all the cruelties of the oppressors, and all the sufferings of the oppressed, he is not to be tolerated in giving a false and distorted view of men and measures, whether this proceed from ignorance or from prejudice. Nor should his misrepresentations be allowed to pass without severe reprehension, when their native tendency is to shade the atrocities of persecution, to diminish the horror with which the conduct of a tyrannical and unprincipled government has been so long and so justly regarded, and to traduce and vilify the characters of those men, who, while they were made to feel all the weight of its severity, continued to resist, until they succeeded in emancipating themselves, and securing their posterity from the galling yoke. On this supposition, it is not sufficient to atone for such faults, that the work in which they are found displays great talents; that it contains scenes which are described with exquisite propriety and truth; that the leading facts in the history of those times are brought forward; that the author has condemned the severities of the government; that he is often in a mirthful and facetious mood; and that some allowances must be made for a desire to amuse his readers, and to impart greater interest to a story, which, after all, is for the most part fictitious. With every disposition to make all reasonable allowances, we are constrained to set aside such apologies. It is not upon sentiments transiently expressed, but upon the impression which the whole piece is calculated to make, that our judgment must be formed. We cannot agree to sacrifice the interests of truth, either to the humour of an author, or to the amusement of his readers.

We respect talents as much as any can do, and can admire them, even when we are obliged to reprobate the bad purposes to which they are applied; but we must not suffer our imaginations to be dazzled by the splendour of talent; we cannot consent to be tricked and laughed out of our principles; nor will we passively allow men who deserve other treatment, and to whose firmness and intrepidity we are indebted for the transmission of so many blessings, to be run down, and abused with profane wit or low buffoonery.

Before proceeding to a particular examination of the characters which the author gives of the two parties, we beg leave to mention one or two instances, which go to show that he is not to be trusted as to the accuracy of the statements upon which his judgments are pronounced. Lest we should be suspected of having hunted for these, we shall take them from the two first paragraphs of his story. One charge which he frequently brings against the strict Presbyterians, is that of a morose and gloomy bigotry, displayed by their censuring of all innocent recreations. This he endeavours to impress on the imagination of his reader in the very first scene, by representing them as refusing, from such scruples, to attend the weaponschaws appointed by Government. "The rigour of the strict Calvinists," says he, "increased in proportion to the wishes of the Government that it should be relaxed. A supercilious condemnation of all manly pastimes and harmless recreations distinguished those who professed a more than ordinary share of sanctity." Now, with respect to all that kind of information which the antiquary possesses, we will most cheerfully acknowledge the superiority of our author; and we can assure him, that we listened to him with "judaical" credulity, and with as devout gravity as any of his readers could listen to the sermons of the zealous Mause, or of Habakkuk Mucklewraith,—while he described, to our great edification, the popinjay or parrot, being the figure of a bird so called, with party-coloured feathers, suspended on a pole, or mast, having a yard extended across it as a mark, at which the competitors discharged their fusees and carabines, with the precise number

of paces at which they stood from the mark, the exact number of rounds which they fired, and the identical manner in which the order of their rotation was settled. Also the ducal carriage, being an enormous leathern vehicle like to Noah's ark, or at least the vulgar picture of it; the eight Flanders mares, with their long tails, by which it was dragged; the eight insides, with their designations and rank, and the places which they occupied on the lateral recess, or the projection at the door, or the boot, and on the opposite ensconce; and the six outsides, being six lacqueys, armed up to the teeth, who stood, or rather hung, in triple file, on the foot-board, and eke, besides a coachman, three postilions (the author has omitted to mention on which lateral horse they sat, or stood, or hung), with their short swords, and tie-wigs with three tails, and blunderbusses and pistols. Truly, if the rigid features of the Puritans did not relax into something of a more gentle aspect than "a sort of malignant and sarcastic sneer," at the sight of this moving mansion-house, we must grant that they were as morose and gloomy as the author represents them to have been. With respect to all information of this kind, which the author takes every opportunity of imparting to his readers, with infinite particularity, and with such evident self-satisfaction, as to banish the suspicion, that he intended to set the rhapsodical jargon of modern writers over against that of the old whigs, or to show, that, though the cant of hypocrisy is the worst, the cant of antiquarianism is the most childish and tormenting;—of the accuracy, we say, of all such information, we never presumed to hesitate for a moment; we are satisfied, upon his testimony, that in the seventeenth century it was customary for gentlemen of property to sit at the same table with the lowest of their menial servants, though we did not before know that this mode of promiscuous feasting ascended higher in the grade of society than the families of farmers; and we now believe, upon the same authority, though it cost us, we confess, some pain to swallow it, that clocks or time-pieces were then a common article of furniture in a moorland farm-house. But we must ac-

knowledge that we are not disposed to pay the same deference to the author's opinion, in what relates to the religious sentiments and moral habits of those times; we presume to think, that we understand these fully as well as he does; and with regard to the scruple which he imputes to the Presbyterians respecting the lawfulness of assemblies for a show of arms, military exercises, and manly pastimes, whether he received his information from pedlars, weavers, and tailors, or from the descendants of honourable families, right reverend non-juring bishops, lairds, or their hereditary gamekeepers, we can assure him, that they have imposed on his credulity and good nature (which, if he had had his usual wits about him, he might have suspected from "the shrug of the shoulder" with which they could not help accompanying it), much in the same way that the "travelling packman" imposed upon Oldbuck the antiquary about "the bodle." The fact is, that from the Reformation, down to the period in which the scene of this tale is laid, such exercises and pastimes were quite common throughout Scotland; children were carefully trained to them when at school; professors in universities attended and joined in them, as well as their students; and the Presbyterian ministers, having practised them at school and at college, instead of condemning them as unlawful, did not scruple to countenance them with their presence. There were some of these precise preachers, for whom, we suspect, our author (with all his intimate knowledge of such sports) might not have been quite a match in shooting at the popinjay; and in playing with them at the rapier or small sword, or in wrestling a fall, we are afraid he might have come off as badly as Sergeant Bothwell did from the brawny arms of John Balfour of Burley.

If he had not been eager to fix a stigma upon the Covenanters, he could not have been at a loss to account fully for their absence from the weaponschaws, without having recourse to this religious scruple. In the first place, the troops then kept up by the Government in a time of peace were intended to harass the Covenanters, and were wholly

employed in discovering and dispersing their conventicles. As one great design of the reviews was to allure young men to enter into this army, we need not wonder that the Covenanters refrained from them, and inculcated this upon all who were under their influence. They refused to enlist, and they refused or scrupled to pay the cess which was appropriated to the support of troops raised for the express purpose of suppressing their religious assemblies. The author, according to his mode of writing and reasoning, should therefore have represented them as of the principle of those fanatics who denied the lawfulness of bearing arms, and of paying taxes for the common purposes of government. If it were necessary to assign any other reason, we might add, that the Presbyterians had a religious scruple, but one of a very different complexion from that which is assumed by our author. These reviews, with their attendant sports, were then ordinarily held on Sabbath-days. "Under the reign of the last Stuarts (to avail ourselves in part of the language of our author, in the pretty exordium with which he opens his tale), there was an anxious wish, on the part of Government, to counteract, by every means in their power, the strict or puritanical spirit." For this purpose, "frequent musters and assemblies of the people, both for military exercise, and for sports and pastimes, were appointed by authority" to be held on the Sabbath. This did not commence after "the republican government." It was the English Solomon who, in his wisdom, first discovered this project for promoting the happiness of his good subjects. It was revived and pressed with greater zeal in the reign of his son, the pious martyr, Charles I., and again resorted to by his most sacred and immaculate Majesty Charles II. To have stated this circumstance broadly, would have tended to weaken the impression which the author wished to make on the minds of his readers, as to the moroseness and rigidity of the Presbyterians; and therefore he keeps it back, or rather dexterously veils it. That he was aware of the fact is evident, not only from his charging the Covenanters, in this place, with "a judaical observance of the Sabbath,"

but also from his telling us, that, if present, they could not avoid "listening to the prayers read in the churches on these occasions."

With what indignation must he have read a late proclamation of the magistrates of this city, enforcing "a judaical observance of the Sabbath!" With what horror must he have viewed the hydra form of Puritanism, which was cut down at Bothwell Bridge in 1679, rearing its deformed head in 1816, and stalking the streets of the capital of Scotland in the shape of its Lord Provost and Magistrates! And, after this, how soothing to his perturbed spirits must have been the spectacle exhibited, so recently and so opportunely on a Sunday, in one of the most public streets of the same city! * If he was in the place, and not taking to himself a little innocent pastime in the country, our author doubtless must have been present on that occasion, dancing for joy promiscuously with the rabble assembled, and tripping it to the sound of "the pipe and tabor, or the bagpipe." His good friend, the memorialist of Lord Viscount Dundee, tells us that his politic, as well as valorous hero, found that "his dragoons were the only medicines to be apply'd to their distempers," meaning the old fanatics; and there was no doubt something peculiarly pleasing in the resemblance (all danger being completely out of the question) between this and the recent incident. This is not the first time that Scotland has been indebted to her faithful and old ally, Russia, for assistance against a gloomy and unsocial fanaticism. General Dalziel was formerly brought from the wilds of Muscovy, as a falcon of the true breed, and trained on the proper ground, to hunt down the flying Puritans, and to drive these impure and loathsome bats into their native dens and caves. And why should not our gallant officers have taken advantage of the presence of a Russian duke, to

* ["On Sunday (Dec. 22, 1816), the Grand Duke Nicholas (brother of the Emperor Alexander), dressed in the Russian military uniform, and on horseback, inspected the 6th dragoon guards, and the 92d regiment, in front of his hotel in Princes Street, attended by severals of his suite, along with Major General Hope, and the North British staff."—*Scots Magazine, Jan.* 1817.—Ed.]

revive the Sunday weaponschaws of former days, to teach our magistrates good manners, and to convince them that gentlemen in red coats are not bound to be subject to those rigid and puritanical restrictions which may be imposed on the vulgar? We do not know what our author means, and we are not sure that he has himself any distinct idea of what is meant by a judaical observance of the Sabbath. We know of no peculiar strictness on this head exacted by our Presbyterian forefathers, above what is practised by the sober and religious part of the inhabitants of Scotland to this day. And whatever he may be pleased to think of it, there are many of as enlightened minds, and of as liberal principles, as he can pretend to, who glory in this national distinction; and one reason why we will not suffer our ancestors to be misrepresented by him, or by any other writer of the present times, is the gratitude which we feel to them, for having transmitted to their posterity a hereditary and deep veneration for the Lord's day.

The second instance which goes to prove that the author's statements respecting the religious sentiments and customs of that period are not to be depended upon, relates to the use of the Book of Common Prayer. "The young at arms," says he, "were unable to avoid *listening to the prayers read in the churches on these occasions*, and thus, in the opinion of their repining parents, meddling with the accursed thing which is an abomination in the sight of the Lord." Now, though the author had not stood in awe of that "dreadful name," which all Christians are taught to venerate, nor been afraid of the threatening, "the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain," we would have thought that he would have at least been careful to save himself from ridicule, by ascertaining the truth of the fact which he assumes as the foundation of his irreverent jest. How, then, does the fact stand? Prayers were NOT *read* in the parish churches of Scotland at that time, any more than they were in the meeting-houses of the indulged, or in the conventicles of the stricter Presbyterians. The author has taken it for granted that the Prayer-Book was introduced into Scotland along

with Episcopal government at the Restoration. We are astonished that any one who professed to be acquainted with the history of that period, and especially one who undertakes to describe its religious manners, should take up this erroneous notion. The English Book of Common Prayer was never introduced into Scotland, and, previous to 1637, was used only in the Chapel Royal, and perhaps occasionally in one or two other places, to please the king. The history of the short-lived Scottish Prayer-Book is well known. At the Restoration, neither the one nor the other was imposed, but the public worship was left to be conducted as it had been practised in the Presbyterian Church. Charles II. was not so fond of prayers, whether read or extempore, as to interest himself in that matter; his maxim was, that Presbyterianism was not fit for a gentleman; his dissipated and irreligious courtiers were of the same opinion; and therefore Episcopacy was established. As for the aspiring churchmen who farthered and pressed the change, they were satisfied with seating themselves in their rich bishoprics. Accordingly, the author will not find the Presbyterians "repining" at this imposition; and had he examined their writings, as he ought to have done, he would have found them repeatedly admitting that they had no such grievance. * But surely (we hear some of our readers who

[* It is the more surprising that Sir Walter should have fallen into this mistake, considering that Sir G. Mackenzie, and other writers, have quoted the opposite fact to show the unreasonableness of the Presbyterians in objecting to the form of government intruded on them by Charles. "The reader will be astonished," says Sir George, "when we inform him, that the way of worship in our Church differed nothing from what the Presbyterians themselves practised (except only that we used the Doxology, the Lord's Prayer, and in baptism the Creed; all which they rejected). We had no ceremonies, surplice, altars, cross in baptisms, nor the meanest of those things which would be allowed in England by the Dissenters."—*Vindication*, p. 9. Scott had afterwards satisfied himself of the truth of this, for we find him acknowledging, in his review of Kirkton, that "the mode of worship used in the Episcopal establishment was, in all material parts, the same which the Presbyterians used;" and he makes the same use of the fact as Mackenzie had done. Both authors carefully conceal the fact, that the main ground of complaint and suffering with the faithful Pres-

have perused Old Mortality, exclaim), surely the Prayer-Book must have been read in the churches in those times. The old steward of Tillietudlem is as familiar with the *commination*, as the most conscientious curate in England could be; and the butler is as well acquainted with the Litany, as if he had heard it every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. (Vol. ii., pp. 40, 267.) Cuddie Headrigg, too, very wittily observes, that this, in his opinion, formed the only difference between the Episcopalian service and that of their opponents. (Saame volume, sievint chapter, hunder an' fifty-saxt page.)* Honest Major Bellenden also vouches for the fact, and introduces it when he was very much in earnest to procure the life of Henry Morton. "He is a lad of as good church principles as any gentleman in the life-guards. He has gone to church service with me fifty times, and I never heard him miss one of the responses in my life. Edith Bellenden can bear witness to it as well as I. He always read on the same prayer-book with her, and could look out the lessons as well as the curate himself." (Vol. ii., pp. 303,

byterians of that time was, not merely that Episcopacy had been established in the room of Presbytery (though they condemned this as a flagrant breach of solemn engagements with God and the country, but the *manner* in which that establishment was effected, and particularly the claim of supremacy set up by the king over the Church, which virtually gave him the command of the consciences of his people, and the acknowledgment of which involved a denial of the Headship of Jesus Christ, the only King of Zion. Such a glorious principle as this was well worth the contending for, even though the occasion of dispute had been much inferior to that of altering the appointed government of the Church; just as the possession of a trifling strip of land may involve the rights of two powerful and rival nations, and occasion much war and bloodshed. The doxology and the Lord's Prayer, referred to by Mackenzie, formed a common part of the service of the Church of Scotland till the period of the Westminster Assembly, when, for the sake of uniformity with the English, these, with other customs, were given up, some of them, in my opinion, without any good reason.—*Baillie*, i. 362, ii. 89.—Ed.]

* [This is a sort of innocent retaliation on Sir Walter, for the style in which he makes old Mause quote from Scripture. It is very easy to turn the most sublime sentiment into the ridiculous, by clothing it in vulgar Scotch, which, though the language of ladies and gentlemen in the days of the Covenant, is associated in our ears with the lowest characters and transactions of ordinary life.—Ed.]

304.) Nay, to confirm the truth of the fact, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, Morton was so habituated to the use of the Liturgy, that, in a situation of great distraction, "he had instinctively recourse to the petition for deliverance and for composure of spirit which is to be found in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England;" a circumstance which so enraged his murderers, that they determined to precipitate his fate. (Vol. iv., pp. 83, 84.)

There is one fault in the work, which all who have carefully read it must have observed. For the sake of giving effect to a particular scene, the author does not hesitate to violate historic truth and probability, and even to contradict his own statements or admissions. Instances of this occur in some of his best descriptions, and they show, that though he has the imagination and feeling of a poet, he is deficient in the judgment and discriminating taste of a historian. For example, at the weaponschaw, with which the story is introduced, he makes the Whigs to shout repeatedly at Morton's success, and cry, "The good old cause for ever!" although every one acquainted with the state of matters at that time, must be persuaded that this would have been a signal for the soldiers to disperse the crowd, and perhaps to shoot some of the offenders instantly on the spot. No part of the character of Burley will remove the gross improbability, that a man in his circumstances would have engaged in a personal conflict with a soldier in an inn, which, in all likelihood, must have issued in his imprisonment, and consequently in his detection. We mention these instances because, as related by the author, they do not convey any degrading reflection on the character of the Covenanters, but so far as they go, exhibit them in a favourable light; and therefore we cannot be suspected of partiality in pointing them out as blemishes. Mause is a favourite character with the author, and out of her mouth he intended to pour the greatest quantity of his ridicule upon the Covenanters. Here, then, we might have expected consistency. But how does the case stand? Mause was an old professor of religion, and also an old residenter on the estate of Tillie-

tudlem. She had long attended conventicles, but she had conducted herself quietly, and prudently, and inoffensively; for, had she done otherwise, the zealous lady Margaret Bellenden, who was accustomed to visit her, and to gossip with her for half an hour at a time, must have long before discovered her principles and character. But no sooner does she fall under the management of our author, than she becomes all at once frenzied, and having lost the command of herself, and being wholly possessed by the fanatical spirit of the tale, she not only incurs the wrath of the old lady with whom she had been "a sort of favourite," but by her wild and uncontrollable raving, expels herself and son from every harbour, and exposes all who were so unfortunate as to receive her, to the greatest distress and peril. What must we infer from this incongruous and conflicting representation? That the conduct of the discreet Mause, previous to "the 5th of May 1679, when our narrative commences," exhibits the genuine picture of the Presbyterian character, as it existed at that period, and the description of her mad behaviour after that period, is the distorted caricature of the same class of persons as now presented in Old Mortality?

> "Nec melius natura queat variasse colores:
> En tibi vera rosa est, en tibi ficta rosa!"

But as we are not yet to part with our author, and would wish to keep in the best terms possible with him so long as we must be together, we shall suspend the discussion of the points on which we are under the necessity of differing from him, for the sake of performing the more pleasant duty of pointing out some of his beauties. These are numerous,—and all the blemishes which we have noticed, and may yet find ourselves obliged to notice, could not prevent us from observing and admiring them. It is true, that when great talents are abused, when they are exerted to confound the distinctions between virtue and vice, to varnish over oppression and injustice, and to throw ridicule upon those who resist these scourges of society, they ought not to screen the

possessor from condemnation and censure. He is doubly criminal; he sins in patronising a bad cause; and he sins in prostituting to its support those talents, which, by the very law of his nature, he was bound to use for an opposite purpose. Still we cannot be blind to their existence, nor would we wish to overlook one instance in which they are legitimately and laudably employed. That the general tendency of the work under consideration is unfavourable to the interests of religion and political freedom, is our decided judgment. But we, at the same time, cheerfully acknowledge, that in stating his own sentiments, the author has distinctly condemned persecution, tyranny, and military oppression; and although he has laboured to expose that party who were most distinguished for religion and correctness of manners, and among whom, indeed, these virtues were then almost exclusively to be found, yet we are unwilling, simply on that account, to consider him as an enemy to religion, or a champion of profaneness. But whatever the moral and religious character of the work be, its literary merits are unquestionably high. The author always views nature with the eye of a poet, and his descriptions of it are uniformly vivid, strong, and picturesque. His dialogue is easy, animated, and characteristical, and is often enlivened with strokes of genuine humour, and flashes of true wit. We cannot say, that we find those profound views of human nature, and those nicer dissections of the human heart, which appear in the characters of the masters of fictitious writing who flourished during last century.* They had studied mankind with the eye of a philosopher; their object was to delineate men and manners as they occurred in ordinary life; and their chief art was exerted in inventing scenes in which these might be fully unfolded, and in forming them into one piece of historical painting, in which variety was combined with unity, and the

* [This refers principally to Fielding and Richardson, who were great favourites in the days of our fathers and mothers, and his youthful partiality to whom, our author could not be persuaded to forego in favour of the more entertaining, though less elaborate and profound productions of Sir Walter.—*Life*, p. 226.—Ed.]

deepest interest imparted to the subject, without the smallest violation of the limits of nature and probability. Our author, again, has surveyed mankind, not carelessly indeed, but with a curious rather than a philosophic eye; he is attracted by the singularities and eccentricities of human character; he endeavours chiefly to amuse his readers with an exhibition of these; and whenever they have fallen within the reach of his observation, and he was under no temptation to distort, he has described them with uncommon, we might say with inimitable truth, naiveté, and effect. He never fails to "carry every point," when he brings on the scene a Highland chieftain, a moss-trooper, an astrologer, or even a dwarf; a cunning publican, a simple clown, an artful waiting-woman, or a whimsical old housekeeper. The character of Neil Bane is painted to the life. The scene in the public-house is well described; and the character of Sergeant Bothwell is natural, and supported throughout,—only, we must observe, that, from his education and former rank, he is not a fair specimen of the rude and brutal soldiery let loose upon the Covenanters; and he always takes care to engross the conversation, and scarcely allows his comrades to show their faces. The shrewdness and worldly sense of Cuddie Headrigg are very amusing; and we must praise the sagacity of the author in keeping him cheek by jowl to his mother, not to keep her within bounds (for his presence is of little service that way), but to divert the reader's attention, and keep him from wearying of a character that is overcharged and unnatural. In general, we think that the author is most successful in giving the portraits of those in low life. Here he has, almost in every case, produced a *facsimile;* so that we may justly apply the following lines, in which Martial praises the portrait of Issa, the favourite lap-dog of his friend Publius:—

"In qua tam similem videbis Issam,
Ut sit tam similis sibi nec ipsa.
Issam denique pone cum tabella,
Aut utramque putabis esse veram,
Aut utramque putabis esse fictam."

So true the likeness of the elf,
That liker is not Issa's self.
Survey together, then apart,
The dog of nature and of art;
You'll think that both the dogs are real,
Or both alike are dogs ideal.

On the score of common propriety, we must except the description of Goose Gibbie in the first scene. We are quite sensible that the author found it advisable to make some sacrifice of his taste to that of a large class of his readers, whom it was prudent to please; but it was surely too much to record, with such tedious minuteness, and such marks of delight, the adventures and misfortune of a poor "half-witted lad," similar to those who give "infinite satisfaction" to thoughtless schoolboys, gaping clowns, and giggling handmaidens.

One conspicuous fault in this tale lies in its not giving a view of the state of the Presbyterians previous to the time that it commences, and of the sufferings which they had endured from the Government. It begins with an account of the assassination of Archbishop Sharp, and of the insurrection of the Presbyterians; but it throws no light upon the causes which drove them to this extremity. Let them have been as fanatical, and violent, and rancorous in their political hatred, as the author represents them, still, common justice, not to speak of candour, required that the reader should have been put in possession of those facts which were of an excusatory nature, or which would enable him to judge how far these vices were inherent in the Presbyterian character, and to what degree they were to be imputed to the oppression and cruelty with which they had been treated. The necessity of this is so exceedingly obvious, that it is difficult to suppress the suspicion, that the information was intentionally kept back. We certainly do consider it as an instance of glaring partiality and injustice,—the more so, as a great proportion of the readers of the work know little more of the history of that time, beyond what they have found in the Introduction to Walter Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Scottish

Border," where it is described by the very elegant periphrasis of "what is called the 'Persecution.'" It is no apology for this, that the author has, in a general statement, opposed the tyranny of the Government and military violence, to the turbulence and fanaticism of the Covenanters; for he has dwelt upon the latter, and only glanced at the former in a transient manner. What would we think of a writer who should undertake the history of a civil war, without giving the causes which led to it; leaving his reader to collect these from other works, or to guess at them from the hints which he occasionally dropt? We are not so unreasonable as to require, that our author should have alarmed his readers by giving a dry narration of this at the beginning of his work, or by substituting it in place of the interesting description of the weaponschaw;—far from it. But none knows better than he where it could have been introduced with the greatest propriety and effect. Had he only introduced the leading facts in a conversation between Morton and a rational Presbyterian (if such a personage could have entered into the author's conception), he might have given a higher tone to his work, and invested his nominal hero with the real character of a patriot, instead of making him a mere every-day person of romance—a puppet, alternately agitated by love, and jealousy, and personal resentment, and a vague and feeble wish for fame. The narrative which we are necessitated to give, to supply the author's omission, can be but brief and general.

During *nineteen* long years previous to the insurrection at Bothwell, the Presbyterians of Scotland had smarted under the rod of persecution. Scarcely was Charles II. restored, when the scaffold was dyed with the blood of the noble Marquis of Argyle, who had placed the crown on the king's head, and of James Guthrie, whose loyalty, not of that passive, creeping, senseless kind which cavaliers and tories glory in, but enlightened, tempered, and firm, was proved by his refusing, during the whole period of the interregnum, to acknowledge either the Commonwealth or the Protectorate. The people of Scotland were deeply rooted in their

attachment to Presbytery, from a persuasion of its agreeableness to Scripture, from experience of the advantages, religious and civil, which it had produced, from the oaths which they were under to adhere to it, and from the sufferings which they had endured for their adherence to it, both from the court and from the sectaries of England. Upon the Restoration, a proclamation was sent down to Scotland, in which the king promised to preserve this form of Church government in that part of his dominions. But this was merely an artifice to lull the nation asleep, until the court had gained over or got rid of the principal persons whose opposition they had reason to fear, and to prevent the general remonstrances which otherwise would have been presented from all parts of the kingdom against the intended change; for it is beyond all doubt (whatever ignorance may assert to the contrary), that there was not then a party in Scotland, worthy of being named, which desired the restoration of Episcopacy upon religious principle. Accordingly, when the Parliament met, being packed by the court, and slavishly submissive to all its wishes, it proceeded to declare the king supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, to devolve upon him the whole right of settling the government of the Church, to condemn all resistance to the royal authority, and at one stroke to rescind all the Parliaments from 1640 to 1650, even those at which his Majesty and his father had been present, and all their acts, including many of the most enlightened and salutary which ever passed a Scottish legislature! Thus the liberties of the nation, civil and religious, were laid at the feet of the monarch, and the foundations of all legitimate government shaken. "This," says Bishop Burnet, "was a most extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It shook all possible security for the future, and laid a most pernicious precedent. It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was so, when *the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk*." Had not the ancient spirit of Scotland been broken by repeated disasters, and had they not been basely betrayed, the nation would have risen at once, bound

this mad crew, and thrown off the degrading yoke which was imposed on them.* In the exercise of the powers with which he was invested, the king immediately restored Episcopacy by a royal edict, which was soon after confirmed by another Parliament. One principal cause of this revolution, and of all the confusions, horrors, and crimes, which it entailed upon the nation during 28 years, was the base and unparalleled treachery of Sharp, who, having been sent to London by the Presbyterians to watch over their interests, and supported there by their money, deluded them in his letters by the most solemn assurances of his fidelity, and of the security of their cause, while he had betrayed that cause, and sold himself to their adversaries; and who continued to practise the same consummate hypocrisy, until he had no longer any reason for concealment, and he took possession of the archbishoprick of St Andrews. All the authority, and all the force of Government were henceforth employed almost solely in enforcing subjection to a form of Church government, and to an order of men that were odious to the nation. The Solemn League and Covenant, which was regarded with the greatest veneration, and had long been considered as one of the most sacred bonds of security for the national religion and liberties, was declared by statute unlawful, and all the subjects, as well as the king who had sworn it, were absolved from its obligation; those who were

* [Various other causes might have been assigned for the tameness with which the Scots submitted to the re-establishment of Prelacy at that time. The nation was tired of contention, and too glad to hail, upon any terms, the return of peace under a regular government. But, so far as the Church was concerned, the main cause of her want of vigour was the sad dissension, as yet unhealed, between the Resolutioners and Protesters. Various means were used, particularly in the Synod of Lothian, to effect a union between the opposing parties, before the return of the king; and this might easily have been accomplished, had it not been for the arts and manœuvres of Sharp, who saw in this disunion a better prospect of gaining his object, and who, by playing the loyal feelings of the one party against the conscientious scruples of the other, carried the day against the Protesters, and prevailed on their opponents to delay till the arrival of Charles, when every thing, of course, would be settled according to their desires.—*MS. Minutes of Synod of Lothian*, in Adv. Lib.—ED.]

admitted to places of power and trust were obliged explicitly to renounce it; and this renunciation soon came to be exacted from the subjects in general under the heaviest penalties. All ministers who had been admitted to parishes after 1649, were ordered, before a certain day, to receive collation from the bishops, or else to leave their churches. In consequence of this, between three and four hundred of them were constrained to leave their charges, which were filled with men who were in general the very *dregs and refuse of society*. In giving them this character, we use the language, a little softened, of a bishop who was at that time in Scotland, and was a writer in support of Episcopacy. "They were," says he "generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers ever I heard: they were ignorant to a reproach; and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and to the sacred functions; and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised." Who can wonder that such men were despised and detested? Who but hypocritical infidels, and profligates, and dastardly souls, would have submitted to the ministry of such men, or have abandoned their own ministers, who had been highly respected, and were highly respectable? Accordingly, such of the people as had any sense of religion, or of decorum, and were not slaves to the court, or to deep prejudice, scrupled to hear the curates, and frequented the churches of those Presbyterian ministers who had not yet been ejected. When this was not in their power, they craved instruction from their ejected pastors, who, considering the relation that had subsisted between them and their flocks as not dissolved, complied with their request, at first privately, and afterwards more publicly. This was the origin of separate meetings and conventicles, against which the vengeance of the Government, and of the bishops and their worthless underlings, was now directed.

Laws with penalties, which were gradually increased,

were enacted, and every person bearing the king's commission had the power of executing them. The Parliament had granted to the king a standing army, under the pretext of defending Christendom against the Turks, forsooth, but in reality to support his arbitrary government. The soldiers were dispersed in companies through the nonconforming parishes. The curate read over a catalogue of his parishioners on the Sabbath-day, and having marked the names of such as were absent, gave them in to the person who commanded the company, who immediately levied the fines incurred by the absentees. In parishes to which the nonconformists were suspected to repair, the soldiers used to spend the Sabbath in the nearest inn, and when warned by the psalm that public worship was drawing to a close, they sallied out from their cups, placed themselves at the doors of the church, told the people, as they came out, like a flock of sheep, and seized as their prey upon such as had wandered from their own parishes. Ministers who had preached at conventicles were, when apprehended, committed to prison, and banished; those who attended their ministry were severely fined, or subjected to corporal punishment. Masters were obliged to enter into bonds that their servants should not attend these meetings, and landlords to come under these engagements for all that lived on their estates.* If any dispute arose respecting the fines, the person accused was obliged to travel from the most distant

* [The innumerable bonds and oaths imposed during this reign of Episcopacy in Scotland, served only to debauch the consciences of men, and wear off all impression of the solemnity of an oath. Officers of state set the example. Sir George Mackenzie tells us, that "I nuderdale laughed at these contrivances, and told them he would sign a cartful of such oaths before he would lose his place."—*History*, p. 64. Claverhouse was accustomed to say, after he had forced the people to swallow the oaths, "Argyle shall have a perjured dog of you."—*Wod.* i. 512. "If any refused to swear, or drink healths at their pleasure, then away to the prison with him. The debauched clergy thought it no shame to call these dragoons *the ruling elders of the Church*."—*Wod. MSS.* 40, Adv. Lib. "With men destitute of principle," says Dr M'Crie, "such bonds serve any purpose but that of supporting a Government, or throwing out worthless individuals."—*Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, 274.—Ed.]

part of the country, and though found innocent, was often obliged to pay what was called *riding-money*, for defraying the travelling expenses of his accuser, who accompanied him.

Sir James Turner, who commanded a troop which lay at Dumfries in 1666, had distinguished himself by his military exactions and plunder. A small party of his soldiers were one day ordered to a small village in Galloway to bring in one of their victims. While they were treating him in the most inhuman manner, some countrymen ventured to remonstrate against their cruelty. This was resented by the soldiers, a scuffle ensued, and the soldiers were put to flight. Knowing that this act would draw on them the vengeance of the military, the countrymen, being joined by numbers who could not but applaud their generous interference, disarmed the soldiers who were in the neighbourhood, and proceeding quickly to Dumfries, took Sir James Turner prisoner, and dispersed his troops. This incident produced the rising of the Presbyterians in the west of Scotland, which was suppressed at Pentland Hills by the King's troops under General Dalziel. How far it was prudent for them to continue in arms, and to brave the fury of the Government, in the circumstances in which they were then placed, we shall not judge; but that they were chargeable with rebellion, we will not easily admit. "We leave all those who afterwards thought it lawful to join in the Revolution," says a sensible English author, who wrote *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*,* "and in taking arms against the oppressions and arbitrary government of King James, to

* [These memoirs are generally ascribed to Daniel Defoe, the celebrated author of Robinson Crusoe. Defoe visited Scotland on a political mission about the time of the Union, and it is evident that the anecdotes concerning the Persecution, then fresh in the memory of many, have lost none of their attractions in the narrative of one who possessed such liveliness of imagination, and excelled all others in dramatising a story. But the well-known talent of the writer in this way, though it renders caution necessary in following his version of some incidents, does not detract from the intrinsic value of the reflections with which his history is enriched.—Ed.]

judge, whether these good men had not the same individual reasons, and more, for this Pentland expedition? and it is answer enough to all that shall read these sheets to say, that these men died for that lawful resisting of arbitrary power which has been justified as legal, and acknowledged to be justifiable by the practice and declaration of the respective Parliaments of both kingdoms."

An unsuccessful attempt to throw off a tyrannical yoke, serves in general to rivet it more firmly, and to aggravate the sufferings of the oppressed. It was so in the present instance. Besides those who suffered for being engaged in the late insurrection, the nonconformists throughout the kingdom were prosecuted with the greatest rigour. A *bone of contention*, to use the phrase of their arch-persecutor, was thrown in among them by the royal acts of *Indulgence*, as they were called, by which a certain number of the ejected ministers were permitted to preach upon certain conditions, and were confined by twos, like galley-slaves, within their parishes. Upon this, severer laws were enacted against conventicles. To preach at a separate meeting in a private house, subjected the minister to a fine of 5000 merks; if he preached in the fields, his punishment was death and confiscation of property. The fines of those who countenanced these meetings were increased, and were proportioned to their wealth. For example, Sir George Maxwell of Newark, and Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock, were fined in a sum amounting to nearly £8000 sterling each, in the course of three years, for absence from their parish church, attendance on conventicles, and disorderly baptisms. Landlords were now obliged to make it an article in their leases, and masters in their indentures, that their tenants and apprentices should regularly attend the established place of worship. Recourse was at last had to one of the most detestable measures of a tyrannical government. *Letters of intercommuning* were issued against a great number of the most distinguished Presbyterians, including several ladies of rank, by which they were proscribed as rebels, and cut off from all society; a price, amounting in some instances

to £500, was fixed on their heads, and every person, not excepting their nearest relatives, was prohibited from conversing with them by word or writing, from receiving or harbouring them, and from supplying them with meat, drink, clothes, or any of the accommodations or necessaries of life, under the pain of being pursued with rigour as guilty of the same crimes with the persons intercommuned. It is to be observed, that the highest offence of those who were thus excluded from the pale of society, was preaching at, or attending field conventicles? At the same time, the *Highland host* was brought down upon the western counties. Those who have heard of modern Highland hospitality, or been amused with fables of ancient Highland chivalry, can form no idea of the horror produced by the irruption of these *savages*, to the number of 10,000, armed, besides their accustomed weapons, with spades, shovels, and mattocks, and with daggers or dirks made to fasten to the muzzles of their guns, iron shackles for binding their prisoners, and thumb-locks to oblige them to answer the questions that they proposed to them, and to discover their concealed treasure. The rapine and outrage committed by this lawless banditti, often without discrimination of conformists from nonconformists, having obliged the Government to order them home, the regular troops were sent to replace them, provided with instructions to proceed with the greatest severity against those who attended conventicles, and headed by officers who had shown themselves best qualified for carrying these instructions into execution.

We cannot give an account of the sufferings which the Presbyterians endured by the execution of these barbarous measures. "They suffered," says an author already quoted, "extremities that tongue cannot describe, and which heart can hardly conceive of, from the dismal circumstances of hunger, nakedness, and the severity of the climate,—lying in damp caves, and in hollow clefts of the naked rocks, without shelter, covering, fire or food: none durst harbour, entertain, relieve, or speak to them, upon pain of death. Many, for venturing to receive them, were forced to fly to

them, and several put to death for no other offence. Fathers were persecuted for supplying their children, and children for nourishing their parents; husbands for harbouring their wives, and wives for cherishing their own husbands.* The ties and obligations of the laws of nature were no defence, but it was made death to perform natural duties; and many suffered death for acts of piety and charity in cases where human nature could not bear the thoughts of suffering it. To such an extreme was the rage of these persecutors carried." Nor can we give an account of the murders committed under the cloak of justice; the inhuman tortures to which the accused were subjected, to constrain them to bear witness against themselves, their relatives, and their brethren, and the barbarity of sounding drums on the scaffold to drown their voices, and of apprehending and punishing those who expressed sympathy for them, or who uttered the prayer, *God comfort you!* The number of prisoners was often so great that the Government could not bring them all to trial. Such of them as escaped execution were transported, or rather sold as slaves, to people desolate and barbarous colonies; the price of a Whig was fixed at five

* [It would be impossible, without occupying an unreasonable space, to record the instances of female heroism, supported by Christian principle, which abounded at this period. The following are selected almost at random :—"A party came to Langside (1679), to the house of John Mitchell, alleged by them to have been at Bothwell. He being out of the way, they seized his wife, a religious and sensible woman, and pressed her to tell where her husband was. The good woman peremptorily refusing, they bound her and put kindled matches betwixt her fingers to extort a discovery from her. Her torment was great; but her God strengthened her, and she endured for some hours all they could do with admirable patience; and both her hands were disabled for some time. When they found they could not prevail, they spoiled the house and abused every thing in it. The milk they could not drink was poured out on the ground; the groats she had for the sustenance of her family, they gave to their horses; and what of them and the meal in their chests they could not consume, was cast out to the dunghill."—*Wod.* ii. 77. "Peter Gillies was seized, and in sight of his wife, a few days after she had been delivered of a child, the soldiers threaten him with present death, and hurry him away. In less than an hour they return with a pretended message, that if she would give up his arms he would not be shot. She

pounds; and sometimes they were given away in presents by the judges.

Such was the state of matters at the period when the story before us is supposed to commence. Had the author been obliged to prefix to it a narrative of these transactions, however general, we do not believe that he would have ventured on bringing forward the representation which he has given of the two parties, or that he would have presumed on its meeting with a favourable reception. What person of judgment and candour will condemn the Covenanters, or say that they acted otherwise than it became men of conscience, integrity, and spirit to act? Men who had been betrayed, insulted, harassed, pillaged, and treated in every way like beasts rather than reasonable creatures; and by whom? by a perfidious, profane, profligate junto of atheists and debauchees, who were not fit for governing even a colony of transported felons, aided by a set of churchmen the most despicable and worthless that ever disgraced the habit which they wore, or profaned the sacred function in which they impiously dared to officiate. Were these sufferers the men whom a writer of the nineteenth century would have chosen as the butt of his ridicule, by industri-

answered, he had no arms she knew of, and if they got liberty to take his life, she would endeavour to say, Good is the will of the Lord; and He who did all things well, could not wrong her or hers." "Janet Scouler at Shawmiln was looking at the soldiers driving away her horses and cows. One more compassionate than the rest, said, 'Poor woman, I pity thee.' 'Poor!' said she, 'I am not poor; God is my portion, and you cannot make me poor.'" Ladies of high rank manifested the same noble spirit. When Ker of Kersland was taken prisoner, his lady, though unwell at the time, discovered great composure, comforted her husband, and besought him to do nothing that might wound his conscience, reminding him of these words, "No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." When on his trial, the Chancellor asked him what his lady said to him at parting. Kersland having replied that he had really forgot the express words, having been much confused, Lauderdale said he would refresh his memory: "She exhorted you to cleave to *the good old cause*, did'nt she? Ye are a sweet pack." The heroism of Lady Grizzel Baillie, which might form the subject of a romance, as I believe it has, is too well known to be here repeated.—ED.]

ously bringing forward and aggravating their foibles, and by loading them with follies and vices to which they were utter strangers, while he eagerly sought to shade the cruelties which they endured, and to throw a lustre over the character of their worst persecutors? Who, after contemplating the picture which the genuine history of these times presents, can read without scorn the pitiful complaint, that "the zeal of the conventiclers devoured no small portion of their loyalty, sober sense, and good breeding?" We have more respect for him, when with greater courage he avows his sentiments, and bears his testimony against "the envenomed rancour of their political hatred." For then we can tell him boldly in reply, that the Government, or rather the political faction usurping the government, which the Presbyterians hated, deserved to be "hated with a *perfect* hatred." Indignant as we felt at such conduct, we could not prevent our features from relaxing, to hear him exclaim, with affected whining, and glaring self-contradiction, —in the language of tragedy too,

"O rake not up the ashes of our fathers!".

Your fathers! If you mean the Presbyterians, they acknowledge you not; and if their persecutors, *you* only are to blame for the stirring of those ashes with which time was gradually and slowly covering the memory of their infamous deeds.

If the Presbyterian preachers, and the people who faithfully and generously adhered to them—after being driven out of society, hunted from place to place, obliged to assemble on mountains, and to seek refuge in the caves and dens of the earth—had unlearned in a great degree the ordinary habits of men, and almost forgotten to speak the common language of their contemporaries;—if the scenes with which they were daily surrounded had imparted to their minds a high degree of enthusiasm, and even of fierceness;—in short, if the picture drawn by the author of the more rigid Presbyterians were just (which we can by no means admit), still a faithful and intelligent historian would not only have fairly accounted for this, but would have

painted their native sense, worth, and dignity of character, as displaying itself through the darker and less pleasing, but not uninteresting hue, which peculiar circumstances had for a time impressed upon their features. Who will wonder that some of them should at times have lost command of themselves, and done acts which did not accord with their general conduct and prevailing temper? When the oppression of the times became so indiscriminate, both in point of legal enactment and of actual execution, as to involve many others along with the immediate objects of persecution, and when it assumed so outrageous a form as to irritate all who had any regard for the rights of men, or any abhorrence of tyranny, need we wonder that many persons, who, in point of religious and moral character, were dissimilar to the Covenanters, should have been induced to attend their conventicles, and to take part in their quarrel? Or need we be astonished that instruments should have been found to cut off so furious a persecutor, and a man so universally detested, as Archbishop Sharp? Instead of being surprised at the insurrection of the Presbyterians, and the resistance which they made at Drumclog and Bothwell, may we not rather feel astonished that their patience held out so long under such intolerable oppressions? To those who would revive the exploded charge of rebellion, we give the same answer which we made in speaking of the rising at Pentland, and in the words of the same author whom we then quoted:— "What a shame is it to us," says he, addressing the English nation, "and how much to the honour of these persecuted people, that they could thus see the treachery and tyranny of those reigns, when we saw it not; or rather, that they had so much honesty of principle, and obeyed so strictly the dictates of conscience, as to bear their testimony, early, nobly, and gloriously, to the truth of God, and the rights of their country, both civil and religious! while we all, though seeing the same things, and equally convinced of its being right, yet betrayed the cause of liberty and religion, by a sinful silence, and a dreadful cowardice, not joining to help the Lord, or the people of the Lord, against the mighty; sitting

still, and seeing our brethren slaughtered and butchered, in defence of their principles (which our consciences told us, *even then*, were founded on the truth), and by those tyrants who, we knew, deserved to be rejected, both of God and the nation, and whom afterwards we did reject!"

We now proceed to substantiate the charge which we have brought against the work, by adducing particular proofs, *first*, of partiality to the persecutors; and, *secondly*, of injustice to the persecuted Presbyterians. And as we do not mean to blink the charge, we wish to be understood as accusing the work of *gross* partiality and injustice.

In the *first* place, then, it gives an unfaithful picture of the sufferings which the country endured from military depredations and outrage. The history of that period is full of instances of these; and the author was not only sensible that he was bound to give a view of them, but has professed to give it. But how faint a resemblance does the picture bear to the original! We shall consider the scene at Tillietudlem, on occasion of Claverhouse's first visit to it, when we examine the character of that officer. The scene at Milnwood, when Henry Morton is taken prisoner, is the only one in the work which could properly be intended to represent the depredations of the soldiery, and is evidently given by the author as a specimen of the whole. (Vol. ii. p. 172–207.) But here every circumstance is so arranged, as to diminish the impression which the reader might have conceived of the excesses committed on such occasions. Great alarm is indeed expressed at the arrival of the redcoats, but it is by the miserly landlord and his timid housekeeper. Old Milnwood slips into his pocket the silver spoons, —but the soldiers testify no disposition either to pilfer or plunder. The troopers call for drink with sufficient insolence,—but the jests of the thoughtless and gay, though dissipated Bothwell, dispel the apprehensions of the reader, who is mightily pleased to see the claret of the old miser quaffed, and his musty bottles emptied. Bothwell determines to carry off young Morton as a prisoner, but it is only after discovering that he had afforded shelter to the murderer

of the archbishop; and although he asserted that he was not aware of the commission of that deed, still his assertion was not sufficient warrant for the sergeant to allow him to escape. Bothwell proceeds to put the test oath, but we are instantly told that he did it much in the same manner "which is used to this day in his Majesty's custom-house." And before we have recalled our thoughts, the author has completely diverted our attention from the subject, by the struggle between Mause and her son, and the ridiculous, extravagant, and raving rhapsodies with which the former assailed the astounded ears of the soldiers. In short, the party carry off Henry Morton, leaving the impression upon our minds, that they had conducted themselves with great moderation, and disposing us to join heartily in the reproaches which the incensed housekeeper pours upon the head of Mause; as the sole cause of the misfortune that had befallen the family. Thus the tragic scenes of military violence, described by the faithful page of history, sink, in the mimic representation of our author, into a mere farce! And the moral of the fable, good reader, if it be necessary to state it more plainly, is, that the evils which the Covenanters suffered from the soldiers were chiefly owing to their own indiscretion and extravagance. In the midst of this scene, so calculated to give a false idea of the then actual state of matters, the attentive reader could not fail to observe the mean attempt made to bribe him to think lightly of the whole persecution, by putting a laughable and ludicrous description of the sufferings of the Covenanters into the mouth of old Mause.

> "Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
> Disce omnes."*

In the *second* place, we bring the same charge against the representation made of the judicial procedure against the Covenanters. We allude particularly to the torture of Macbriar in the presence of the Privy Council. The use of that infernal mode of punishment at that period is so well

* ["See now the tricks of the Greeks, and let one example serve for all."]

known, that it could scarcely have been omitted, and it afforded, besides, an opportunity to the author to display his powers of description. We readily allow that the operation, and the behaviour of the counsellors who witnessed the spectacle, are described in such a manner as to excite our horror at both. But what we complain of is, that even here the author has introduced a circumstance which is calculated most materially to diminish this feeling. As if the Privy Council had not been in the habit of torturing innocent men, the person selected as an example of their unfeeling severity, is not simply a Covenanter, a field-preacher, and one who had been in the rebellion at Bothwell; but one whom the author had previously made a murderer, and one of the most atrocious kind,—we say a murderer, because his intention was fully manifested, and on the eve of being carried into execution, and because "the bitterness of death was past" with the victim, before he was rescued. (Vol. iv. p. 68–100.) Macbriar is made to act a principal part in that horrid scene (more horrid by far than that of the torture), and the description of it is wrought up to the very highest pitch of which the author's fancy was capable.* Both scenes were of his creation. It will scarcely be denied, that

* The scene here referred to is that at Drumshinnel, when Morton, having fallen among some of the Cameronian party, was adjudged to die, "as an offering to atone for the sins of the congregation," as soon as the clock struck twelve on Sabbath night, and was opportunely saved from this fate by the arrival of Claverhouse and his dragoons. The author informs us, in the notes to his last edition of the Tales, that the incident was suggested to him by a similar story about a gang of smugglers. Allowing that such a scene *might* have taken place with some of the Covenanters, and that Sir Walter was fully warranted, as he insists in his vindicatory articles, in drawing such a picture of some of the wilder spirits who mingled with their ranks, it was quite preposterous to put such bloody sentiments into the mouth of any of their *ministers*, and especially of Macbriar, who is evidently intended for Mr M'Kail, one of the most amiable sufferers of the period. But the worst feature in the whole scene is the attempt to gloze over the horrid massacre which followed,—the reader being fully prepared, by the previous scene in the drama, for welcoming the approach of "the bloody Claverse," and feeling any thing but sympathy when he sees that "the Cameronians, *so lately about to be the willing agents of a bloody execution*, were now themselves to undergo it."

in forming the one, he had his eye upon the other; and the tendency of the association upon the mind of the reader, is too obvious to require illustration.

A *third* instance of partiality to the persecutors, is the excessive tenderness and delicacy shown to the Episcopal clergy, contrasted with the manner in which the Presbyterian ministers are treated through the work. It is most undeniable, that they acted a very important part in the transactions of that period; yet they are concealed and kindly kept out of view by the author. Preachers of the Presbyterian persuasion, both indulged and non-indulged, moderate and rigid, are brought forward by name; the reader is introduced to their acquaintance, and made to listen to their conversations, and prayers, and preachings. But not one bishop or curate is introduced on the scene, and we seldom even hear of them, except when we are told of their being religiously employed in *reading prayers!* What is the reason of this? The reader may take the following until he can find a better. The gross ignorance of the greater part of them, the vices with which their morals were stained, and the violence with which they instigated the Government to persecution, were so glaring as to be undeniable. The character given of them by Presbyterian writers is so strongly confirmed by Bishop Burnet, that it was impossible to outface it; and to have presented them in their true colours, would not only have displeased the right reverend friends and informers of the author, but would also have tended, in no small degree, to have relieved the dark picture given of the Covenanters. We do not recollect to have seen prudence enumerated among the qualifications of a historian, but henceforward let it occupy a chief place among the historic virtues.

> "Cave arguendum facinus hoc, lector, putes:
> Causam rogas? Probanda virtus omnis est;
> Ergo et probanda (quis neget?) prudentia." *

* [Beware, reader, of supposing that this crime ought to be censured. Do you ask why? Every virtue is praiseworthy; and therefore (who can doubt it?) prudence is praiseworthy.]

We now come to the character of Grahame of Claverhouse, afterwards known by the name of Viscount Dundee, which the author has laboured with the greatest art. Claverhouse was not in Scotland at the beginning of the persecution, but he had been employed in it as the captain of an independent troop at least two years before the affair of Drumclog. His behaviour soon recommended him to his employers. Officers not distinguished for humanity, and sufficiently disposed to execute the orders which they received with rigour, had been previously employed by the Court. But the deeds of Turner, Bannatyne, Grierson of Lagg, and General Dalziel, were soon eclipsed by those of Grahame, who long continued to be known in Scotland by the name of *Bloody Claverhouse.* His actions, as recorded in the history of these times, do certainly prove that he was not undeserving of this appellation. A brief reference to some of these will assist us in judging of the character which the author has given of him. We shall not speak of the blood wantonly shed by him in the pursuit of the Covenanters after their rout at Bothwell, nor of the ravages and cruelties which he committed in Ayrshire and in Galloway, during that and the succeeding year; as it may be alleged, that revenge for the disgrace which he had suffered at Loudon Hill, prompted him to acts not congenial to his natural disposition. But this feeling had sufficient time to subside before 1684. During that year he had the chief command in the west of Scotland, and he employed the most disgraceful and barbarous measures to discover those that were intercommuned, and if possible to exterminate the whole party. He sought out and employed persons who could, with the greatest address, feign themselves to be pious men, and friendly to Presbyterians, and by this means discovered their retreats, or drew them from places where they could not be attacked by his troops.* Having divided the country into districts, he caused his soldiers to drive all the inhabitants of a district, like so

* [To the eternal disgrace of the Government of Charles, a royal commission was actually granted in 1684, "to employ spies and intelligencers to go in company with the said rebels and fugitives, *as if they were in their*

many cattle, to a convenient place. He then called out a certain number of them, and while his soldiers surrounded them with charged guns and bloody threatenings, he made them swear that they owned the Duke of York as rightful successor to the throne. If they had formerly taken the test or abjuration oath, he interrogated them if they had repented of this, and then caused them to swear anew that they would not, under pain of loosing their part in heaven, repent of it for the future. If any hesitated to swear, he was taken out a few paces from the rest, his face was covered with a napkin, and the soldiers ordered to fire over his head, to terrify him into compliance. At other times, he gathered together all the children of a district, from six to ten years of age, and having drawn up a party of soldiers before them, told them to pray, as they were going to be shot. When they were sufficiently frightened, he offered them their lives, provided they answered such questions as he proposed to them concerning their fathers, and such as visited their houses. Claverhouse scrupled not to take an active part in these disgraceful scenes, so far as to fire his own pistol twice over the head of a boy of nine years of age, to induce him to discover his father. He frequently shot those who fell into

party, the better to discover where they haunt and are reset." Two of these miscreants once met with their deserts. The following story is known still to the people in the neighbourhood of Duchal :—"The commander of the party employed in Renfrewshire sent two of his men to collect information concerning Duchal and his lady, to the place or house of Duchal. They applied to the lady for quarters, pretending to be persecuted Covenanters. The lady ordered them to the barn, and sent a mess of porridge for their supper. They fell to eating the food, *without asking a blessing*. The servant, from this circumstance, conceived suspicion that they were not of the right kind. The lady was sorely afraid, and laid her fears before her husband. Duchal brought the two soldiers to the front of his house, and, in the presence of all his domestics, inflicted discipline by the horsewhip on the "rebellious whigs," as he pretended, on their own averment, to consider them, and who had thus, by a crafty device, attempted to bring him into trouble. After the whipping, he bound them hand and foot, and threw them into the old vault of Duchal castle, till the commander came and relieved the *Pseudo-Covenanters*."—*Wodrow*, iv., 160, note by Editor. —Ed.]

his power, though they were unarmed, without any form of trial; and when his soldiers, sometimes shocked at the wantonness of his cruelty, hesitated in obeying his orders, he executed them himself. The case of John Brown, in the parish of Muirkirk, affords an example of this kind. He was a man of excellent character, and no way obnoxious to Government, except for nonconformity. On the 1st of May 1684 he was at work in the fields near to his own house, when Claverhouse passed, on his way from Lesmahago, with three troops of dragoons. It is probable that information of his nonconformity had been given to the Colonel, who caused him to be brought from the fields to his own door, and, after some interrogatories, ordered him to be instantly shot. Brown, being allowed a few minutes to prepare for death, prayed in such an affecting strain, that none of the soldiers, profane and hardened as they were, could be prevailed upon to fire, upon which Claverhouse, irritated at the delay, shot him dead with his own hand,* regardless of the tears and entreaties of the poor man's wife, who, far gone in her pregnancy, and attended by a young child, stood by. The afflicted widow could not refrain from upbraiding the murderer, and telling him, that he must give an account to God for what he had done; to which the hardened and remorseless villain proudly replied,—"*To man I can be answerable, and as for God, I will take him into my own hand.*" The apologists of Claverhouse have been obliged to notice the fact of his becoming the executioner of his own sentences, in the exercise of military discipline. But, with their usual fertility in inventing excuses for his most glaring faults, and with their wonted ignorance of human nature, they impute such deeds of cold-blooded severity to a desire on his part to do

* [Sir Walter denies this, and affirms, on the authority of Patrick Walker, that "Brown was shot by a file of soldiers, Claverhouse looking on, and commanding."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi., 471. Wodrow, however, states decidedly, that "his informations bear, that not one of them would shoot him, or obey Claverhouse's commands, so that he was forced to turn executioner himself, and in a fret shot him with his own hand." iv., 245. Burns' Edition.—Ed.]

honour to the individuals on whom the punishment was inflicted! Thus Dalrymple, after telling us, that the only punishment which Claverhouse inflicted was death, and that all other punishments, in his opinion, disgraced a gentleman, states, that a young man having fled in the time of battle, he brought him to the front of the army, and saying that "a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner," shot him with his own pistol. Those who recollect the case of poor Brown, who was neither a soldier nor a gentleman, will know how to treat this absurd and ridiculous allegation.*

The most hardened and irreligious persecutors do not always feel, upon reflection, that ease of mind which they affect. It is said that Claverhouse acknowledged to some of his confidential friends, that Brown's prayer often intruded on his unwelcome thoughts; and it is not improbable, that some degree of remorse at his late deed made him show an unwonted reluctance to a murder which he committed only ten days after. In one of his marauding expeditions, he seized Andrew Hislop, and carried him prisoner along

* [The following specimens of the gallantry and humanity of this leader are taken from the manuscript accounts sent to Wodrow, which were too numerous to be inserted in his history. "In the year 1683, the Highland host, when searching for the wanderers, came to a poor man's house in Tiviotdale, near Hawick, where they found some prohibited goods as they called them, for which they rifled the house, and took away the man's wife, with a child about nine weeks old. And when the poor woman, burdened with her child, was not able to hold foot (keep pace) with them, some of these savages cried to Claverhouse, that they could not get her along. He answered, and bade them, if she would not gang, to put a rope about her neck and trail her." At another time, when they were marching through the hill country of Eskdaill and the Forest, these barbarous Highlanders complained to Claverhouse that they could not get the women and children out of (along) the way; and he commanded them to "bind the little ones to the meikle ones, and gar them harl them." "At another time, they had a prisoner with them whom Claverhouse commanded to be shot; and when he was taken out for this purpose, there was a country gentleman came and pleaded for him, and said he was a very honest man, and so he was spared at the time. When they came in, one of the troopers swore, 'he thought to have gotten the dog's liver to his dinner!'"—Ed.]

with him to the house of Sir James Johnston of Westerraw, without any design, it would appear, of putting him to death. As Hislop was taken on his lands, Westerraw insisted on passing sentence of death upon him. Claverhouse opposed this, and pressed a delay of the execution; but his host urging him, he yielded, saying, "The blood of this poor man be upon you, Westerraw; I am free of it." A Highland gentleman, who was traversing the country, having come that way with a company of soldiers, Claverhouse meanly endeavoured to make him the executioner of Westerraw's sentence; but that gentleman, having more humanity and a higher sense of honour, drew off his men to some distance, and swore that he would fight Colonel Grahame sooner than perform such an office. Upon this, Claverhouse ordered three of his own soldiers to do it. When they were ready to fire, they desired Hislop to draw his bonnet over his face, but he refused, telling them, that he had done nothing of which he had reason to be ashamed, and could look them in the face without fear, and holding up his Bible in one of his hands, and reminding them of the account which they had to render, he received the contents of their muskets in his body.—Say, reader, who was the hero, and who the coward, on this occasion? We have no doubt that every person of genuine feeling, and whose judgment is unwarped by prejudice, will pronounce, that this man met his death with truer and more praise-worthy courage, than Claverhouse afterwards did, when he died "in the arms of victory," to use the canting language of certain historians, "and wiped off the stain which he had contracted by his cruelties to the Covenanters,"—a stain which no victory, however brilliant, could efface, and which all the art and labour of his most eloquent apologists, instead of covering, will only serve to bring more clearly into view.

In spite of these indisputable facts, which the friends of Claverhouse have never dared to deny, he is a great favourite with our author, who has made him not only a hero, but a profound politician, and a disinterested patriot? What cannot genius effect! And what will confidence in talents,

provided it is propped by prejudice, and elevated by popular credulity, not undertake to perform! The author is not contented with holding out the character of Claverhouse in this light,—he employs all his art, and all the powers of his eloquence, to impress it on the imagination of his readers. This he does, partly by the description which he gives of it in his own name, partly by what he puts into the mouths of his most respectable characters, and partly by the manner in which he represents this hero as speaking and acting in the interesting scenes in which he is made to figure. It is not from any one of these taken singly, that we must judge of the character, but from all of them taken together, and particularly from the last, of which extracts cannot convey an idea, although no reader can for a moment doubt of its effect from the impression left on his mind. We shall, however, quote the description which the author has given of Claverhouse upon his first appearance, as an introduction to the remarks which we have to make upon the character given of him throughout the work. After a minute description of his person—the elegance of his shape —the gracefulness of his gesture, language, and manners—the feminine regularity of his features—the delicacy of his complexion, with other marks of beauty, which "contributed to form such a countenance as limners love to paint, and ladies to look upon," and his "tone of voice of that happy modulation which could alike melt in the low tones of interesting conversation, and rise amid the din of battle, loud as a trumpet with a silver sound;" the author adds,—

"The severity of his character, as well as the higher attributes of undaunted and enterprising valour, which even his enemies were compelled to admit, lay concealed under an exterior which seemed adapted to the court or the saloon, rather than the field. The same gentleness and gaiety of expression which reigned in his features, seemed to inspire his actions and gestures; and, on the whole, he was generally esteemed, at first sight, rather qualified to be the votary of pleasure than of ambition. But under this soft exterior was hidden a spirit unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as that of Machiavel himself. Profound in politics, and imbued, of course, with that disregard for individual rights which its intrigues usually generate, this leader was cool

and collected in danger, fierce and ardent in pursuing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others. Such are the characters formed in times of civil discord, when the highest qualities, perverted by party spirit, and inflamed by habitual opposition, are too often combined with vices and excesses which deprive them at once of their merit and of their lustre."—Vol. ii. pp. 287, 288.

To this may be added, the comparison which the author afterwards states between the characters of Dalziel and Claverhouse. Having described the exterior appearance of the former (almost in the words of Captain John Creighton, or rather of Dean Swift, except that he mentions the antique fashion of his boots, an article of dress which that respectable authority tells us he never wore *), the author says,—

"His high and wrinkled forehead, piercing gray eyes and marked features, evinced age, unbroken by infirmity, and stern resolution, unsoftened by humanity. Such is the outline, however feebly expressed, of the celebrated General Thomas Dalziel, a man more feared and hated by the Whigs than even Claverhouse himself, and who executed the same violence against them out of a detestation of their persons, or perhaps an innate severity of temper, which Grahame only resorted to on political accounts, as the best means of intimidating the followers of Presbytery, and of destroying that sect entirely."—Vol. iv. pp. 25, 26.

In the first place, here is a glaring contradiction in terms. We are told, that the violences which Claverhouse executed on the Whigs, he "*only* resorted to on *political* accounts," as contradistinguished from "an innate *severity* of temper." And yet the author had before given a conspicuous place to the "*severity* of his character," and described him as "careless of death himself, and *ruthless* in inflicting it upon others." Or, did he mean to impute Claverhouse's disregard of his own life to political considerations, and thus to divest him of personal courage and a martial spirit (the

* ["He exhibits the said Dalziel as wearing *boots*, which it appears, from the authority of Creighton, the old General never wore. We know little the author can say for himself to excuse these sophistications, and, therefore, may charitably suggest he was writing a romance, and not a history." (Quarterly Review of the Tales.) A romance, however, which professed to be founded on history, and to be very curious in such details. —Ed.]

only quality to which he had an undisputed claim), that he might shield him from the charge of inhumanity? Again, after having gravely told us that Dalziel was actuated by the innate severity of his temper, and Claverhouse solely by political considerations, "as the best means of *intimidating* the followers of Presbytery," the author within a little represents the latter as continuing "an unwearied and bloody pursuit," under the impulse of his "fiery and *vindictive*" temper, while the former is represented as urging the pursuit entirely on political accounts, and as a means "to *intimidate* these desperate rebels."—Vol. iv. p. 62–64.

"Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?"

The author frequently quotes proverbs, and he may perhaps have heard of one which is not without its meaning,—"Better a black devil than a white." Where two characters are noted or even suspected for cruelty, we would far sooner throw ourselves on the mercy of him who is of severe brow and harsh manners, than of him whose real dispositions are concealed under a smiling countenance, and the most fawning address. We have in our eye facts directly bearing upon the case under consideration. Dalziel was guilty of great cruelties; yet there is at least one instance which shows that his innate severity, hardened by a long course of barbarous service, was not altogether unsusceptible of humane impressions, and that he could treat even a puritanical prisoner with generosity. John Paton was a captain in the Presbyterian army at Pentland, and on that occasion had fought sword in hand with Dalziel, whom he had encountered on the field. When he was brought into Edinburgh as a prisoner after the battle of Bothwell, a soldier upbraided him with being a rebel, to whom he mildly replied, "I have done more for the king than perhaps you have done," referring to the battle of Worcester, where he had fought for Charles. Dalziel, overhearing the conversation, said, "Yes, John, that is true," and turning to the soldier, struck him with his cane, and told him he would teach him other manners than to abuse such a prisoner. He then expressed his sorrow for Paton's situation, said he

would have set him at liberty if he had met him on the way, and promised that he would yet write to the king for his life. Paton thanked him, but added, "You will not be heard." "Will I not?" replied the General; "if he does not grant me the life of one man, I shall never draw a sword for him again." It is said that he obtained a reprieve for Paton; but he was not able to procure his life. Now, we know of no instance of Claverhouse doing an action of this kind, except in the fictions of the tale before us. We have mentioned it to show that the Presbyterian writers, who have recorded it, were not disposed to overlook any act of clemency towards them on the part of those who had been the instruments of their greatest sufferings,* and also to show how grossly our author has blundered in the comparison which he has drawn between the characters of these two officers.

Whether the author took the likeness from limners or ladies, we shall not inquire: we are willing to allow that Claverhouse's features were feminine, and his complexion almost effeminate.† All that we maintain is, that this soft

* [Dr M'Crie himself took great pleasure in recording any instances of humanity among the persecutors at this period.—See Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, pp. 285, 295. After mentioning one example in Drummond of Hawthornden, he says, "I am sorry that I have failed in ascertaining the other gentleman, and in being able to do justice to an act of humanity, done at a period marked by so many instances of an opposite description." —Ed.]

† [Sir Walter seems to have drawn his description of Claverhouse's personal appearance from some flattering or youthful representation of him, like that prefixed to his letters, which was "taken from a picture at Melville house." It is certain that other engravings represent him with an exterior much more befitting the cold-blooded murderer of unarmed peasantry. The following is taken from a description of the battle of Drumclog, which appeared in several of our periodicals, and is said to be given in the words of the Laird of Torfoot, by Mr Brownlees, an American clergyman, whom the editor of the National Gazette of America declares to be "a gentleman of great worth and learning, on whose testimony in favour of the authenticity of the original statements which he offers, full reliance may be placed." Several of these statements, being derived from tradition, are obviously incorrect, and the whole is considerably overcoloured. But making all allowances for this, and for the unfavourable circumstances in which Claverhouse must have been seen at Drumclog, it is hard to believe that the following portrait had no foundation whatever

and prepossessing exterior no more proves that he was not cruel, than it proves that he was courageous. Without having recourse either to the physiognomical theory of Lavater, or the craniological system of Spurzheim, or examining either "a Grecian statue" or a Gothic, the author might have learned from plain history, that individuals distinguished for their personal beauty and blandishing manners, have been hardened, relentless, and savage in their dispositions. While the facts which we have mentioned remain undisputed, what has he done but described a *beautiful bloodhound*, "cool and collected in danger, fierce and ardent in pursuing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others?"

But let us examine the second trait in the character of Claverhouse, by which the author attempts to throw a shade over his cruelties. He was, it seems, profoundly versed in politics, and having imbibed the creed of Machiavel, he had recourse to severe and violent measures, not from any propensity to these, but from a cool conviction, deliberately formed, that they were the means best adapted to promote the public good, and even ultimately to lessen the effusion of human blood. This has at least the merit of novelty. None of the former historians or biographers of the brave Dundee ever conceived such an ingenious thought as this.

in reality:—"Here," says the Laird, "I distinctly saw the features and shape of this far-famed man. He was small of stature, and not well formed; his arms were long in proportion to his legs. He had a complexion unusually dark. His features were not lighted up with sprightliness, as some fabulously reported: they seemed gloomy as hell. His cheeks were lank and deeply furrowed. His eye-brows were drawn down, and gathered into a kind of knot at their junctions, and thrown up at their extremities. They had, in short, the strong expression given by our painters to those on the face of Judas Iscariot. His eyes were hollow; they had not the lustre of genius, nor the fire of vivacity; his irregular and large teeth were presented through a smile, which was very unnatural on his set of features. His mouth seemed to be unusually large, from the extremities being drawn downward and backward, as if in the intense application to something cruel and disgusting. In short, his upper teeth projected over his under lip; and on the whole, presented to my view the mouth on the image of the Emperor Julian the apostate."—Ed.]

They could represent the impetuosity of his courage as hurrying him into excesses, or they could insinuate, that the orders which he received, or the conduct of the people whom he was employed to suppress, rendered it necessary for him to be severe and unrelenting; apologies which readily suggest themselves to the lowest and most illiterate ruffian that plunders and murders under the protection of a red-coat or a commission. But it never entered into their barren conceptions to send him to study in the schools of Italy, or to represent him as initiated into all the refined and deep mysteries of the Florentine politician. Sir John Dalrymple has told us, without alleging a single authority, but with as great confidence and minuteness as if he had been copying from memoirs by Dundee himself, or by his secretary, that he "had inflamed his mind, from his earliest youth, by the perusal of ancient poets, historians, and orators, with the love of the great actions they praise and describe. He is reported to have inflamed it still more, by listening to the ancient songs of the Highland bards." But our author goes another way to work, and represents his hero as spending his youth in poring over the dark pages of Machiavel, and in threading the intricate mazes of political disquisition—an employment not very congenial to a mind that was enraptured with the songs of ancient and modern bards. * Such are the inconsistencies and im-

* [Judging from his Letters, the only productions of his genius which he has left behind him, Claverhouse appears to have been as illiterate as he was unprincipled. Sir Walter has uniformly made him talk the most elegant English. Let the reader only conceive, after perusing the following extracts from his epistles, how the effect would have been spoiled, had the novelist allowed him to speak as he wrote. "My Lord, I came here last night with the troupe, and am just going to mairche for Dumfriche. I have not heard any thing of the dragoons, thogh it be now about *nyn a clock*. I am informed since I came, that this contry has been very loose; on Tusday was aight days, and *Sondy*, ther were grate field conventikles just by here, with great contempt of the reguler clergy, who complain extreamly when I tell them I have no orders to aprehend any body for past *misdemainers*. And besyds that, all the particular orders I have beeng contined in that order of quartering, every place where we quarter must see them, which maks them fear the less. *Beseids* that, my Lord, they tell me that the one end

probabilities in which writers involve themselves, who, in describing a favourite character,

> ——— "disentangle from the puzzled skein,
> In which obscurity has wrapp'd them up,
> The threads of politic and shrewd design,
> That ran through all his purposes, and charge
> His mind with meanings that he never had."

To describe Claverhouse as "profound in politics," appears to us ridiculous in the extreme. It is not supported by any thing in his character or conduct. The qualities of a profound politician are very rarely found combined with those

of the bridge of *Dumbfrich* is in *Galaua*, and that they may hold conventikles at our nose, we not dare to *disspat* them, seeing our orders confines us to Dumfriche and Anandell. My Lord, if your Lordship give me any new-order, I will *bigue* (beg) they may be *keep* as secret as possible." "I am sory to hear of an other accident has befallen the *dragons* (dragoons.) I *byged*" (begged—he studies great variety in his spelling) "them to forbear till the captain and I should com there. This toun is full of people that have recaited and lodged constantly in their houses, *intercomed* persons and *fild* preachers." "The comissioners seemed very fordward in every thing that might be for the King's service, and very *rady* to doe me particular kyndnesess, but not being a *coram* (!) they could not proceed." "Mr Welch and others preach securly with in twenty or thretty myles of us, but we can do nothing for want of *spays*." I may close these extracts with the following characteristic note, with which Sir Walter concludes his Review of the Tales, only giving in its original purity what he has translated into the modern vernacular, no doubt in pity to his English readers. "I sent an other for to *sease* on Dalskarf, but he found him not at his own house. We made *shearch* for him here in town, but did not fynd him. The third brigadier I sent to seek the *wobster*; he brought in his brother for him. Thogh he may be can not preach as his brother, I do it not but he is as well *principiled* as he; wherefor, I thoght it would be no great *falt* to give him the *troble* to goe with the rest." (*Letters of the Viscount of Dundee*, p. 1–12, Bannatyne ed.) We appeal to our readers, if this can be termed with any propriety either good English or good Scotch. We venture to say, that not one of the Presbyterian ministers, whom Claverhouse persecuted and Scott has ridiculed, could have perpetrated such barbarisms. As for politics, "I must acknowledge," says Claverhouse himself, "that till now in any service I have been in, *I never inquired further in the lawes then the orders of my superiour officers.*" (*Ibid.* p. 4.) So much for the hero who, according to Sir Walter, was so familiar with the glowing pages of Froissart, and so deeply read in the lore of Machiavel!—ED.]

of a brave and enterprising officer;—we speak of state politics, not those of the camp. Even as to the latter, we have never been able to see good grounds for the eulogiums that certain writers have passed upon Dundee, although we are not disposed to contest a point which lies without our sphere. But sure we are, that he could have no claim to political sagacity, unless its maxims are all comprised in the words which the author puts into his mouth, after the victory of Bothwell,—"Kill, kill—no quarter," which, with due modification to the state of a country not in actual insurrection, will exhaust the whole of his political creed. To what purpose talk of "a disregard to *individual* rights" as generated by political intrigues, with reference to a man whose whole conduct was a trampling on general and national rights, both in his treatment of the Presbyterians, and in his attempts to maintain a tyrant on the throne?

Claverhouse is introduced as boasting of his disinterestedness, and it is evidently intended that he should be believed. Ambition, we believe, was his ruling passion, and we feel no inclination to urge the allegation which has been brought against him, as equally eager to share in the fines exacted from the Covenanters as any of his brethren in arms. But ambition is a selfish passion as well as avarice, and more destructive of public good. Our author represents fidelity as a striking trait in Claverhouse's character. Thus he makes him to say, "Faithful and true, are words never thrown away upon me, Mr Morton." Had he entertained just notions of fidelity, or respected that virtue in others, he could not have acted as he did to the Covenanters, against whom no accusation could be brought but fidelity in adhering to the most sacred engagements that ever any people were brought under. The fidelity with which he adhered to the interests of James cannot be viewed as highly meritorious, when it is considered how obnoxious and odious he had made himself by his cruelties to the opposite party. Nor should it be forgotten, that the Viscount Dundee made proposals to King William, and employed a bishop to ascertain the conditions upon which he

might make his peace with the new Government, although the terms offered to him were such as to be irreconcilable with his restless and ambitious spirit. The Earl of Melfort may be presumed to have been better acquainted with Dundee's character than any modern author, who appears to have formed his judgment of it chiefly from the work of a portrait painter. We are informed by Lord Balcarras, that this statesman wrote to the General, that James had drawn up his declaration of indemnity and toleration in such ambiguous terms, that he might break his promises whenever he pleased. And so far was Melfort from fearing that this would shock Dundee's nice sense of honour and fidelity, that he communicated it as a piece of information which he knew would be highly gratifying to him. Are the words "faithful and true" synonymous, in our author's vocabulary, with an approbation of one of the most detestable principles of the Machiavellian school? or did he expect his readers to believe that these opposite qualities were blended in the same character?

In fine, is it alleged, in extenuation of his cruelties, that his character was formed "in times of civil discord, when the highest qualities" are "perverted by party spirit, and inflamed by habitual opposition?" We reply, that among all the actors in these bloody scenes, Claverhouse had the least claim to this apology. He left his native country at an early period of life, before he could be supposed to have taken any particular interest in the strife of its parties; his character, so far as it depended on external circumstances, was formed in France and Holland; and when he returned to Scotland, he entered at once into all the severe and barbarous measures of the Government.

It will be said that the author has allowed that Claverhouse was one of those characters, whose high qualities are "combined with vices and excesses, which deprive them at once of their merit and of their lustre." We know that he has; and if he had said nothing of a contrary tendency, although we think his language an extremely inadequate expression of the atrocities to which it relates, still we should

not have reckoned it necessary to animadvert upon it particularly. But what we complain of is, that he has not exhibited, as was his duty, these vices and excesses, so as to excite a due detestation of them in the minds of his readers. We complain, that in the representation given of him in the tale, Claverhouse's vices are shaded, and his excesses diminished, with the most glaring partiality. We complain, that excuses are made for his conduct, to which he had no claim, or which ought to have been urged in aggravation, and not in extenuation, of his guilt. We complain, that his good qualities are industriously brought forward, and unduly blazoned, and that others are ascribed to him which he did not possess. And we complain, that by these means, a bloody, unrelenting, and remorseless persecutor, and one of the most active and unprincipled supporters of arbitrary and despotic power, is exhibited in such flattering colours, as to attract admiration to a character, which, had its features been delineated with the pencil of truth, would have excited little else than feelings of indignation and horror. So that the author, by his description, practically contradicts what he had admitted in general terms, and has done what was in his power to restore to the character that merit and lustre, to use his own phraseology, of which its vices and excesses had justly deprived it.

A very cursory survey of the scene at Tillietudlem, when Morton's fate depended upon the determination of Claverhouse, will show that our complaints are not groundless. This is evidently introduced by the author as a fair representation of the cruelties with which Grahame was chargeable. But how unlike to the truth! Does Claverhouse shoot Morton with his own hand? O horrid! No. Is Morton shot at all? No. How, then, does he escape with his life? Is he rescued from death by the sudden advance of his friends, the Whigs? Not at all. The author is more sparing and judicious in the use of poetic machinery than old doting Homer, who is ever depriving his heroes of the glory of a victory, or of an act of clemency, by imputing these to the intervention of one or other of his officious gods.

Something of this kind was highly proper, and it is not withheld, when Morton was afterwards to be saved from the bloody fangs of the savage fanatics at Drumshinnel. But it was quite unnecessary and superfluous to have recourse to any such expedient on the present occasion. Morton is perfectly safe under the protection of his good friends, the Tories; and Claverhouse, after a struggle with his sense of the duty which he owed to his superiors, and the severe measures which he deemed necessary to repress the mutinous spirit that was spreading through the country, finally yields to spare the life of Morton, though he was charged with resetting the murderer of the archbishop, and though his spirit and talents might afterwards prove dangerous to the Government. But is all this easily accomplished? No, not quite easily either. It has cost the author four whole chapters, consisting of considerably above a hundred pages of as good paper and letter-press as any in the whole work. Let us look into them, and examine their contents.

The tenth chapter prepares us for being admitted into "the presence of the dreaded chief," by an interesting conversation on his character between Miss Bellenden and Morton. The former, indeed, speaks with great dread and horror of the inexorable severity of Claverhouse's character. But then we recollect, that apprehensions for the fate of her lover have raised her fears to an undue pitch; and if we participated for a moment in her fears, we are relieved by Morton's reply, "Claverhouse, though stern and relentless, is, by *all* accounts, brave, fair, and honourable." This would have allayed the fears of even Miss Bellenden herself, had it not been for a circumstance mentioned in a letter which her grandmother had that morning received from the grieved and incensed Colonel. "The unhappy primate was his intimate friend and early patron!" And on that account he threatened, that "no excuse, no subterfuge, shall save either those connected with the deed, or such as have given them countenance and shelter, from the ample and bitter penalty of the law." Morton was in this way placed in very peculiar circumstances of danger. We should like to know

something of the history of the letter which contained this piece of new and important information. It would be curious to know whether it had fallen into the hands of the Cameronians, and being suppressed by them, was discovered upon *Old Mortality*, when he was "found on the highway near Lockerby, in Dumfriesshire, exhausted and just expiring;" or whether we owe it to the researches of some of the non-jurant bishops, who kindly communicated it to the author. The public may afterwards be gratified with this piece of history. In the meantime, as no doubt can be entertained of the genuineness of the letter, it unquestionably throws new light upon the character of Claverhouse. We now cease to wonder at the reluctance which he showed to spare Morton at the intercession of Major Bellenden; and if we cannot just approve of all the severities which he afterwards practised on the Covenanters, we must at least feel a respect for the motive which prompted him to inflict them.

In the eleventh chapter, the reader is conveyed to the battlements of the tower of Tillietudlem, and is presented with a most charming prospect of the surrounding scenery. While he is feasting on this enchanting landscape, his ears are attracted by the distant sounds of martial music. The expected body of cavalry make their appearance, and the long and imposing train, and "the glancing of the swords, and waving of their banners, joined to the clang of their trumpets and kettle-drums," have "at once a lively and awful effect upon the imagination." They present themselves in front of the castle, and while the standard is lowered "amid the fanfare of the trumpets, and the stamp and neigh of the chargers"—"Claverhouse himself alighted from a black horse, the most beautiful perhaps in Scotland —he had not a single white hair upon his whole body"—and he was shot-proof, according to the opinion of "the superstitious fanatics,"—and the heroic chief is instantly at the feet of the ladies, whom he salutes "with military politeness."

The twelfth chapter introduces us into the presence of Claverhouse, and we are enamoured with his personal ac-

complishments and captivating manners. We are then made to listen to an account of Morton's danger and escape, which is continued in the succeeding, or thirteenth chapter. As to this, it might suffice to say, that we never once feel any apprehension for his fate, nor think that he is in the least danger from the severity of Claverhouse. We hear the author (not Claverhouse) exclaim, "Bothwell, why do you not bring up the prisoner? And hark ye," as if he knew that he was not listened to, or believed, "let two files load their carabines." We are told, that a prisoner has entered the room heavily ironed; but we hear not the clank of his chains. This may arise from our dulness; but the feelings of Edith Bellenden are not widely different. "Her blood, which rushed to her brow, made a sudden revulsion to her heart, and left her as pale as death." But was this from dread of her lover's life? By no means; it arose merely from the consciousness that he had overheard her, as he passed, use an expression which would create jealousy in his breast. "Cautious and prudent as Machiavel himself," she guards against dropping a word which may either betray the real state of her affections, or encourage Evandale's hopes, while she requests his intercession in behalf of Morton; and with great coolness and self-command she adheres to her first expression, "Try it for my *uncle's* sake." Indeed, it is with the greatest difficulty that the author can get her to go through her part of the farce with any degree of tolerable decency—by all his prompting—by uttering a sigh for her—and at last, in utter despair, by giving her a concealed but sure blow, which would have made her to have "fallen flat upon the pavement, had she not been caught by her attendant;" upon which Lord Evandale very coolly leaves her, and, taking Claverhouse into another apartment, restored his chafed commander to his usual reason and moderation. But we may appeal to the manager of the piece himself in support of the justness of our feelings. What does he do? When he has placed the prisoner at the bar of Claverhouse, and when, if there is any truth in history, the trial could not be long, nor the execution of the sentence

distant, he takes the reader aside, and very gravely commences a tedious discourse, in which he unfolds the true character of Morton—states his religious and political principles—gives an account of his courtship—opens up the cause of his jealousy—draws a character of Miss Bellenden's waiting-woman—mentions how she used to tease the poor lover—and tells a story respecting Lord Evandale,—not omitting to introduce, under these heads, appropriate illustrations from Mrs Quickly and Uncle Toby. The chapter in which all this information is contained (for it has a new chapter allotted to it) begins in the following manner :—

"O my lord, beware of jealousy."

OTHELLO.

"To explain the deep effect which the few broken passages of the conversation we have detailed made upon the unfortunate prisoner, by whom they were overheard, it is necessary to say something of his previous state of mind, and of the origin of his connection with Edith. Henry Morton was one of those gifted characters, which possess a force of talent unsuspected by the owner himself." —And so on to the middle of the chapter.

'What an absurd and disgusting digression! Sure, Poundtext, Rumbleberry, Kettledrummle, Heathercat, Gumblegumption, nor any other of the gifted brethren among the Presbyterians, ever made a sermon more out of place, or more wearisome than this is!' Softly, simple enthusiast; thou penetratest not the secret of the author, nor perceivest the perplexities from which he must extricate himself. It is necessary to give some feasible account of a "singular and instantaneous revolution" in Morton's character, of which the author needs to avail himself "for the moment." It is necessary that Morton should conduct himself in a rude, imprudent, and outrageous manner, in order that he may be a fit representative of those who felt the severity of the judge before whom he stands. Can we believe, on any other supposition, that the polite, brave, generous, fair, and honourable Claverhouse, would have condemned him to die? No; he needed to be baited, bayed, challenged, and insulted, and that by a prisoner charged with a capital offence, and expected, as their leader, by a body of rebels, then in arms

at a little distance. And this prisoner he, after all, generously pardons at the intercession of Lord Evandale. Say now, "descendants of those enthusiasts whom he persecuted, among whom the name of the bloody Clavers is held in equal abhorrence, and rather more terror, than that of Satan himself,"—say, if you can now accuse him of cruelty, or even undue severity; and if you are not forced to admit and admire the uncommon clemency with which he spared the lives of your fanatical fathers!

The character of Claverhouse having passed this ordeal, is henceforward held forth as entitled to almost unlimited admiration and applause. His patriotism and disinterestedness, as well as his bravery, are talked of; and on one occasion the reader is persuaded that he sees the tear of humanity trickling down his soft cheek (Vol. iii. p. 139.) If he is seen at Bothwell Bridge "like a hawk perched on a rock, and eyeing the time to pounce on its prey," he descends on Drumshinnel like a protecting angel to save the innocent. Morton, having fallen into his hands, is treated by him rather as a friend and companion than a prisoner; and while he enjoys the company of "this remarkable man," is delighted and astonished "by the varied play of his imagination, and the depth of his knowledge of human nature!"

We may perhaps have dwelt too long on this flattering and fallacious picture. But we judged that we were performing a sacred duty to the cause of truth, humanity, and public good, in exposing such a flagrant attempt to recommend a character which deserves almost unqualified detestation. We intended to have subjoined some reflections upon the bad tendencies of a practice which has of late become too general among our popular writers, who exert all their eloquence to exalt the military character above every other, to invest it with "the highest qualities," and to throw such a dazzling glare over the display of personal valour and martial abilities, as to conceal the cruelties with which it is accompanied, and in a great measure to reconcile the mind to it, even when it is employed to enslave mankind, and to rear or uphold the empire of despotism and tyranny. But

we must conclude that part of our review which relates to the partiality shown by the author to the oppressors of the Presbyterians; and we cannot do this better than by quoting a passage from a beautiful little poem which has appeared in the "Poetic Mirror," and which we should have liked to have seen in a separate form. It is *said* to be written by Walter Scott.* It certainly would have done no discredit to the talents of that celebrated poet; but some of its most prominent sentiments—not to speak of the style—bear so very little resemblance to his, that very few, we apprehend, will be disposed to give him the merit of being its author. We are happy, however, to perceive, by looking into his late edition of Swift's Works, that Mr Scott is now convinced, that the treatment of the Presbyterians, between 1660 and 1688, *was* a "persecution," of which he appeared formerly to entertain some doubts; and we are not altogether without hopes, that, at some future period, his sentiments may undergo such a revolution, as to induce him to admit the justice of the following character of Claverhouse, although he should not be able to claim the lines in which it is so well drawn.

"There, worthy of his masters, came
The despot's champion, *bloody Graham*,
To stain for aye a warrior's sword,
And lead a fierce, though fawning horde,
The *human* bloodhounds of the earth,
To hunt the peasant from his hearth!
—Tyrants! could not misfortune teach,
That man has rights beyond your reach?
Thought ye the torture and the stake
Could that intrepid spirit break,
Which even in woman's breast withstood
The terrors of the fire and flood!"

* [The poem was written, in imitation of Scott, by the late talented, truly amiable, and much lamented Thomas Pringle, Esq. The Poetic Mirror was a series of poems in the style of well known writers, and the names of the real authors were of course concealed to aid the illusion.—Ed.]

PART II.

" Yes ; though the sceptic's tongue deride
Those martyrs who for conscience died,—
Though modish history blight their fame,
And sneering courtiers hoot the name
Of men who dared alone be free,
Amidst a nation's slavery,—
Yet long for them the poet's lyre
Shall wake its notes of heavenly fire ;
Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand,
Upraised to save a sinking land ;
And piety shall learn to burn
With holier transports o'er their urn ! "

Epistle to R. S.

THERE is something extremely fascinating in all that is done by a man of genius. Persons of minor talents are irresistibly attracted by his motions, and follow him even in his eccentricities, and greatest aberrations from good sense and propriety. Since the days of the Spectator, it has been an invariable practice with the authors of all periodical works of the same literary complexion, to begin each paper with a motto in Latin or in Greek. The author of the Tales having struck out a new species of fictitious writing, which, it is expected, will continue as fashionable during the 19th, as that of the Spectator was during the 18th century, has given it a distinctive mark, by prefixing to each chapter a select piece of English poetry. This has already become so popular, that a friend of ours lately addressed us on

the propriety of our following the example, and prefixing a few lines of poetry to each paper of our prosaic instructions. We could not help demurring to this unexpected proposal, and signified, that the practice appeared to us to savour very strongly of affectation and puerility, and that our readers would certainly take it into their heads, that we were a company of concealed poets or poetasters, who, being forced out of employment by the badness of the times, had betaken ourselves, for the sake of making a little money, to the business of editing religious communications, and who would leave them and return to our old work, as soon as trade revived. "Not at all, not at all (said he, in a tone of decision which rather embarrassed us); you must allow me to know these things better than you. The public are not so jealous nor so far-sighted as you think them to be. I can tell you, that the practice in question has contributed as much as any thing to the popularity of the Tales; and I could not help smiling in my sleeve, to see you very gravely and philosophically assigning a number of reasons for concluding that they were written by the author of Waverley and Guy Mannering, while you passed over the most palpable and convincing of all. Ask the publisher, and I am persuaded he will tell you, that the uniform practice of purchasers, on taking up the book, is to look at the title page and beginning of the chapters, and upon perceiving the poetical impress on these, they at once draw the conclusion, and throw down the money. I can assure you that it forms one of their leading beauties, and exhibits, in fact, that 'variety combined with unity,' which you insinuated was awanting in them. It has a most wonderful effect upon the mind of the reader—an effect which may be compared to that of the chorus in the ancient Greek tragedy, or of a song between the acts of a modern comedy, or of the tuck of the drum during the intervals of evolution at a military review, or the sound of the huntsman's horn upon the dogs at a fox chase; or, not to multiply figures on a topic so evident, and to comprehend all in one, like the effect of the stroke of an auctioneer's hammer at the end of every article of sale."

Here our friend began to recommend to us the imitation of the style and manner of a periodical work recently begun in this city; but on our exhibiting strong symptoms of disgust, he desisted, and resumed his former theme.* "Well," continued he, "I shall undertake to provide you with a motto for the title page of your present volume, as appropriate as that of the Tales, from Burns's 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' or from the 'Gude and Godly Ballates' of Græme Dalyell;—be not afraid, I do not mean Grahame of Claverhouse, or Dalziel of Binns, but John Dalyell, Esq., advocate, who edited the ballads; and I shall also select for you an extract from Chateaubriand's 'Beauties of Christianity,' to be placed in the original French, with a translation, opposite the title; both of which will continue to stand as a perpetual frontispiece to all your subsequent volumes. In the meantime, lay you in a sufficient quantity of extracts for the interior departments of your magazine." Not willing to differ altogether with our adviser, of whose intelligence, as well as friendly dispositions, we have had many satisfying proofs, we resolved to yield so far as make the trial in one instance; and accordingly, in imitation of the Tales, we have begun the second part of our review with a reasonably long extract from the poem from which we quoted at the close of the preceding part.

In justice to ourselves, we must, however, observe, that neither the example of the author of the Tales, nor the persuasions of our friend, would have induced us to this compliance, if we had not been convinced of two things. The first is, the intrinsic excellence of the lines which we have prefixed, and their extreme suitableness to our purpose. They exhibit, in a succinct form, and with much beauty and force, what we wish to lay before our readers in greater detail in the following pages. And indeed it would not have been easy for us to have conveyed, in so few words, the ideas which we have of our persecuted ancestors, and

* [The allusion here seems to be to the "Sale-room," a periodical started by John Ballantyne, to which Sir Walter contributed, but which proved, as Lockhart says, "a dull and hopeless concern."—Ed.]

of those who made it their business to deride and calumniate them. This being the case, we stand acquitted of the charge of puerile affectation. Secondly, we are completely satisfied of the justness of the character which they give to the sufferers. If we had entertained any doubts on this head, or been afraid that we might not be able to vindicate our fathers from the slander with which they are aspersed in the work under review, we would certainly have given a less conspicuous place to the lines in praise of them; for we make no pretensions to that high quality of the author of the Tales, by which he takes the liberty of saying whatever sounds well, and is calculated to make an impression for the moment, without considering if he can prove it, or make it consistent with what he may afterwards advance. We do not write for the readers of novels, nor will *our* ambition be gratified by gaining the approbation of the children of credulity and the slaves of prejudice.

We flatter ourselves that we have, in the preceding part of this review, sufficiently proved, that the author, in his representation, has discovered glaring partiality to the persecutors of the Presbyterians, by veiling their cruelties, and by presenting their characters in a favourable but false light. We now go on to show, that he is guilty of injustice, equally glaring, in the view which he has given of the character and conduct of the oppressed and persecuted Presbyterians.

In drawing the character of the persecutors, the author used no small art; and we found it necessary to attend to the nicer touches of his pencil, by which he blended light and shade together, and softened the harsher features of his portraits. But here he has in a great measure saved us the trouble of minute inspection. No one can be at a loss to perceive, at a single glance, the characters in the Covenanting group. They are not greatly diversified; their features are few, they are strongly marked, and the colours are laid on with no sparing or delicate hand. In general, they are either fools or madmen, or hypocrites and rogues, and for the most part they are a compound of both. Look

upon them, and you instantly recognise the Puritan and precisian. Approach nearer and examine them more narrowly, and you find them to be wild enthusiasts, and gloomy fanatics. They express themselves, even in their ordinary conversation, in a strange, ridiculous, and incoherent jargon, compounded of Scripture phrases, and cant terms peculiar to their own party opinions in ecclesiastical polity. They are utterly destitute of all knowledge of civil rights, and of any enlightened regard to the principles of political liberty. They are of disloyal principles, and rancorous in their political hatred. They are enemies to all elegant studies, as well as innocent recreations. Amidst all their affected preciseness, and claims to superior godliness, they are selfish, and do not scruple to have recourse to base and wicked means to advance the good cause, or to promote their own interest. They are as much disposed to persecute as their adversaries. They are destitute of military talents, and show themselves as incapable of vindicating their claims in the field, as of recommending themselves to the Government by the moderation and mildness of their behaviour. In fine, many of them have imbibed the principles of assassination, and are prepared to act upon them.

Except in the last mentioned particular, this is the character which the author gives of the Presbyterians, both indulged and non-indulged,—the only difference between the two classes consisting in the higher degree of extravagance and enthusiasm displayed by the latter. To relieve the mind in some degree in contemplating this bloated and unsightly picture, the author, by a singular exertion of candour or of compassion, has condescended to admit, at some distance from the gloomy group, *one* rigid recusant who yet retains the humane and social affections, in the person of a poor widow. Morton cannot be considered as an exception. He was a Presbyterian neither in principle nor in spirit; he joined them from accident and irritation; he was never happy till he was delivered from their society, and found himself under the protection of the amiable and accomplished Claverhouse; and as long as he was among them,

he was unable to find an individual with whom he could sympathize, except the liberal-minded Cuddie Headrigg, who often, "though with less refinement, was following out a similar train of ideas," and who alone was capable of understanding his "chartered rights as a freeman." To give his summary account of the Covenanters—"One party declares for the ravings of a blood-thirsty madman; another leader is an old scholastic pedant; a third"—the poor child durst not proceed farther for fear of Balfour, who finished the sentence for him—"is a desperate homicide, thou wouldest say, like John Balfour of Burley." * Did we think the

* [*Balfour of Burley.*—"It will hardly be alleged," says Sir Walter, "that our author has greatly misrepresented this singular character. On the contrary, he appears to have imputed to Burley, as the prime motive of his actions, a deep though regulated spirit of enthusiasm, which, from Howie's account, he seems not to have in reality possessed, and so far has rendered him more interesting and terrible, than if he had been painted as the thorough-going, bloody-minded ruffian, with little religion and less mercy, in which character he figures among the Scottish Worthies."—(*Quart. Rev. of Tales*, p. 474.) It is singular how Sir Walter could thus impose upon himself and his readers; for certainly, of all the caricatures he has drawn of the Covenanters, that of Burley, though not particularly noticed by Dr M'Crie, is one of the worst. In the first place, he misrepresents what he actually was. Howie, in the passage he refers to, says, that "although he was by some reckoned none of the most religious, yet he was always zealous and honest-hearted, courageous in every enterprise, and a brave soldier, seldom any escaping that came in his hands." The idea naturally suggested by this description is, that Burley was a blunt country gentleman, more taken up with the civil than the ecclesiastical part of the quarrel in which he had embarked; and a formidable soldier, who seldom failed to bring down his assailant in the field of battle. Sir Walter, however, fixing on the last clause, and interpreting it to mean that he never gave quarter, or showed mercy, sets him down as "a thorough-going, bloody-minded ruffian." We do not vindicate his conduct in the assassination of Sharp—the only crime that can be brought home to him. But it ought not to be forgotten, that the cry of "No quarter" at Drumclog was first raised by Claverhouse; and that the story about Burley shooting the officer sent with the flag of truce, as well as all the other sins laid on his back, in the tale of Old Mortality, is purely the contrivance of the novelist. We have much better reason for believing the Laird of Torfoot, who says, "Sir Robert Hamilton held a flag sacred; had it been borne by Clavers himself, he had honoured it;" and who represents Burley as calling after the flag, "Get thee up to that bloody dragoon,

author as weak as he has made his hero, and had we been alone with him, as Burley was with Morton, we would have been disposed to have taken our leave of him with the words that follow in his narrative,—"I can bear this misconstruction without resentment." But as he has said more than he has put into the mouth of his silly "stripling," and

Clavers, and tell him that we will spare his life, on condition that he lay down his arms, or swear never to lift them against the religion and liberties of his country." In the second place, Sir Walter, after converting this "honest-hearted soldier," into a bloody ruffian, has put into his mouth religious language, tinctured with the wildest enthusiasm, and calculated to excite the deepest disgust, as coming from the lips of such a character. Sir Walter's apology for this cannot be sustained; for he must have been sensible, that had he described Burley as he really was, the religious views of the Covenanters would not have suffered through his sides. Burley made no pretensions to religion. It is well known that he was refused admission to the sacrament by the Presbyterians in Holland. One might have supposed that his exclamation on receiving the wound in his sword arm at Bothwell Bridge, "The devil cut off his hands that gave it!" would have had the same virtue in Sir Walter's eyes, as the "short curse" which saved the lady afterwards mentioned from the hands of the Privy Council; but so anxious was the novelist to preserve the *religious* character of the assassin of Sharp, that he finds it prudent to *soften* this unlucky trait of resemblance to the cavaliers, and he has even been at the pains to fabricate a poetical epitaph for him, as one of the martyrs of the Covenant. The following curious fact is adverted to by Sir Walter in the close of his review of Kirkton:—"A gentleman of fortune and military rank, the descendant of the celebrated John Balfour of Burley, has hurled down the gauntlet (in the Scottish Magazine) to all cavaliers of the day, Jedediah Cleishbotham included, declaring himself too proud of 'his great progenitor to refuse either his name to his life, or his hand to his defence.' As the wager of battle is not received among the canons of criticism, we can only reply to this bold defiance by the expostulation of the poet,—

"'What will you do, renowned Falconbridge?
Succour a villain and a murderer?'"

The gentleman here referred to was Colonel J. Balfour Wemyss, of Wemyss Hall, in the county of Fife, who furnished some notices of Balfour to the Scottish Magazine, Sept. 1817, and who, to use the language of the editor, "with a genuine Scottish spirit," offered to vindicate his ancestor's memory. Sir Walter has even caricatured the outward appearance of Burley. In the account given of him on the trial of Hackston of Rathillet, he is described as "a laigh broad man, round ruddy-faced, dark brown hair, and had ane brown horse, armed with hulster pistols, and a shabbit."—En.]

as the cause is before the public, we must have a few serious words with him on this subject before we can agree to separate.

The good people of Scotland, who inherit any portion of the spirit of their fathers, will, no doubt, be amazed to see those whom they have been accustomed to revere as patriots, and to venerate as confessors and martyrs for truth, now held up to derision as mad enthusiasts, and reviled as hypocritical and murderous ruffians. Even those who, from their peculiar sentiments, do not sympathize deeply with these feelings, will be shocked at the profane levity with which the most sacred subjects are exposed to ridicule, and will feel themselves at a loss to account for such a singular and daring attempt. But such as are acquainted with the history of former times, and have been attentive observers of the changes that public opinion has lately undergone, will not be surprised, nor think that any strange thing has happened. They have for some time anticipated an attack of this kind, and therefore are not altogether unprepared for meeting it. They know that it is only the overflowing of that gall and spite against the Reformation principles of Scotland, religious and political, which has always lodged in the breasts of a certain faction, and which has burst forth in consequence of the removal of those restraints by which it was long reluctantly pent up, or forced to vent itself in secret. They can trace the causes which have led to this eruption. They see them in the force with which the current of public opinion, impelled by recent events, has been directed into the old channel of hereditary rights and royal legitimacy, to the overbearing and carrying away of all well-grounded jealousies of arbitrary power and slavish non-resistance. They see them in the progress of infidelity, which natively generates a contempt for religious reformers, and which disposes its votaries, whatever their political sentiments be, secretly to rejoice at whatever lowers the reputation of such men, and to view with indifference, if not with hostility, all struggles for the rights of conscience, provided they are combined

with zeal for the preservation of a particular creed or form of ecclesiastical polity. They see them in the adoption, by different parties, of religious opinions very different from those which were once almost universally embraced in Scotland, and especially of that opinion, common to almost all of them—that religious and civil concerns ought to be completely separated—a principle which lays the proceedings of our reforming and suffering ancestors open to easy attack, and upon which it will be found impossible satisfactorily to vindicate their conduct. In fine, they see them in the overweening conceit of the present age, by which it is disposed to wrap itself in its own fancied acquirements and doings, and to undervalue those that preceded it; as if there had been nothing good and great before we were born; and as if all the knowledge and all the privileges, both political and religious, which we possess, had been acquired by our own exertions or communicated to us immediately from heaven, instead of being transmitted to us by the faithful contendings and the blood of those who lived in former times. All of these causes, we are of opinion, have contributed to induce the public to favour or wink at the more partial and sparing attacks which the author of the work under review, along with other writers of the same stamp, has formerly made on the character of our religious forefathers. And having felt his ground, and ascertained that the danger is not great, he has been encouraged to make the present attempt. Whether it shall succeed altogether according to his wishes, or whether the event may prove that he has been too sanguine in his expectations, it is not for us to determine.

We repeat it—we were not startled at the picture of our persecuted ancestors presented to us in the Tales. It was not new to us. We had often seen it before. We could recognise every feature. There is only an alteration in the costume and border work, and a slight softening of the colours, to adapt it to the taste of the age. In all other respects, the author has faithfully copied his great originals. This is not the first time that the enemies of the Whigs or

Presbyterians have "said all manner of evil falsely against them." None can be ignorant of this who is acquainted with the writings of court sycophants during the reigns of the two last Stuarts, and of the High Church and Jacobitish faction after the Revolution in England, Ireland, and Scotland—who has read the speeches of Jeffries and Mackenzie, or consulted the pages of Butler, Dryden, and Swift, of Colvil, Pitcairn, and Rhind. "'Tis difficult to name that ill thing which a Heylin, a Hicks, a Lessley, a Sacheverel, a Calder, or some other very reverend divine of the like probity, has not writ of them, or imputed to them. Who were the instruments that procured the Spanish Armada to invade England in 1588? The Whigs. Who burned London in 1666? The Whigs. Who piloted in and assisted the Dutch to burn the English fleet at Chatham? The Whigs. Nay, who crucified Jesus Christ? Who but the Whigs? The very children are taught to lisp out that. *Calves-head feasts* are with these authors true history. Why? Because one of themselves wrote it, and the rest cite it, and who dares doubt it after that?" *

In support of the justness of his statements, and even of the very language which he has employed, our author can appeal to high and learned authority. "This I am sure of," said Lord Chief Justice Jeffries, "lying is as much the talent of a Presbyterian as it can be of a Papist, nay more; for it is as inseparably incident to a Presbyterian (and such snivelling, whining, canting knaves) to lie as to speak. They can no more forbear lying than they can forbear speaking; for, generally, as often as they do the one, they do the other."†—"We know well enough," said the same enlightened and liberal-minded judge, on another trial, "you snivelling saints can lie. When people come to gild over their bitter pill of sedition, it is always under the pretence of religion. It is well known these (the preachers) are the bell-weathers of the faction, that, under pretence of

* Anderson's Defence of the Presbyterians, p. 4, where the authorities are given.

† Howell's State Trials, vol. x. p. 1304.

religion, come there to incense the people to commit all these villanies that sometimes they are incited to do, as we know. How many of them stand now convicted, by outlawry, for that bloody treason (the Rye-house plot)? I won't say all parsons, but generally all of them dissenters; and we know these are those base profligate villains, always made use of in these base sinks of rebellion. And they are the common sewers of faction, these conventicles are, and of treason and conspiracy against the government in church and state."*— "When once they had begun to 'pick and cull the men that should be returned for a purpose, and got this factious fellow out of one corner, and that pragmatical, prick-eared, snivelling, whining rascal out of another corner, to prop up the cause and serve a turn, then truly people's causes were tried according to the demureness of the looks on the one side or the other, not the justice of the cause. So, if I have a mind to talk against the Government, I will not do it aloud, and speak what I mean openly, but I will whine, and snivel, and cant; and under this sort of snivelling, canting, sly rate, do a man any injury whatever."† On the trial of Algernon Sidney, the same judge said, "This book contains all the malice, and revenge, and treason, that mankind can be guilty of;—and the way he makes use of, he colours it with religion, and quotes Scripture for it, too; and you know how far that went in the late times,—how we were for holding our king in chains, and our nobles in fetters of iron."‡ Mr Baxter having pleaded, on his trial, that he was moderate in his principles respecting Episcopacy, his Lordship exclaimed, "Baxter for Bishops! that is a merry conceit indeed!" And his counsel having referred to a part of his writings, "Ay!" said Jeffries, "this is your Presbyterian cant, 'truly called to be bishops,' that is himself, and such rascals, called to be bishops of Kidderminster, and other such like places; bishops set apart by such factious, snivelling Presbyterians as himself; a Kidderminster bishop he means, according to the saying of a late learned author,

* Howell's State Trials, vol. x. pp. 224, 240, 257.

† Ibid., pp. 366, 370.

‡ Ibid., vol. ix. p. 893.

'and every parish shall maintain a tythe-pig metropolitan.' —Richard, Richard, dost thou think we will hear thee poison the court? Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; every one is as full of sedition (I might say treason) as an egg is full of meat: hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy.—He is as modest now as can be; but time was when no man was so ready at, 'Bind your kings in chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron;' and, 'To your tents, O Israel?' Gentlemen, for God's sake, don't let us be gulled twice in an age!"*

Nor does our author want worthy and pertinent precedents in Scotland. It would be easy to produce numerous examples to show, that our Scottish statesmen, and judges, and prosecutors, were not behind Jeffries in moderation, and clemency, and elegance of mind and manners. Rebels, fanatics, and madmen, were the mildest words which they employed in speaking of the Presbyterians. The indulged they called moderate fanatics; the non-indulged, wild or mad-cap fanatics. When they dealt with the latter, they aggravated their offence by referring to the conduct of their more moderate brethren; and when the former incurred their displeasure, by transgressing any of their arbitrary restrictions, or scrupling at any of their ensnaring oaths and bonds, they with great liberality told them, that the mad-caps were the most consistent men, and that they ought to betake themselves to the hills. We find the Lord Chancellor telling a prisoner on his trial for life, though a gentleman by birth, that he was "not a Scotsman, but a Scots *beast*." We find him inveighing against a respectable minister, who had done nothing against the laws, as guilty of "a mortal sin, a crime that was sufficient to damn him," because he hesitated to own that the Prince of Wales was the son of James, and heir to his crowns. And when the minister said, "I hope there is more mercy with God than to damn me for ignorance and weakness," we find him replying: "It is enough to damn you, and a thousand with

* Howell's State Trials, vol. xi. pp. 499, 501.

you; for by your calling this in question" (he had not even called it in question), "you are guilty of their sin and damnation who follow your example."* "Linlithgow's soldiers" were declared to be good enough jurymen "for fanaticks;" and we find Sir George Mackenzie, the King's Advocate, threatening that he would have recourse to them, when certain juries did not find the prisoners guilty at his direction.† On the trial of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock, a witness, upon whom the court chiefly depended, having retracted, when put to his oath, what he had said against the prisoner in his precognition, the gentlemen present could not refrain from expressing their joy. Upon which the Lord Advocate said, "that he had never heard such a Protestant rore, ‡ except on the trial of Shaftesbury; that he had always a kindness for that persuasion, till now that he was convinced, in his conscience, it hugs the most damnable trinket in nature."§

Nor are the author's precedents and authorities confined to the period anterior to the Revolution. When they were restrained from torturing and murdering the Presbyterians,

* Cloud of Witnesses, p. 54. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 642.

† Howell, vol. viii. p. 384.

‡ [In the original review this was printed erroneously "Presbyterian rore." The Protestant as well as the Presbyterian religion was aimed at, when Mackenzie uttered this speech; and it shows how ready our Scottish rulers were at that time to aid the Duke of York in his schemes for restoring Popery.—Ed.]

§ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 384.—There was a close correspondence between the Lord Chief Justice of England and the Privy Council of Scotland, who reckoned it incumbent on them to express a formal approbation of his *bloody campaigns*, and to request his aid in apprehending and delivering up to them such Scotsmen as escaped from their vengeance. This appears from an act of Council, December 3, 1684. "The Advocate representing how ready Judge Jeffreys was to join with the Council for support of the Government, it is recommended to him to signify to the judge, the great resentments [sense] the Council had of his kindness towards this kingdom, in giving his concurrence against such pernicious rogues and villains who disturb the public peace, and desiring he may cause apprehend the persons of hiding and fugitive Scotsmen, and deliver them securely, on the Scots Border, to such as shall be appointed to receive them."—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 350.

the Scottish Episcopalians and Jacobites, abusing the lenity of a new and tolerant government which they eagerly sought to overturn, took up the pen, and, with hands yet besmeared with the blood of their countrymen, employed it in writing against them calumnious invectives, and scurrilous lampoons, which they industriously circulated in England, where the facts were not known, with the view of instigating the English Church to take part with them, first in preventing, and afterwards in overturning the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland.* The authors of these pamphlets were so impudent and brazen-faced as to deny that Presbyterians had been subjected to persecution for their religious

* "That which is determined concerning 'all them that will live godly in Christ Jesus,' that they 'must suffer persecution,' is, and hath been the lot of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; and a generation of men have thus exercised her for many years, by severities hardly paralleled among Protestants. And now when their hands are tied that they can no more afflict her, their tongues and pens are let loose to tear her without mercy, by the most virulent invectives, and the most horrid lies and calumnies that their wit can invent. Besides this pamphlet, several other prints have been emitted by these men, containing partly historical passages full of lies and reproaches, and partly false and spiteful representations of our principles and way; to which an answer, such as they need and deserve, shall ere long be given, if the Lord permit. That this hath not sooner been done, hath been in a great measure caused by the multitude of matters of fact narrated in them, said to be done in divers places of the nation, far remote from one another, to all which it was necessary to send for getting a true account of these things, and there being but one copy of each of these books that we could find in all Scotland, the several passages for the diverse parts of the country behoved to be transcribed and dispersed. In this matter our adversaries have used a piece of cunning, which is, that these books were spread in England only, where the things contained in them could not be known nor examined; but in Scotland (where most readers could have discovered the falsehood of their allegations) there never was one of them to be found in a bookseller's shop. But *veritas non quærit angulos*."—*Vindication of the Church of Scotland* (by Principal Rule), Preface. Second edit., 1691.

When one of the party endeavoured to apologize for this, by alleging that they had not the liberty of the press, nor of importing books, the same author replied, "those of their railing pamphlets which have been imported were never challenged, none ever came to trouble for them, though we well know who brought them into the kingdom."—A just and modest Reproof to a pamphlet called The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, p. 34.

opinions, and, at the same time that they were pleading for a toleration for themselves, to justify all the intolerant and barbarous measures of the two preceding reigns. "He relates," says one of them, "the sufferings of the Presbyterians in the late reigns; and this indeed is the general cant and grand topic of many of their former and present pasquils against the Episcopal clergy; whereas they should rather reflect on the then state. Such as suffered were criminal in law; and even hundreds were winked at, and pleaded for by the clergy, who might have divulged and accused them. I could enlarge on this head; but Sir George Mackenzie has so baffled the Presbyterian plea, in his "Vindication of the Reign of King Charles II.," that it is needless to say any thing till that book be answered, in which, if I remember right, he hath this passage: 'None died for a principle of religion, unless it be a religious principle to die for actual rebellion.'" * "Leaving England answer for itself," says another, "our author can adduce instance in Scotland of either man or woman, who, after the Restoration until the Revolution, was either severely used, or put to death, merely on account of their persuasion."† Indeed, this last writer very plainly intimates, that Presbyterians might expect the renewal of the severities which they had lately endured, if ever Episcopacy was restored. "Though a toleration be granted," says he, "perhaps Pre-

* A Short Character of the Presbyterian Spirit, p. 6, 1703.

† Toleration Defended, p. 10, 1703.

A writer already quoted has said with great justice, that such assertions are made "with the same crow that Maimburg and other French Popish writers do affirm, that all the Protestants who lately in France turned Papists did turn voluntarily without any compulsion; and that no rigour nor persecution hath been used to move them to this change. This is a degree of effrontedness, of bidding defiance to truth and the God of it, of bold imposing on the reason, yea, and the common sense of mankind, that the world doth purely owe to this age, and to Jesuitical obduration of mind. Woe to posterity if they be abused with such false history! it is little honesty to transmit such things to after ages; but it is the height of impudence to publish them among such as were eye-witnesses of them, and among whom the sad effects of them remain with grief and smarting to this day."—*Vindic., ut supra*, p. 20.

lacy will not be restored; and although Prelacy should be restored, yet Presbyterians (if they please) may forbear to rebel, and so save themselves from scaffolds, imprisonments, and banishments. And so all the author's large harangue on this head is nothing else but ridiculous stuff." *

As Dryden had ridiculed the English Puritans on the stage, our Scottish Episcopalians thought it necessary to attempt something in the same style, and therefore got up a comedy. In their preface to this piece, they say, "It may be objected, that for all our pretences to truth and sincerity in matters of fact, yet we talk at random in the last scene, where we make the Presbyterian ministers speak basely and maliciously of all kings. This is easily answered. It may be considered that the Presbyterians are enemies to monarchy; for this is the third time that Presbytery has been established in Scotland, and still upon the death or banishment of some of their lawful sovereigns."—"The Chorus is as pertinent as any thing can be, since they are a set of men who never forgive an injury, and, instead of praying for conversion, they pour down curses for the confusion of their enemies. Our design in this essay is fully to represent the villany and folly of the fanatics, that so, when they are in sober mood, they may seriously reflect on them, and repent for what is past, and make amends for the future, *if it be possible;* or else, that the civil government may be awakened and roused to rid us of this gang, who injuriously treat all good and learned men, and are enemies to human society itself." † The writers were abundantly sanguine in their expectations of success, and dreamed of nothing but blowing up the Presbyterian Church by their well-contrived plot. To use their own language,—

> "True Comedy should humour represent,—
> I think for once, we've well enough hit on't,
> No character's too wild, nor yet extravagant,—
> For there is nothing treated in our play,
> But what all know the Whigs do act and say:
> Thus, yo've a taste of their new gospel way."

* Toleration Defended, pp. 18, 19.

† The Assembly, or Scotch Reformation, a comedy.

They were, however, disappointed; the Scots saw no truth, and the English no humour in it; those which they had "laid up in store" were not called for; and the authors were obliged to console themselves with the excuse,—

> "Our northern country seldom tastes of wit,
> The too cold clime is justly blamed for it."

The truth is, they had mistaken their own talent, which did not lie in comedy, but in tragic scenes; and luckily for the Presbyterians, they did not obtain an opportunity of reacting these. "I'll tell thee, man," to believe a Presbyterian protestation, is as much as to think a man cannot cheat because he lies. I'm resolved ne'er to trust a fanatic, till I get him on his chair of verity, the stone i' the Grassmarket; the villain is then tempted to tell something of the truth,—that is to say, that he dies a rogue and a rebel.

> "And now, since prayers are so much in vogue,
> We will with one conclude this epilogue.
> Let the just heav'ns our king and peace restore,
> And villains never vex us any more." *

Passing over at present "The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence," and "The Whigg's Supplication," we shall finish this chain of authorities by an extract from a work of sober argumentation, in which the following character is given of Presbyterians:—"They are naturally rigid and severe, and therefore conclude, that God is such a one as themselves. They damn all who differ from them, and therefore think that God does the same. And because they love themselves, they are pleased to persuade themselves that they are his special favourites. Hence, they conclude, that they owe them no civilities whom God neglects, nor kind offices whom he hates. He neglects and hates all who are not capable of his grace, which none are (say they) who are not of their way. This wicked persuasion sanctifies not only the ill manners, but which is worse, the ill nature of the party towards all who differ from them. It contradicts the ends of society and government, and is only calculated to advance the private

* The Assembly, or Scotch Reformation, a comedy, p. 4, and epil.

interest of a partial and designing set of men." * In the same work it is shown that the Presbyterian spirit is *enthusiastical*—an *animal* or *mechanical* spirit—a *partial* spirit—a *narrow* and *mean* spirit—a *malicious*, *unforgiving* spirit—an *unconversible* spirit—a *disloyal*, *rebellious* spirit—a spirit of *division*—an *unneighbourly*, *cruel*, and *barbarous* spirit.†

We have not made these extracts for the purpose of amusing the reader, nor can we be charged with wantonly or unnecessarily exposing the violence of the individuals or the party from whose speeches or writings they have been taken. So far as this may be tne consequence of the disclosure, it is chargeable on the aggressor, and not on those who act on the defensive, and who are allowed, nay bound, to make use of every legitimate weapon of defence. In the first place, it is of the greatest consequence, in judging of the truth or falsehood of a charge, to inquire exactly into its origin, and to ascertain the character and probable motives of the person or persons who gave rise to it. And this is still more necessary in the case of general prejudices and vague accusations, which are not supported by reference to specific facts. In the second place, we are of opinion, that the quotations which we have made, while they lead to the source of the calumnies circulated against Presbyterians, at the same time discover the grounds on which they rest, and must dispose every candid person to regard them with the strongest suspicion. For example, when we find Jeffries and Sacheverell employing the same language in speaking of the friends of civil and religious liberty in England, which Mackenzie and Rhind applied to the Scots Presbyterians and field preachers, does not this afford a strong presumption, that both were actuated by the same motives, and that, whatever circumstantial differences might exist, the grounds of offence given by the objects of persecution and calumny in the two nations, were radically and substantially the same? In the third place, we have quoted from the very authorities upon which the author of the Tales has depended in forming his representation. To these, he must be under-

* Rhind's Apology, p. 208.

† Ibid. *passim*.

stood as referring, when he tells us, in the enigmatical style of his preliminary discourse, that he has been enabled to "qualify the narratives of Old Mortality and his Cameronian friends by the reports of more than one descendant of ancient and honourable families,—more than one non-juring bishop,—here and there a laird or two,—and the gamekeepers of these gentlemen;" for surely he did not intend his readers to understand him as intimating, that he had been guided literally by traditional reports, either on the one side or the other. Lastly, although the author has not brought forward all the charges contained in these extracts, and has in general expressed them in more temperate language, yet was it necessary to give them at large. It was necessary, because almost every one of them will be found to be insinuated or involved in some part of his representation. It was necessary, to show that some of the authors are totally inadmissible as witnesses in this cause, owing to the malice which they discover against the Presbyterians, and the injuries which they had done them. It was necessary, to show that the evidence given by others of them ought to be received *cum nota*, because they discover deep prejudice, and bear testimony to many things which are utterly incredible, or notoriously false. And it was necessary, to put the reader in possession of the notions which they attached to the words *puritanism*, *fanaticism*, and *rebellion*, with which they have so liberally aspersed their adversaries.—We now proceed to a more particular examination of the character which the author of the Tales has given of the Covenanters.

And, first, of their *puritanism*. On this topic the author talks quite at ease, and, we dare say, never dreamt that his representation would be controverted, or that a single question would be put to him on the subject. Accordingly, in speaking of Presbyterians, the use of the epithets puritanical and precise is just as much a matter of course with him, as it is in the West Indies to speak of whites, mulattoes, and people of colour. We are not among the number of those who are disposed to pay much regard to such names,—we can hear them applied to ourselves with indifference, and

contemn the ignorant and uncivil sneer with which they may be accompanied. But we know the influence which they have upon the vulgar, both great and small; and we beg leave to offer the author an advice or two on this point. *First*, It is not very consistent or becoming in one who has ridiculed the Covenanters for calling their opponents Erastians and Papa-Prelatists, to commit the same fault, by bandying terms which are equally reproachful, and of still more loose and indeterminate signification. *Secondly*, We would advise him not to employ, or, at least, not to repeat names of whose meaning he may not have a distinct and definite idea. We strongly suspect that, if interrogated, his ideas on this subject would be found as vague and shifting as those of the vulgar are respecting the extreme points of north and south. What is it that constitutes a puritan, or wherein does precisianism lie? Does it lie in scrupling to be present at a weaponschaw, and to shoot at a mark? Does it lie in repining at the use of the Common Prayer-Book, the surplice, or the sign of the cross? Or does it consist in laying claim to perfect spotlessness, or in confining saintship within the pale of a particular church or party? If so, let it be proved that this ever was the sentiment of Presbyterians. Or were they puritans because they pretended to greater strictness in practice than the court and clergy who persecuted them? This, surely, they might do without being "religious overmuch," or proudly arrogating to themselves any uncommon degrees of holiness. Again, we would remind the author, that the injudicious use of this senseless term of opprobrium was in former times productive of the most ruinous consequences to those who were so foolish as to encourage the practice. James, who had unadvisedly applied it to the principles of Presbyterians in his Basilicon Doron, found it prudent to retract the imputation, even after he had ascended the English throne.* Charles I. was not equally

* [King James's words are to be found in his Preface afterwards prefixed to his Basilicon :—"The style of Puritans properly belongs to that vile sect of the Anabaptists only called the family of love. Such were Brown, Penry. But I protest, upon mine honour, I mean it not generally of all

wise. His parasitical and aspiring clergy were encouraged to load his best subjects with this obnoxious charge, until they filled the parliament and the army with Puritans, and brought the misguided and unhappy monarch to the block. Untutored by adversity, and incapable of reaping instruction from their father's fate, the two sons of Charles pursued the same infatuated course; while they proscribed and persecuted the most sober and conscientious part of the nation as seditious and disaffected persons, they employed hireling preachers, poets, and drolls, to deride them as precise bigots and fanatical knaves; and the result was, that the Stuarts were driven from the throne, and, by their merited misfortunes, proclaimed at last to the world who were the real bigots and fanatics. It is no good omen of the present time that a spirit of the same kind should have been revived.

On this subject we beg leave to quote the words of a sensible author, who wrote immediately before the breaking out of the civil war in England, and who was no Presbyterian.* "Let us, then," says he, "a little farther search into the mysterious abuse and misapplication of this word puritan. Those whom we ordinarily call Puritans are men of strict life and precise opinions, which cannot be hated for any thing but their singularity in zeale and piety; and certainly the number of such men is too small, and their condition too low and dejected; but they which are the devil's chiefe artificers in abusing this word, when they please, can so stretch and extend the same, that scarce any civil, honest Protestant, which is hearty and true to his religion,

preachers or others, which like better of the single form of policy in our Church of Scotland, than of the many ceremonies in the Church of England, which are persuaded that Bishops smell of a Papal supremacie, that surplice, caps, &c., are outward badges of Popish errors. No, I am far from being contentious in these indifferent things, that I do equally love and honour the learned and grave of either opinion," &c.—Ed.]

* [This treatise, entitled a "Discourse concerning Puritans," is anonymous. In an address to the reader at the close, signed *Philus Adelphus*, the author observes, "I have said enough to make myself condemned for a Puritan; but, verily, if thou art not an anti-Puritan of the worst kind, I am not a Puritan. In my opinions I am not scrupulous or precise, in my life I am not strict or austere,—the more is my blame."—Ed.]

can avoid the aspersion of it; and when they list againe, they can so shrink it into a narrow sense, that it shall seem to be aimed at none but monstrous abominable heretickes and miscreants. Thus, by its latitude it strikes generally, by its contraction it pierces deeply, by its confused application it deceives invisibly. Small scruples first intitle me to the name of Puritan, and then the name of Puritan entitles me further to all mischiefe whatsoever."—"There are many men amongst us now which brooke bishops and ceremonies well enough, and perhaps favourably interpret our late innovations; and yet these may be too grave to escape the name of Puritans. To be a Protestant may be allowed, but to dispute against Papists smells of preciseness; to hold the Pope fallible is tolerated, but to hold him Antichrist is abominable Puritanisme; to goe to church is fashionable, but to complain of the masse, or to be grieved at the publick countenance of Popery, whereby it intwines our religion, and now drinks up that sap which is scarce afforded to Protestantisme, or at all to take notice how far some of our divines are hereat conniving, if not co-operating, is a symptome of a deepe infected Puritan. He that is not moderate in religion is a Puritan; and hee that is not a Cassandrian, or of Father Francis Syncter's faith, is not moderate; he savours too much of Calvin's grosse learning, exploded now by our finest wits. But I passe from this kinde of Puritan to another, whom I shall call my political Puritan; for the bounds of Puritanisme are yet larger, and inclose men of other conditions. Some there are yet which perhaps disfavour not at all either ecclesiasticall policy, or moderate Papists; and yet, neverthelesse, this is not sufficient to acquit them from the name of Puritans, if they ascribe any thing to the lawes and liberties of this realme, or hold the prerogative royall to be limitable by any law whatsoever. If they hold not against parliaments and with ship-money, they are injurious to kings; and to be injurious to kings is *proprium quarto modo* to a Puritan.

"This detested odious name of Puritan first began in the Church presently after the Reformation, but now it extends

it selfe further, and, gaining strength as it goes, it diffuses its poysonous ignominy further; and being not contented to gangrene religion, ecclesiasticall and civill policy, it now threatens destruction to all morality also. The honest strict demeanour, and civill conversation, which is so eminent in some men, does so upbraid and convince the anti-Puritan, that even honesty, strictnesse, and civility it selfe must become disgracefull, or else they which are contrary cannot remaine in grace. But, because it is too grosse to deride vertue under the name of vertue, therefore other colours are invented, and so the same thing undergoes derision under an other name. The zealous man is despised under the name of zealot, the religious honest man has the vizard of an hypocrite and dissembler put upon him to make him odious. My Lord of Downe professes, that the first thing which made him distest the religion of Puritans (besides their grosse hypocrisie), was sedition. So, grosse hypocrisie, it seems, was the first. What is grosse or visible hypocrisie to the bishop, I know not, for I can see no windowes or casements in men's breasts, neither doe I thinke him indued with St Peter's propheticall spirit, whereby to perceive and search into the reines and hearts of hypocrites; but let him proceed. 'It is a plausible matter,' sayes he, 'with the people to heare men in authority depraved, and to understand of any liberty and power appertaining to themselves. The profession, also, of extraordinary zeale, and as it were contempt of the world, workes with the multitude. When they see men goe simply in the streets, and bow down their heads like a bull-rush, their inward parts burning with deceit, wringing their necks awry, shaking their heads as if they were in some present griefe, lifting up the white of their eyes at the sight of some vanity, giving great groanes, crying out against this sin and that sinne in their superiours, under colour of long prayers devouring widowes and married wives houses; when the multitude heares and sees such men, they are carryed away with a great conceit of them; but if they should judge of these men by their fruits, not by outward appearance, they should find them to be very farre from the

true religion.' See here the froth of a scurrilous libeller, whereby it is concluded that he that is of severe life, and averse from the common vanities of the time, is an hypocrite. If these descriptions of outward austerity shall not onely show what is an hypocrite, but point out also who is an hypocrite, our Saviour himselfe will hardly escape this description. Doubtless our Saviour, and many of his devoutest followers, did groane, shake their heads, and lift up their eyes at the sight of some publick sins and vanities, and did not spare to taxe the vices of superiours, and to preach too and admonish the meaner sort of the people; yet who but an Annas or Caiphas will infer from hence, that therefore their inward parts burne with deceit, and that their end is meerely to carry away the multitude—such as judge onely by outward appearance, and have not their senses exercised to discerne betwixt good and evill?

"'Tis a miserable thing to see how farre this word puritan, in an ethical sense, dilates it selfe. Heretofore it was puritanicall to abstain from small sinnes; but now 'tis so to abstaine from grosse open sinnes. In the mouth of a drunkard, he is a Puritane who refueseth his cups; in the mouth of a swearer, he which fears an oath; in the mouth of a libertine, he which makes any scruple of common sinnes; in the mouth of a rude soldier, he which wisheth the Scotch warre at end without blood. It is sufficient that such men thinke themselves tacitly checked and affronted by the unblameable conversation of Puritans."—"The papist, we see, hates one kind of Puritans, the hierarchist another, the court sycophant another, the sensual libertine another; yet all hate a Puritan, and under the same name many times hate the same thing. In the yeare of grace 1588, when the Spanish Armado had miscarried, notwithstanding that his Holinesse of Rome had so peremptorily christened it, and as it were conjured for it, one of that religion was strangely distempered at it, and his speech was, as 'tis reported, God himself was turned Lutheran; by which, for certaine, he meant hereticall. 'Tis much therefore that my Lord of Downe, now that Episcopacy is so foiled in Scotland, has

not raged in the like manner, and charged God of turning Puritan; but surely, if he has spared God, he has not spared any thing else that is good; and if he has spared to call God Puritan, he has not spared to call Puritan devill. But, to conclude, if the confused misapplication of this foule word puritan be not reformed in England, and that with speed, we can expect nothing but a suddaine universall downfall of all goodnesse whatsoever." *

The author of the Tales is not more sparing in the use of this term of reproach, and others of similar import, than his predecessors were. The Puritan whom he exposes, is not one who scruples at a few indifferent ceremonies, or who superciliously condemns all harmless recreations—he is one who refuses conformity to any kind of religion which may be enjoined by his superiors, or who is so squeamish as to stickle at occasionally transgressing the rules of decency, or laws that are vulgarly reckoned divine. Thus he introduces his hero as saying to Burley, "My uncle is of opinion, that we enjoy a reasonable freedom of conscience under the indulged clergymen, and I *must necessarily* be guided by his sentiments respecting the choice of a place of worship for his family." (Vol. ii. p. 92.) This is passive obedience with a witness! to the utter prostration of the rights of conscience, and leading to all the extent of the wicked principle of Hobbes! The disciples of that philosopher boasted of his discovery as calculated to put an end to religious persecution. Yes, it is so; but it is at the expense of banishing all religion and all morality from the world, and reducing man to the level of a brute. Upon this principle, a person not only may, but "must necessarily" be, a Papist at Rome, a Mahommedan at Constantinople, and a Pagan at Pekin; for surely it will not be pleaded, that less obedience is due to the supreme government of a country than to an uncle. If the author really meant what his words natively suggest, and if he intended to express his own sentiments by the mouth of his hero, then we cease to wonder at the partiality which he has shown to an oppressive Government, and his

* A Discourse concerning Puritans, pp. 8, 41, 50, 54, 57. Printed 1641.

want of sympathy for the objects of persecution. There is another instance to which we must refer as a commentary upon the author's sentiments respecting puritanism and precision. In describing the scene at Milnwood, when visited by a military party, he informs us, that "the agony of his avarice," at the thoughts of parting with his money, overcame old Morton's "puritanic precision." And how did this appear? By his making use of one of the most vulgar, gross, and indecent words which one can apply to a woman—so indecent, that the author, or his printer, could express it only by giving the initial and final letters, and, when he afterward introduces a trooper as using the same word, judged it fit to drop one of these! (Vol. ii. pp. 189, 243.) *Ex ungue leonem.* Such are the refined and liberal notions of the author of the Tales! It is "puritanic precision" to boggle at an indecent expression; and it argues the same weakness of mind, no question, to scruple at taking the name or word of God in vain. And yet this is the gentleman who complains that the Covenanters wanted "good manners"—who derides the coarse and vulgar dialect of their preachers, and is the advocate for elegant studies and accomplishments!

The author seems to have forgotten, that he is not living in the days of Charles II., and that the religion of the Covenanters has now obtained the sanction of the national laws, and is the established religion of his country. We beg leave to inform him, if he does not already know it, that every thing for which the Covenanters contended, both in point of principle and of practice, is contained in the standards of the national Church. These were composed in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant by the Assembly of Divines, which met at Westminster, under the authority of the Parliament of England, and during the civil war. They explicitly contain the Calvinistic tenets, and the doctrine concerning what he is pleased to denominate "a judaical observance of the Sabbath;" they assert the parity of ministers of the Gospel, in opposition to Prelatic hierarchy; and, in opposition to Erastian encroachments by civil rulers,

they assert that Christ is the alone King and Head of his Church, and that he has appointed a government in it distinct from the civil magistrate, who "may not assume to himself the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven." These, according to the author's own showing, embrace all the leading articles which the Covenanters maintained, and for adhering to which they suffered. If, therefore, there is any justice or force in his ridicule, the weight of it must fall upon the established religion of Scotland. It is this which he has all along been deriding under the name of puritanism and precisianism. If he disapproves of it, he is at liberty to do so; let him bring forth his strong reasons, and they shall be examined; but whether it is decent and becoming in him to hold up its principles to derision, as if they were unworthy of serious argument, we shall leave the public to judge, when the cause is fairly before them.

If he shall say, that he has not ridiculed these principles, but merely the conduct of those men who maintained them in former times,—we deny this; and we add, that these constitute the merits of the cause; and, provided they are cleared from misrepresentation, the portion of ridicule which remains in the Tale will turn out to be excessively trifling and childish. What did our Presbyterian ancestors do, but maintain their religious profession, and defend their rights and privileges, against the attempts which were made to wrest these from them? This was the body and front of their offending. And were they not entitled to act this part? Were they not bound to do it? What although, in discharging this arduous duty, in times of unexampled trial, they were guilty of partial irregularities, and some of them of individual crimes? What although the language in which they expressed themselves was homely, and appears to our ears coarse, and unsuitable to the subject? What although they gave a greater prominence to some points, and laid a greater stress on some articles, than we may now think they were entitled to? What although they discovered an immoderate heat and irritation of spirit, considering the barbarous and brutal manner in which they had

long been treated? What although they fell into parties, and quarrelled among themselves, when we consider the crafty and insidious measures employed by their adversaries to disunite them; and when we can perceive them actuated by honesty and principle, even in the greatest errors into which they were betrayed? These, granting them to be all true, may form a proper subject for sober statement, and for cool animadversion; but never for turning the whole of their conduct into ridicule, or treating them with scurrilous buffoonery. No enlightened friend to civil and religious liberty—no person, whose moral and humane feelings have not been warped by the most lamentable party prejudices, would ever think of treating them in this manner. They were sufferers—they were suffering unjustly—they were demanding only what they were entitled to enjoy—they persevered in their demands until they were successful—and to their disinterested struggles, and their astonishing perseverance, we are indebted, under God, for the blessings which we enjoy. And we can assure our author, that his statements are not so correct, nor his ridicule so well directed and powerful, as to deter us from their vindication.

We may add, though the observation is of inferior moment, that the author is here guilty of a violation of propriety, in a literary point of view. He has been pleased to send his book into the world as the work of the usher of one of our parochial schools, edited and arranged by his patron, the "schoolmaster and parish-clerk." Now, all our parochial teachers are bound by law to subscribe the Confession of the national Church. Yet the schoolmaster of Gandercleugh publishes, with high encomiums, a work which is intended to ridicule, as puritanical, the principles of that Church of which he is a member, and of those standards to which he is supposed to have given the seal of his approbation. If decorum of character is thus sacrificed to the gratification of a freak, we need not be surprised to find it violated for the sake of gaining higher ends.

But we proceed to consider the charge of *enthusiasm* and *superstitious fanaticism*. The judicious reader will perceive,

that several of the remarks already made, are applicable to this topic of declamation. We shall separate the charge of superstition from that of fanaticism. There can be no doubt that the author intended to ridicule the superstitious and puritanical preciseness of the Covenanters, by imposing Scripture names upon the fictitious characters of the party that he has introduced. Thus, we have *Silas* Morton, *Gabriel* Kettledrummle, *Ephraim* Macbriar, *Habakkuk* Mucklewrath. He borrowed this from the English plays written in derision of the Puritans. But if he had taken time to examine into the fact, he would have found that the Presbyterians of Scotland were not then addicted to this practice any more than they are at present. This was perhaps beneath his notice, moreover it would have spoilt a great part of his humour; for it is evident, that the sound of a name is with him a high point of wit. Of the same species of just ridicule and accurate representation, is his practice of making his covenanting interlocutors *thee* and *thou* one another, and withhold the title of Mr from those whom they address, as if they had adopted the precise principle of Quakers on this head! (Vol. iii. p. 152–8, *et passim.*) Yet, in his usual self-contradictory way, he introduces them in other places as declaiming against Quakerism. This he does, to be sure, to ridicule them as persons who were continually inveighing against all sects but their own; without knowing, or at least without letting his readers know, that they were necessitated to be more explicit in such disavowals, by the artful malice of their adversaries, who imputed the tenets of Quakerism to them, because they refused the ensnaring oaths imposed by Government. *

* [Other reasons may be assigned for the aversion of the Presbyterians to be classed with Quakers. Quakerism in these days was a very different thing from the quiet, demure, money-making system of modern times. The Quakers were, in fact, the true fanatics; their tenets bordered on blasphemy, and their practices savoured of the grossest indecency. Take the following specimen of them from a late publication by a member of the Society of Friends:—"Andrew Jaffray became deeply affected and laden in his mind, under an unusual sense of the corrupt and ungodly condition of many of his fellow-citizens" (of Aberdeen, in 1677). "He

But the author has in reserve a stronger proof of the superstition of the Covenanters, which we may not be able so easily to set aside or evade. They firmly believed that certain men, if not also beasts, were gifted by the enemy of mankind with preternatural means of defence, and that it was impossible to shoot them, at least with lead! While Burley reacted in his dream the bloody scene of Archbishop Sharp's murder, he exclaimed, "Fire-arms will not prevail

believed they were covering themselves with a covering, but not of the Lord's Spirit, and that their case resembled that of the whited sepulchres, which *inwardly were full of all uncleanness.* At length he was led to believe that he could not divest himself of the burden that lay upon him, nor obtain relief to his tried spirit, so as to be clear of the blood of such, without *himself becoming as a spectacle and a sign among the people,* to rebuke and expose, in a prophetic manner, in his own person, the offensiveness of sin. He accordingly gave up to the humiliating act of passing through the streets of Aberdeen, on the 1st of the fourth month, being the market day, *the upper part of his body being naked,* and having in his hand that which might prove, in the view of beholders, *as fit an emblem as could be chosen* of the loathsomeness of all their performances and profession in religion, without *washing their hearts from iniquity.*"—*Jaffray and the Friends in Scotland,* by John Barclay, p. 400, London, 1833. Friend Barclay seems half ashamed of this revolting scene, and yet he does not hesitate to speak of it in 1833, as "a burden similar to those that were laid upon servants of the Holy One in ancient days." Wodrow has described the same scene, with less circumlocution, in his manuscripts; and adds other illustrations of the fraternity, particularly in the case of one Thomas Milne, who was wont to be seized with "a terrible shaking, his eyes running, his tongue rolling in his mouth, and the pale sweat coming down his face," to the astonishment of the beholders. Nicol, in his diary, has given us an account of Quaker exhibitions not much dissimilar, which took place at this time in Edinburgh, where the performers, suiting the action to the word, cried out on the streets, that they were "the naked truth." These proceedings terminated generally in the temporary confinement of the party in jail, or a pelting by the mob, about which treatment much noise has been made. But it is a singular fact, that the acts against conventicles were never carried farther against them. "It was remarked," says Fountainhall, "that the Papists and Quakers were not troubled."—*Historical Observes,* p. 87. No wonder that our pious and sensible ancestors took it as an insult, even on the scaffold, to be identified with such enthusiastic fools. This, however, was frequently done by their persecutors; and Sir Walter Scott, by the language and conduct which he has ascribed to them, has done what he could to perpetuate the calumny.—Ed.]

against him—Strike—thrust with the cold iron." (Vol. ii. p. 123.) But the best description of this trait in the covenanting character is in the account of Claverhouse's behaviour at the battle of Drumclog.

"The *superstitious fanatics*, who looked upon him as a man gifted by the Evil Spirit with supernatural means of defence, averred that they saw the bullets recoil from his jack boots and buff coat like hailstones from a rock of granite, as he galloped to and fro amid the storm of the battle. Many a Whig that day loaded his musket with a dollar cut into slugs, in order that a silver *bullet* (such was their belief) might bring down the persecutor of the holy Kirk, on whom lead had no power. 'Try him with the cold steel,' was the cry at every renewed charge—'powder is wasted on him.'—Ye might as well shoot at the old enemy himsel."—Vol. iii. p. 69.

Before replying to this, we shall make the author's case a little stronger. We learn from "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed," that the Presbyterian preachers made the people believe that "the bishops were all cloven-footed," and that "the generality of the Presbyterian rabble in the west will not believe that bishops have any shadows, as an earnest of the substance, for their opposing of covenant work in the land." It is true that Dr Gilbert Rule affirms, that he never before heard that any Presbyterian entertained such a thought. But we shall be more liberal to our author, and shall take it for granted that what he has stated is true. He must be understood, then, as meaning, that the belief of such preternatural powers was peculiar to the Covenanters, else it could be no reason for characterising them as "superstitious fanatics." But what will he say, if we can produce the example of a whole parliament at that period gravely giving their sanction to an opinion at least equally incredible? In the attainder of the Marquis of Argyle for high treason, one of the heaviest articles of charge against him is supported by the following miraculous proof:—"Insomuch that the Lord from heaven did declare his wrath and displeasure against the aforesaid inhuman cruelty, by striking the tree whereon they were hanged, in the said month of June, being a lively fresh growing ash tree, at the kirk-yard of Denoone, amongst many other

fresh trees with leaves, the Lord struck the same tree immediately thereafter, so that the whole leaves fell from it, and the tree withered, never bearing leaf thereafter, remaining so for the space of two years; which being cut down, there sprang out of the very heart of the root thereof a spring like unto blood popling up, running in several streams, all over the root, and that for several years thereafter, until the said murderers, or their favourers, perceiving that it was remarked by persons of all ranks (resorting there to see the miracle), they did cause houck out the root, covering the whole with earth, which was full of the said matter like blood." * If this example does not suffice, we shall give another, from a writer whose principles are akin to those of our author. Mr Scott, in a note to the Lady of the Lake, after adducing a great number of facts in support of the *Taisch*, or preternatural gift of *Second-Sight*, concludes rather reluctantly, and not without some symptoms of scrupulosity: "But, in despite of evidence, which neither Bacon, Boyle, nor Johnson, were able to resist, the *Taisch*, with all its visionary properties, seems to be now universally abandoned to the use of poetry."† It certainly was not the design of Mr Scott to represent the philosophers to whom he alludes as men of weak and superstitious minds, merely because they had not emancipated themselves from a popular prejudice. And we are inclined to think, that the author of the Tales will now be sensible of the rashness of his censure. But if he shall still be disposed stoutly to affirm that the Covenanters were "superstitious fanatics," we shall leave him to contest the point with the shades of "Bacon, Boyle, and Johnson."

> "The eagle saw her breast was wounded sore,
> She stood and weeped much, but grieved more:
> But when she saw the dart was feather'd, cried,
> Woe's me, for my own kind hath me destroy'd."

Among all the terms of reproach which are ordinarily employed to excite contempt or odium against an individual

* Howell's State Trials, vol. v. p. 1384. † Note vi. to Canto first.

dividual or a party, there are none more vague, or used with less sense and discretion, than enthusiasm and fanaticism. They serve the same purpose against the friends of religion, that sedition and leasing-making have often done against the best friends of the state, when employed by profligate ministers and their base supporters, to stigmatize and run down all who oppose their corrupt measures and pernicious plans. Every pert infidel, every superficial sciolist, every conceited witling, every elegant trifler in prose or in verse, thinks he has a right to apply the names of enthusiast and fanatic to persons who are greatly superior to him in intellect, and in all rational and useful information. While such persons "set their mouth against the heavens" in affronting God, "their tongue walketh through the earth" in reviling those who bear his image, who seek to obey him, and are zealous for his rights and honour. Were they to think rationally but for a moment, they would be ashamed to "speak evil of the things which they know not." No sensible and modest person will be forward in interposing his judgment as to any art or science of which he is ignorant, which he has not made it his business to study, and for which, instead of having a relish, he may feel a repugnance, especially in relation to a point contested among those of the same profession. And why should it be otherwise in religion, to the obligations and feelings of which there are so many who are notoriously and lamentably insensible and dead? What right can he, who perhaps never looked into the Bible except for the purpose of turning it into a jest-book, who never performed an act of devotion except from hypocrisy or for fashion's sake, who, during the whole course of his life, never spent a serious moment on the subject of religion,—what right can such a person have, or what capacity has he, to judge between the genuine, though ardent emotions of a devout breast, and the reveries and irregular fervours of a heated or disturbed imagination?

Nor is this incapacity confined to those who labour under an absolute destitution of religious principle and feeling. A man may not be blind, and yet he may be incapable to judge

correctly of the imitative beauties of the pencil; he may not be deaf, and yet he may have no ear for musical harmony; he may be a parent, a brother, and a citizen, and yet be exceedingly deficient in parental, generous, and patriotic feeling. To such a person, the emotions expressed, the zeal that is testified, the interest that is taken, the sacrifices that are made by the devoted lover of painting, music, kindred, and country, will appear to be disproportioned, extravagant, unreasonable, ridiculous, and, in one word, enthusiastical. And he would say so, provided he was not restrained by habit or by prudential deference to general feeling, and provided he was taught to correct his erroneous conclusions by attentive observation, and the rigid exercise of his reasoning powers. Let a person whose ear is not attuned to harmony join a company of musical inamoratos—let him listen to them while they converse in the dialect peculiar to their art, and while they give an unrestrained vent to their emotions—let him attentively observe them while they are enjoying the indescribable charms of the full and varied concert—let him mark their gestures—the expressions of their countenance—the signs of ravishment which they exhibit, while they now lift up their eyes to the heavens, as if they were totally abstracted from sublunary things, and anon quench and seal up their visual orbs, as if they were determined never again to open them to the light of day—the tremulous thrill which pervades and agitates their whole frame—their soft susurrations, gradually rising into more audible murmurs, or abruptly bursting into an ecstatic peal—the languishing attitudes in which they throw themselves, and their dying falls—not to mention the grimaces, the contortions of feature, the antic airs and gesticulations, or the whining tones which some of them are accustomed to assume;—let the spectator who has no accordant or sympathetic feeling, and who has never thought seriously on the subject, observe all this, and let him express his genuine sentiments, and we have no doubt that they will correspond to the statement which we have given.—But we must leave it to the intelligent reader to apply this illustration to the expressions of

devout feeling and evangelical experience, under the modifications which the nature of the subject will suggest.

Do we, then, deny that there was any enthusiasm or fanaticism among the Covenanters? We do not. None who is acquainted with human nature, or with the history of mankind and of the Church, would expect this in the circumstances in which they are placed. We know that, during the latter part of the persecution, a small sect arose called Gibbites, or Sweet Singers, whose opinions and practices were in a high degree extravagant and impious; but they were disowned by the whole body of Presbyterians, were always few in number, and soon melted away. And it is much to the credit of the people of Scotland, in point of intelligence, and soundness of religious principle, that not only at this time, when their spirits were much heated, but also during the interregnum, when innumerable sects, many of them holding the most fantastic opinions, sprung up in the neighbouring kingdom, none of these appeared (a few converts to Quakerism excepted) in this country. We know also, that, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, a number of Presbyterians, under the conduct of Cameron and Cargill, proceeded formally to disown the Government, and advanced opinions respecting the essential qualifications of magistrates in a reformed land, and respecting the extraordinary execution of justice by private individuals, which were unjustifiable and dangerous. But if we examine the matter with candour, we will find, that they were driven to these extremes by the intolerable oppression of Government; and that their errors proceeded from their understandings being perplexed by intricate questions, which were in some respects forced upon them, in circumstances certainly not favourable to cool and dispassionate investigation, and not at all as their adversaries alleged, from principles of disloyalty and insubordination, or any desire to gratify their passions, by involving the nation in anarchy and blood. We will find them retracting, explaining, or modifying their declarations, or particular expressions in them, which were most obnoxious to blame, or of whose dangerous tendency

they became convinced,—a behaviour no way resembling that of fanatics, who are inflamed by contradiction, and plunge from one excess into a greater. In fine, they were in other respects, as a body, sober and pious men, desirous of living peaceably, and who afterwards did live peaceably under a Government which knew how to treat them with lenity. "Oppression makes a wise man mad," but it does not convert him into a madman; as the torture does not make an honest man a liar, although it may extort from him a falsehood. Let the violent pressure which, for the moment, overcame him be removed, and he will return to his wonted sobriety and self-command, and act like any other man. Besides, the followers of Cameron formed but a very small part of the Covenanters of Scotland.

With respect to the field-preachers in general, and those who adhered to them, it may be allowed that their religious feelings were wound up to a high pitch. Every thing in their situation contributed to produce this effect,—the sufferings that they had endured—the dangers to which they were exposed—the jeopardy in which their life stood every hour—the hair-breadth escapes which they made—the wild scenery of the spots on which they assembled to perform their religious services, with the many affecting recollections with which it was associated,—all served to raise their minds to an uncommon degree of fervour. But still this was not enthusiasm in the bad sense of the expression. It was a high tone of excitement which has been felt by the noblest, the purest, and the most enlightened minds—by patriots, who have stood forth, in times of danger, to defend the injured rights of their country; and by confessors, who have been raised up, in times of defection, to plead for the more sacred rights of their God. Such were the feelings of the Prophet, when, in similar circumstances, he said, "I have been VERY JEALOUS for the Lord God of Hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword, and I, even I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away." Weaknesses or excesses are often mingled with the

best and most pious feelings—the exercise of Elijah was not exempted from these—but still they are too sacred to be rudely touched by the profane hand. How differently does the same subject affect different minds! The author of "The Sabbath" selected the character of the Covenanters for the warmest encomium; the author of "The Tales" has fixed on it as deserving the most unsparing censure. To the eye of the former a conventicle presented a subject for the finest poetic description; in the eye of the latter, it is an object of derision and merriment. The former viewed it as an assembly of men who were met to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, at the peril of all that was dear to them on earth; the latter can see nothing in it but a tumultuary gathering of discontented and fiery spirits, held in defiance of law, and with the intention of resisting the lawful exercise of authority. The former describes the field-preachers as dividing "the bread of life" to their hearers, and administering to them those heavenly consolations which were peculiarly adapted to the situation of hardship and peril in which they were placed; the latter represents them as fosterers of the wildest fanaticism, and trumpeters of sedition and rebellion. The former was charmed with the ardent and sincere piety that breathed from the lips of the speaker, and beamed on the delighted countenances of his hearers, as "o'er their souls his accents soothing came;" the latter seeks entertainment by discovering matter for ridicule in the preacher's tones and gestures, and in the coarse garb and humble appearance of the greater part of his audience. The picture exhibited by the former is solemn, pleasing, and deeply interesting; that which is held out by the latter is mean, vulgar, and disgusting. Both cannot be genuine representations. No one will doubt, for a moment, which of the two displays the finest feelings in the artist; and whether the poet or the humourist has kept most closely to the truth of nature, may appear in some degree from what follows.

The character given of the Covenanters, in the persons of Mause and Kettledrummle, are in a style of such glaring and extravagant caricature, that we would not have deemed

it necessary to notice them, farther than by expressing our astonishment that any writer should have risked his reputation by publishing such representations, had it not been that we are aware of the ignorance that prevails on this subject, even with many who are otherwise well-informed persons. On this account we condescend to enter on the subject. The author's ridicule turns chiefly upon the following points:—that their ordinary conversation was interlarded with Scripture phrases—that they were guilty of gross and ludicrous misapplications of these—that they were constantly harping upon certain cant phrases, expressive of their party-opinions, or relating to their ecclesiastical disputes—and that the style in which their preachers usually indulged was mean, coarse, incoherent, and rhapsodical.

The people of Scotland, since the Reformation, have been always well acquainted with their Bible, and it was the natural consequence of this, that its language should mingle with their speech, and give a tone to their conversation and mode of thinking. This, instead of being discreditable, is highly honourable to them, and has contributed, more than many are aware of, to raise their character, in point of intelligence, above that of the lower orders in any other country. Strangers have remarked the fact, and have been astonished at it, while they were ignorant of the cause. A ploughman in Scotland is not, what he is every where else, a clown, according to the idea which that term usually suggests; and this distinction he owes chiefly to his familiar acquaintance with his Bible, which he has been accustomed to read, or to hear read, from his childhood. When he has been so much indebted to it, why should he be hindered from quoting it, or exposed to ridicule for employing its phraseology, provided this is done without an intention or a tendency to burlesque or profane it? With this qualification, we may assert, that the Bible is to the common people what the writings of Homer are to the learned; and every person of good feeling will be as much pleased to hear them adopting a phrase, or quoting a verse, with propriety, from the Scriptures, as to hear a person of literature making the same use of the Greek or Roman classics. By *propriety* we mean, not

elegance and point, but such justness as may be expected from persons in their condition. Among the better informed part even of the English nation, during the 17th century, Scripture language was so far from being uncommon, that we find it used very liberally in both Houses of Parliament. The speech of Lord Falkland on the question respecting Episcopacy, and of Lord Shaftesbury respecting the state of Scotland, in which he not only quoted, but commented on a passage in the Song of Solomon, are well known proofs of this.* Nor is the practice altogether gone into desuetude in the present time, among persons who would not take it well to be ranked with enthusiasts or fanatics. We could mention more than one of our modern poets who have borrowed some of their finest passages from the Bible, and made their descriptions "more impressive by the orientalism of Scripture," although they have not thought it proper to make those acknowledgments of the debt which they are forward to render to every old ballad or musty play. Our Poet Laureate, too, can scarcely compose three sentences in prose without a Scripture phrase or allusion. And his example has been imitated of late among ourselves, accompanied with an evident attempt to excel him in this quality of style. In the following extracts, we have specimens of *typical*, *allegorical*, and *prophetical* applications,—an enumeration which nearly comprises all the senses of Scripture allowed by Popish interpreters. "It seemed that Buonaparte, on his retirement to Elba, had carried away with him all the offences of the French people, like the scape-goat which the Levitical law directed to be driven into the wilderness, loaden with the sins of the children of Israel." † "Still, from the disaffection of the soldiers, and the discontent of the Revolutionists,

* Rushworth, vol. i. part 3, p. 182. Wodrow, vol. ii., App. No. 4.

† Edinburgh Annual Register, vol. vii. p. 290.

[The Annual Register was then under the management of Sir Walter Scott. The historical part was supplied by Southey. If such applications of Scripture are not felt as ludicrous, it must be partly because they are not employed in ordinary conversation, and partly because they are not clothed in the vulgar dialect which Scott has put into the mouths of the Covenanters.—Ed.]

there arose, even in the halcyon months of the restoration, a cloud on the political horizon, at first as small as that seen by the prophet from Mount Carmel, but which ceased not to increase, until the Monarch of France, like the King of Israel of old, betook himself to his chariot and horses, and was fain to seek for shelter until the storm had passed away."* "The shower of honour and emoluments fell above, below, and around, but it reached not Sir Thomas Picton, whose name and fortunes, like the fleece of Gideon, remained unmoistened by the dew that distilled on all others."† After speaking of the miserable result of all that has been done for Spain, the author adds, "But deeply convinced, as we are, that as yet '*the end is not*,' we proceed to detail those unexpected and deplorable events," &c.‡ If not intended, it is a striking coincidence, that the Tales of my Landlord should have appeared so seasonably as an antidote to this disposition to puritanical enthusiasm; and we can scarcely help suspecting, that the sermon of Ephraim Macbriar, in particular, is a concealed satire upon the following passage of an Address of the City of Edinburgh:—"It is with far other thoughts, and far happier prospects, that we now again lay our duty at the feet of your Royal Highness, with feelings which can be likened to none but those of the survivors of the primeval world, when, looking forth from the vessel in which they had been miraculously preserved, they perceived that God had closed, in his mercy, the fountains of the deep which he had opened in his wrath; that the wind had passed over the waters and assuaged the force; while the reappearance of ancient and well-known mountains and land-marks, hidden so long under the billows of the inundation, warranted a just and purer confidence that the hour of its fury had passed away."§

But perhaps the fault of the Covenanters did not lie

* Edinburgh Annual Register, vol. vii. p. 293.

† Ibid., p. 255. ‡ Ibid., p. 317.

§ Address of the City of Edinburgh to the Prince Regent, in December 1813.

[This Address was composed by Sir Walter Scott.—*Lockhart's Life*, vol. iii. p. 108.—Ed.]

in their liberal use of Scripture, but in the unnatural, extravagant, and ridiculous applications which they made of it. We are afraid that it will be difficult to exculpate some of the extracts which we have given above from this charge; and it would be easy for us to produce recent examples of a still more glaring kind. What would the reader think of a passage of Scripture relating to the redemption of mankind, and the exaltation of our Saviour, being formally applied to the conclusion of the late war, and the restoration of the Bourbons? Yet this has been done by one who is neither a Whig nor a Presbyterian.* With respect to the ludicrous perversions of Scripture by the Covenanters, they are the pure fictions of the author of the Tales. We do not recollect to have any where met with a more barefaced attempt to impose upon the public. All unprejudiced persons, even those who have no favour for Presbyterians, have been obliged to admit the exaggeration; and those who are acquainted with the subject know, that, with the exception of a few phrases which have been gathered from the books of the Covenanters, and inserted as best served the author's purpose, the whole representation is fanciful and false. We have particularly in our eye at present the speeches put into the mouth of Mause and the preacher on the road to Loudon hill; although the remark is by no means confined to that scene. We have selected it because it affords us an opportunity of bringing the author's statement to the test, and enabling the reader to judge of its truth or falsehood. Two years after the period to which the Tales relate, when persecution had inflamed the minds of the sufferers to a much higher degree, two women, who had embraced the sentiments of Cameron and Cargill, were executed at Edinburgh. Let the reader peruse their examinations and dying speeches, which are preserved, and compare them with the speeches and behaviour of Mause, and he will perceive at once the truth of our averment.† The

* Sermon on Psalm cxviii. 23. By the Rev. James Walker, St Peter's Chapel, Edinburgh, 7th July 1814.

† Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 77, 78.

language of these sufferers is such as might be expected from unlettered females, but it is such as does not disgrace the common people of Scotland. The inquisitorial interrogatories of the court discovered that they had imbibed one or two opinions of an extravagant and dangerous nature; but their manner of avowing these was sober, and even dignified, compared with the behaviour of their judges and accusers. The following is part of the examination of Isabel Alison, written by her own hand with an artless simplicity. "The bishop said, Wherein is our doctrine erroneous? I said, That was better debated already than a poor lass could debate it. They said, Your ministers do not approve of these things; and ye have said more than your ministers; for your ministers have brought you on to these opinions, and left you there. I said, They had cast in baits among the ministers, and harled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that. Then they said they pitied me; for (said they) we find reason and a quick wit in you; and they desired me to take it to advisement. I told them, I had been advising on it these seven years, and I hope not to change now. They inquired, mockingly, if I lectured any? I answered, Quakers used to do so. They asked if I did own Presbyterian principles? I answered, that I did. They asked if I was distempered? I told them I was always solid in the wit that God had given me. Lastly, they asked my name. I told them if they had staged me they might remember my name. Then they caused bring *Sanquhair Declaration*, and the paper found on Mr Richard Cameron, and the papers taken at the Queen's Ferry, and asked if I would adhere to them? I said I would, as they were according to the Scriptures, and I saw not wherein they did contradict them. They asked if ever Mr Welsh or Mr Riddel taught me these principles? I answered, I would be far in the wrong to speak any thing that might wrong them. Then they bade me take heed what I was saying, for it was upon life and death that I was questioned. I asked them if they would have me to lie. I would not quite one truth

though it would purchase my life 1000 years, which ye cannot purchase, nor promise me an hour. They said, When saw ye the two Hendersons and John Balfour? Seeing ye love ingenuity, will ye be ingenuous and tell us if ye saw them since the death of the bishop. I said, They appeared publicly within the land since. They asked if I conversed with them within these 12 months? at which I kept silence. They urged me to say either Yes or Nay. I answered, Yes. Then they said, Your blood be on your own head; we shall be free of it. I answered, So said Pilate; but it was a question if it was so: but ye have nothing to say against me but for owning of Christ's truths and his persecuted members; to which they answered nothing. Then they desired me to subscribe what I owned. I refused, and they did it for me."* We have appealed to a case the most favourable to our author, in order that we might prove, *a fortiori*, the falsity of his representation; for otherwise we do not allow that the principles of these women afford a fair specimen of those which were held by the great body of the Covenanters who attended field conventicles at the period to which the Tales refer.

We can bring the matter to a still more direct and decisive test, with respect to the character of Gabriel Kettledrummle. Under this name, there can be no question that the author had his eye upon Mr John King. For we know, from his history, that he was the minister taken prisoner by Claverhouse on the morning of the battle of Drumclog, led as a prisoner to the field, and released by the victorious Covenanters in the manner described by the author. Now, King was again taken prisoner after the battle of Bothwell, and was executed; and we have an account of his trial, and the speech which he wrote and delivered before his death.† The perusal of these will convince every reader that the author has been guilty of most inexcusable and outrageous misrepresentation. The author describes him as one of the boutefeus of the party, as inflaming the multitude to the

* Cloud of Witnesses, p. 78–80.

† Naphtali, p. 466, edit. 1693. Wodrow, vol. ii., p. 83–86.

highest pitch, defending "the mingled ravings of madness and atrocity," and supporting those who insisted on disowning the authority of Charles. (Vol. iii. pp. 102, 162, 178, 188; iv. 10.) Contrast with this the following declaration by King immediately before his execution:—"The Lord knowes, who is the Searcher of hearts, that neither my designe nor practice was against his Majesty's person and just government, but I alwayes intended to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord. I thank God, my heart doth not condemne me of any disloyalty; I have been loyal, and do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord. And that I preached at field meetings, which is the other ground of my sentence, I am so far from acknowledging that the Gospel preached that way was a rendevousing in rebellion (as it is termed), that I bless the Lord that ever counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands; yea, I do assert, that if the Lord hath had a purer church and people in this land than another, it hath been in and among these meetings in fields and houses, so much now despised by some, and persecuted by others. That I preached up rebellion and rising in armes against authority, I bless the Lord my conscience doth not condemn me in this, it never being my designe; if I could have preached Christ and salvation in his name, that was my work, and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the Word of God, and as it did become (though one of the meanest) a minister of the Gospel. I have been looked on by some, and misrepresented by others, that I have been of a divisive and factious humour, and one that stirred up division in the Church; but I am hopeful that ye will give me charity, being within a little to stand before my Judge, and *I pray the Lord that he will forgive them that did so misrepresent me:* But I thank the Lord, whatever men did say of me concerning this, I have often diswaded from such wayes, and of this my conscience bears me witness." His last words were: "Now I bid farewel with all

my friends and dear relations. Farewel, my poor wife and child, whom I leave on the good hand of Him who is better than seven husbands, and will be a father to the fatherless. Farewel, all creature comforts, and welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love, and everlasting praise. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me."* If it should be alleged that the author did not intend to confine himself to a description of the character of King, this shift will avail little. For Mr Kid, another minister who suffered along with him, expressed himself in the same terms.† Nay, of all the ministers who were at Bothwell (and there were at least fourteen there), there were not above two who differed from Mr King in this respect, and the high and violent measures proposed were urged chiefly by a few private gentlemen, and especially by Robert Hamilton, a forward young man, who had got himself introduced to the chief command of the Covenanting army. We may afterward advert to this fact more particularly, but we cannot omit at present calling the attention of our readers to it, because it is of very considerable importance; and it has, we apprehend, been misstated, not only by the author of the Tales, but also by several of our historians.

Even when the author wished to relieve his picture, and intended to describe individuals among the Covenanters as displaying some talent, or possessing some good qualities, he has blundered and betrayed his ignorance. Thus, in the sermon of Macbriar, he has made the preacher utter a sentiment which was universally rejected by Presbyterians, while he makes him tell his audience,—"Whoso will *deserve* immortal fame in this world, and *eternal happiness in that which is to come*, let them enter into God's eternal service," &c. (Vol. iii. p. 110.) A similar breach of decorum of character occurs in his description of the humane Covenanter, Widow Maclure, whom he introduces as repeatedly banning and mincing oaths in her conversation! (Vol. iv. pp. 275, 278, 281.) Far be it from us to derogate from the talents of our great author; but the truth is (and he should

* Naphtali, pp. 468-470, 476. † Ibid., p. 458.

have been aware of it), whatever talent a person may possess for buffoonery, he will not succeed in mimicking those with whose manners he is unacquainted. He has seen and conversed with old gentlewomen of Tory principles, gallant officers, drunken soldiers, butlers and innkeepers; but he has not fallen into the company of religious people; and, accordingly, he has failed completely in taking off their likeness, and in imitating their language and manners. To cull a few phrases from Scripture, and scraps from this sermon and that dying speech, and to form the whole into a cento, has doubtless something ludicrous in it; and we do not question that it will move the laughter of the good friends whom the author professes himself to have been so much indebted to for his materials, as well as the surviving old maidens of the ever memorable *Forty-five*, especially if he should himself recite it in that snuffling, whining, canting tone which Judge Jeffries erst acted so admirably in the Court of King's Bench. But we can scarcely persuade ourselves that he ever seriously thought it would pass in the world either for wit or humour. If the persons whom he intended to expose were to rise up and be desired to look upon their picture, they would smile at his failure, provided it were possible for them not to be shocked at his profaneness.

We have declined hitherto calling the author to account for his profane use of the Sacred Writings, because we wished, before doing this, to show that our censure did not proceed from displeasure at his wit, and to anticipate an apology which we knew would be made for his conduct. It is frequently urged, that such freedoms with sacred subjects are necessary to preserve propriety of character; and it may be alleged on the present occasion, that the author has only represented the abuse which was made of Scripture by the Covenanters, and that they, and not he, must be answerable for the profanation. We cannot admit the justice of this apology. Those who talk most about sustaining propriety of character, can neglect it on very slight occasions. It is no plea for indecency, and why should it

be so for profaneness? There may sometimes be a propriety in exposing the extravagant and ridiculous misapplications of Scripture made by individuals, or by a religious sect; but we do not know that this can ever be justifiably done in a work for amusement, intended for all classes of readers, and ordinarily perused in a state of mind which unfits persons for discriminating between the abuse and the thing abused, and for coolly judging whether the author's ridicule is well or ill founded. The author of the Tales has placed at the head of one of his chapters a quotation from the *Alchemist*, which we presume he regarded as a prototype and authority. We beg leave to quote, as well worthy of his attention on this subject, the opinion of one whose authority stands deservedly high both in law and in morality. "I remember," says Lord Chief Justice Hale, "that when Ben Johnson, in his play of the *Alchymist*, introduced Anartus in derision of the Puritans, with many of their phrases taken out of Scripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was *detested* and *abhorred*, because it seemed to reproach religion itself; but now, when the Presbyterians were brought upon the stage in their peculiar habits, and with their distinguishing phrases of scripture exposed to the laughter of spectators, it met with approbation and applause."*

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 440.

The excess to which profaneness and blasphemy were carried in the days of Charles II., we could scarcely credit, were it not attested by the most unexceptionable authority. And all under the pretext of withstanding fanaticism! A letter from Dr John Wallis to the Hon. Mr Boyle, giving an account of the opening of Archbishop Sheldon's theatre at Oxford, contains the following particulars:—"Then a letter of thanks to be sent from the University to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our *creator* and *redeemer*, for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, *delivered the blessed Virgin from being so profaned for the future:* He doth (as the words of the letter are) *non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere.* These words (I confess) stopped my mouth from giving a *placet* to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr Vice-chancellor to consider, whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it; but, upon farther thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be

But we are under no necessity of having recourse to this argument in the present case. The author is guilty of wantonly abusing Scripture, not in a few, but in numerous instances throughout his work, without his being able to justify himself by an appeal to the practice of the Covenanters. We may refer to the exclamations of Mause (vol. iii. p. 77), and to Langcale's summoning the castle of Tillietudlem "with the butt end of a sermon," by "uplifting, with a stentorian voice, a verse of the 24th Psalm," in metre, which is given at length. (Vol. iii. p. 143.) Such descriptions are quite out of nature, and so extravagant, as to be mere ludicrous applications of Scripture language, such as no person who had any due reverence for it could indulge in, and as will give pleasure to an infidel reader, not because they afford a true or spirited delineation of character, but because they gratify his disposition to laugh at the Bible. Still worse, if possible, are the exclamations put into the mouths of Mause and Kettledrummle on approaching Drumclog. (Vol. iii. pp. 32, 33.) The prostitution of Scripture in the first of these instances, is accompanied with a display of great want of delicacy and feeling for an old woman in the circumstances described; and, in the last instance, it is aggravated by the consideration, that the words used are part of a description expressly and repeatedly applied in the New Testament to the sufferings of the Saviour of men. We believe that the author was not aware of this; but what stronger proof can be given of his rashness in intruding into things which he knows not, and undertaking a task

sent and registered. After the voting of this letter, Dr South (as university orator) made a long oration; the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanaticks, the royal society, and new philosophy. The next of encomiasticks; in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vice-chancellor, the architect, and the painter. The last of execrations; against fanaticks, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy; damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam.* The oration being ended, some honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation dissolved. The afternoon was spent in panegyrick orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c., and crying down fanaticks."—*Neal's History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. pp. 442, 443.

which he is incapable of performing well? He tells us, that "these exclamations (of the two prisoners) excited shouts of laughter among their military attendants; but events soon occurred which rendered them all sufficiently serious." He no doubt expected that his description would excite similar shouts of laughter among his readers; and we have only to express our wish, that he may soon seriously reflect on the subject, and expunge those passages from his work, which otherwise will remain as a stain upon it, which all the applause of the thoughtless and unprincipled will not be able to cancel.*

'But what do you say to the charge against the covenanting preachers, and the coarse, vulgar, and incoherent strain of their sermons?' We say that we are not ashamed of them. We say, that if we had been then alive, we would have been among their hearers. We say that the Presbyterians in general were incomparably the best preachers at that time in Scotland. And with respect to such of them as were forced to preach in the fields, we think we can say enough to silence the silly clamour which has been raised as to their sermons. Who would require polish, or expect accurate and laboured composition, from men who were driven from their homes, and destitute of all accommodations; who were obliged to remove from one part of the

* [In reply to this serious charge, Sir Walter says, in his Review of the Tales, "Some passages occur in the work before us for which the writer's sole apology must be the uncontrollable disposition to indulge the peculiarity of his vein of humour,—a temptation which even the saturnine John Knox was unable to resist, either in narrating the martyrdom of his friend Wishart, or the assassination of his enemy Beaton, and in the impossibility of resisting which his learned and accurate biographer has rested his apology for this mixture of jest and earnest. Indeed, Dr M'Crie himself has given us a striking instance of the indulgence which the Presbyterian clergy, even of the strictest persuasion, permit to the *vis comica*. After describing a polemical work as 'ingeniously constructed, and occasionally enlivened with strokes of humour,' he transfers, to embellish his own pages (for we can discover no purpose of edification which the tale serves), a ludicrous parody made by an ignorant parish priest, on certain words of a psalm, *too sacred to be here quoted*. Our own innocent pleasantry cannot, in this instance, be quite reconciled with that of the

country to another, to escape the unremitting search of their persecutors; who durst not remain above one night in a house, and had often to conceal themselves in woods and caverns? The covenanting preachers were not in the habit of preaching extempore; they maintained no such principle as that the extraordinary aids of the Spirit rendered study or preparation unnecessary; but they would have acted a criminal and a weak part, if, in the circumstances in which they were then placed, they had refused to preach upon premeditation, or even extemporaneously, provided an unexpected opportunity offered itself. The conventicles were a principal means of preserving the cause of religion and liberty in this country; and it was of the greatest consequence that they should be maintained. It has been well said, that when the banners which the field preachers kept waving on the mountains of Scotland, and which, when dropped by one, were taken up and displayed by another, were descried in Holland, they convinced William that the spirit of freedom and of resistance was not extinct, and encouraged him to hazard the attempt which issued in the deliverance of Britain. Contracted and "cold are the selfish hearts" which can perceive nothing to admire in the conduct of such men, and which can only indulge in puling complaints that their ser-

learned biographer of John Knox; but we can easily conceive that his authority may be regarded in Scotland as decisive of the extent to which a humourist may venture in exercising his wit upon scriptural expressions, without incurring censure even from her most rigid divines." Sir Walter, no doubt, considered this a very fair piece of retaliation. He evidently refers to the extract given in a note from the "Harborow for Faithful Subjects," containing the ridiculous mistake (not parody) of the Vicar of Trumpington.—*Life of Knox*, i. 222. But who does not feel, if they cannot explain, the wide difference betwixt even the broadest laugh raised at the expense of an ignorant priest blundering Scripture, when the blunder is quoted as an historical fact, and the lurking smile or ill-suppressed sneer, occasioned by deliberately connecting the language of holy writ with ludicrous associations, so as to furnish mirth to the readers of romance? We might have been tempted to accuse Sir Walter of something very like affectation in professing to be scandalized at Dr M'Crie's pleasantry in this instance, had we not met with other examples equally striking, in which the force of prejudice has modified the taste for humour, as much as it has blunted the moral perceptions.—Ed.]

mons did not display good taste, and were devoid of elegant frippery. Such as excel most in these superficial accomplishments, are often deficient in firmness and fortitude, and are ready to act the part of those effeminate soldiers who deserted their colours lest the sword of the enemy should disfigure their pretty countenances. Had they been present, the dread of concealed informers, or apprehensions of the approach of the military, would have dissipated all the fine flowers of rhetoric which they had collected, and made "their tongue to cleave to the roof of their mouth." These were not the men for the times. It was not elegant diction, apt similes, well-turned periods, or elaborate reasonings, that the people who frequented conventicles needed. They needed to be taught the Word of God, to be confirmed in the truths for which they were called to suffer, and to have their minds prepared for that death with which they were daily threatened. What they wanted they obtained from their preachers, to whom they listened with emotions of delight, and with a tone of high feeling, to which those who ignorantly deride them have no pulse that beats responsive.

> "In solitudes like these
> Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foil'd
> A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
> There, leaning on his spear,———
> The lyart veteran heard the Word of God,
> By CAMERON thundered, or by RENWICK poured
> In gentle stream.
> "O'er their souls
> His accents soothing came,—as to her young
> The heathfowl's plumes, when at the close of eve
> She, mournful, gathers in her brood, dispersed
> By murderous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads
> Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her breast
> They cherished cower amid the purple blooms."

We do not admit that the sermons of the field preachers were ridiculously mean and incoherent. If this had been the case, we do not believe that our Melvilles, our Crawfords, our Cardrosses, our Loudons, our Maxwells, our Cesnocks, our Polwarts, and our Jerviswoods, gentlemen of good edu-

cation, and some of them possessed of very cultivated minds, would have countenanced them, and subjected themselves to fines for hearing them preach, or allowing them to preach in their houses. The field preachers had all received a liberal education; several of them were gentlemen by birth,* and others of them are known to have been highly respectable for their talents. One of the first acts of William, after he was established on the throne, was to appoint Mr Thomas Hog, whom he had known in Holland, one of his chaplains, and Mr Forrester was about the same time made a professor in one of our universities. The sermons preached at conventicles which are ordinarily circulated, are a very unsafe rule by which to judge of the talents of the preachers, and the quality of the discourses which they actually delivered. We have never been able to ascertain that one of these was published during the lifetime of the author, or from notes written by himself. They were printed from notes taken by the hearers, and we may easily conceive how imperfect and inaccurate these must often have been. We have now before us two sermons by Mr Welsh, printed at different times; and upon reading them, no person could suppose that they were preached by the same individual. The one has little

* Mr Archibald Riddel, son of Sir Walter Riddel, Mr Gabriel Semple, son of Sir Bryce Semple, Mr Blackadder of Tulliallan, and Mr Fraser of Brae.

[The impression left on the mind of the reader of Sir Walter's novel, is, that the gentry were almost wholly on the side of the Government, while the suffering Presbyterians were persons of little note, and chiefly composed of mechanics, weavers, or ploughmen. This is a gross mistake. The greater number, no doubt, of those who fell in battle, or were murdered by the way-side, were poor people; but the victims of legal prosecution were in general persons of substance and respectability, the yeomanry and gentry of the country. This point is easily decided by a glance at the lists of those who were fined and prosecuted. The truth is, that the greater part of the gentry, and the highest of the nobility, were involved in the sufferings of this period; while the most active agents of persecution were the unprincipled portion of the nobles, men of desperate fortunes, mercenary soldiers, Highland savages, and low-lifed curates; comprehending in short, all that was rude, vulgar, and illiterate in the country. The lowest ranks were, in general, either hostile or indifferent to the Presbyterian cause.—Ed.]

substance, and abounds with exclamations and repetitions; the other is a sensible and well-arranged discourse, and free from the faults of the other. We have no doubt that the memory of Mr Peden has been injured in the same way. The collection of prophecies that goes under his name is not authentic; and we have before us some of his letters, which place his talents in a very different light from the idea given of them in what are called his Sermons and his Life. It was natural, though injudicious, in well-meaning people, after the Revolution, to publish whatever came in their way, bearing to have been preached or spoken by men whom they revered so highly for their zeal, piety, faithfulness, and constancy in suffering. And it is well known, that many eminent persons have suffered severely in their reputation from similar conduct on the part of their warm and rash admirers. We do not mean by this to retract what we formerly conceded, nor to deny that some of the field preachers indulged in a style too familiar and colloquial, and were apt to employ phrases and comparisons which suggest ideas that are degrading. But we maintain that this fault was not peculiar to them or to the Presbyterian Church, and that it is less disgusting and less hurtful to the great ends of preaching than either the scholastic pedantry, or the affected finery and florid bombast which have more frequently infected the pulpit, and disfigured the sermons of those who have been most disposed to exclaim against Presbyterian vulgarity.*

Here we intended to have closed this part of our review, when the British Critic for January was put into our hands. This contains a review of the Tales of my Landlord, which induces us to make an addition to what we have said on the sermons of the Covenanters. From the known high-church tone of this Journal, we were prepared to expect that the tale of Old Mortality would be greeted by its conductors with a cordial and affectionate welcome, and that they would be prepared at once to subscribe to all its statements, and to become the heralds of its praises. They

* We had formerly occasion to make some remarks on this subject.—*Christian Instructor*, vol. vii. p. 415–417.

have even outdone our expectations; for they have improved upon the author's representation, and have pointed out the practical application of his instructions to the present times, which he was either not aware of, or too prudent and too modest to notice. After a circumstantial account, "collected from the best historians," of the assassination of Archbishop Sharp,—"a murder which, for cowardice and cruelty, has scarcely a parallel in the history of the civilized world,"—the dispassionate and well-informed critic goes on to say,—"Emboldened by the success of their first enterprise in blood, they began to *preach* (for all their leaders were preachers) *the general assassination of their enemies, and every pulpit rung with the examples of Jael and Sisera, of Ehud and Eglon.*" The Duke of Monmouth "met them *on* Bothwell Bridge in full force, their army being now increased to 8000 men. *After a desperate resistance* they were *repulsed*," &c. "Such was the rebellion, of which the tale of Old Mortality is an historical sketch." Having given various extracts from the tale, in which the anecdote respecting "the barn fanners" is not forgotten, and having panegyrized Claverhouse, whose character is said to be "drawn with no less spirit than fidelity," the critic makes the following general remarks, to which we beg the particular attention of our readers:—

"In times like these, when the spirit of fanaticism is abroad, and gathering the most fearful strength, the tale before us will be read with a deep and a foreboding interest. With the Bible in the one hand, and the sword in the other, did these wretched victims of enthusiasm march forth to slaughter and to blood. Fraud, rapine, and murder, in their minds, were consecrated by the cause in which they were engaged, and by the Gospel, under whose banners they supposed themselves enlisted. To the knowledge of Christ, like the fanatics of modern days, they laid an exclusive claim, and that claim they enforced by the breach of every command of charity and love which their heavenly Master so earnestly inculcated.

"To many of our readers, the sermons and speeches which these volumes contain, may appear a caricature rather than a portrait. We can assure them, however, that they are a very faithful transcript of the cant of those times. We have now before us a book published in 1719, entitled 'Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence,' &c., another of nearly the same date, called 'A Century of Presbyterian

Preachers,' in which will be found many discourses of the same nature. In the latter of these, extracts are given from *published* sermons, a few of which we will present to our readers."—p. 94.

Having given short extracts from two or three sermons preached before the Long Parliament, the critic adds:—

"From these few specimens of *real* covenanting eloquence, our readers will not imagine the picture before them to be a distortion or a caricature; the portrait is executed by too faithful and too well instructed a pen."

—"We must pronounce it to be a tale, which, from the spirit of the composition, the truth of the colouring, and the warning which it holds out to this church and nation, demands a most serious and attentive consideration."—pp. 95, 97.

If there are any of our readers who doubted as to the pernicious tendency of the Tales, or as to the propriety of the notice which we have taken of them, the extracts which we have now given must have removed their doubts. Here we perceive that the old spirit of malignancy was not dead, but only asleep, and ready to spring up whenever the least encouragement was given to it. The war-whoop is sounded against fanaticism—the fanatics of former times are identified with those of the present day—and the mad attempt is renewed of accusing persons holding certain religious principles of abetting designs of the worst kind. Before reading this article, we were apprehensive that we had dwelt too long upon some of the topics treated in the preceding pages; but now we are satisfied that there was need for enlarging instead of retrenchment. We do not mean to expose the gross misrepresentations of historical fact in the review, and we may afterwards have an opportunity of considering the charges affecting the moral character of the Covenanters. At present, we confine ourselves to what the critic says of their sermons. We had previously looked out a number of passages in the sermons of Episcopalians, English and Scots, to set in opposition to the representation which the author of the Tales has given of Presbyterian preaching. But although we were fully aware of the tendency of his work, and the handle that would be made of it, yet, being averse to recrimination, and aware of the

delicacy of the subject, we laid them aside, and resolved to suppress them. But after the attack which has been made by the organ of the high-church party, we consider ourselves as imperiously called upon to bring them forward. It may be of some use in checking their disposition to have recourse to this method of abuse, to show them that Episcopalians have preached from the pulpit, and published from the press, things far more unsuitable, ridiculous, extravagant, vulgar, and violent, than ever were uttered by Presbyterian preachers.

We shall begin with the Lord Bishop of London. The following extracts are from a sermon which his Lordship preached, on occasion of the marriage of the Princess Royal, and which accordingly may be supposed to have been none of his worst. The text is Psalm cxxviii. 3: "Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine by the sides of thy house."—"*Uxor tua* may well be the subject of the proposition, for it is the subject, the *prior terminus*, the ὑποκειμενον, that is substantiall, fundamentall terme of all mankind, της εις τον βιον εισοδε θυρα, the gate of entrance into living. Hence began the world,—*God builded the woman* (*ædificat costam, finxit hominem*; man was *figmentum*, woman *ædificium*, an artificiall building), and from the rafter or planke of this rib is the world built. Therefore was Heva called *mater viventium, the mother of the living; quia mortali generei immortalitatem parit—she is the meanes to continue a kind of immortalitie amongst the mortall sonnes of men.* No sooner was *man* made, but presently also a *woman*, not animal *occasionatum*, a creature upon occasion, nor *mas læsus*, a male with maime and imperfection, &c."—"*Vir* and *uxor*, man and wife, are *primum par, fundamentum parium*, the first original match of all others. All other couples and paires, as father and sonne, maister and servant, king and subject, come out of this paire. The beginning of families, cities, countries, continents, the whole habitable world, the militant, yea and triumphant church, *mater matris ecclesiæ*, the mother of the mother church, of no small part of the kingdome of heaven, is *uxor tua*, this subject of my text,

out of this combination, it all springeth. No marriage, no men; no marriage, no saints. *The wife* is the mother of virgins that are no wives (*Laudo connubium quia generat virgines*, saith Hierome γυναικομασστιξ); no generation, no regeneration; no multiplying beneath, no multiplying above; no filling the earth, not so much filling the heavens; if not *filii seculi*, neither will there be *filii cœli*."—"We have found the treasure, wee must adde the cabinet to keep the treasure. *Thy* wife, not *uxor vestra*, one woman to many men, against the doctrine of the Nicolaitans; not *uxores tuæ*, many women to one man, against the encroachment of Lamech; not *uxor tua et non tua*, to take and leave, put on and put off, as thou doest thy coat. *Uxor tua* is as much to say, as *tu et uxor*, *uxor et tu*, no more, no fewer, no other, &c."—"*Sicut vitis abundans.* If there were nothing more than *sicut*, that word alone might suffice. The woman at her first creation was made to be a *sicut*, &c."—"(*Sicut vitis.*) A tree and a man or a woman, how nearly do they symbolize. The roote of the tree is the mouth to convey it nourishment; the pith or heart of the tree is the matrice, belly, or bowels; the knots, the nerves; the fissures or concavities, the veines; the rinde, the skinne; the boughes, the armes and limms; the sprigges, the fingers; the leaves, the haire; the fruit, unlesse the tree be barren, the children, &c.," &c. *

Our next extracts shall be from "The Merchant Royall," preached at the marriage of a Scots nobleman—the Right Hon. the Lord Hay. The text is Proverbs xxxi. 14: "Shee is like a merchant ship, she bringeth her food from afarre." —"She is like a ship, &c." "Shee is indeed, and yet shee scarce is, and therefore because shee is so scarce, it was needful to show, not onely what shee is, but also what shee is like to; for how shall hee find her that never saw her, that never had her, that scarce heard of her; how shall he find her, but by some sensible resemblance of her?

* *Vitis Palatina:* a sermon appointed to be preached at Whitehall, upon the Tuesday after the Marriage of the Ladie Elizabeth her Grace. By the Bishop of London. 1615.

and therefore as Cantic. v., when the Church cried her husband (I charge you, &c.), shee described him by resemblance: *My well beloved is white and ruddie*, &c.: every thing was like somthing, so of the virtuous woman it is said here, that she is like a shippe; and Proverbs xii., shee is like a crowne; and in the Canticles, sometimes like a rose, sometimes like a lilly, sometimes like a spring of waters. In a word, she is like to many thinges; but as it is said, ver. 10, *Pearles and precious stones are not like to her*."—" If she be good, she is like a ship indeed, and to nothing so like as to a shippe; for she sits at the sterne, and by discretion as by carde and compasse shapes her course; her countenance and conversation are ballased with sobernesse and gravitie; her sailes are full of wind, as if some wisdome from above had inspired or blowne upon her; she standeth in the shrowdes, and casteth out her leade, and when she hath sounded, she telleth (as Michol did to David) of depth and danger. If by default she be grounded, she casteth out her ancors (as Rahab did), and by winding of herselfe, shee gets afloate againe. If she spy within her kenning any trouble to bee nigh, either shee makes forward, if shee find herself able, or else, with Pilat's wife she sets saile away. She commands and countermands each man to his charge, some to their tackling, some to the mast, some to the maine-top; as if shee, and none but shee, were captaine, owner, master of the ship; and yet she is not master, but master's mate. A royall shippe she is, for the king himself takes pleasure in her beauty, Psalm xlv.; and if shee bee a merchant's too, then is shee the merchant royall."—" But of all qualities, a woman must not have one quality of a ship, and that is too much rigging. Oh, what a wonder it is to see a ship under saile, with her tacklings, and her masts, and her tops and top-gallants; with her upper decks and her neither decks, and so bedeckt with her streames, flags, and ensignes, and I know not what. Yea, but a world of wonders it is, to see a woman created in God's image, so miscreat ofttimes and deformed, with her French, her Spanish, and her foolish fashions, that he that made her, when he lookes upon her,

shall hardly know her with her plumes, her fans, and a silken vizard, with a ruffe like a saile, yea, a ruffe like a raine-bow, with a feather in her cap like a flag in her top, to tell (I thinke) which way the wind will blow."—"*Shee is like a ship of merchants;* therefore first to be reckoned (as yee see) among the laytie; not like a fisherman's boat, not like St Peter's ship, for Christ did call noe she-apostles."—"Shee is like a merchant ship, that is, a friendly fellow and peaceable companion to him, but not a man of war to contend with him. For he that made her never built her for battaile; sure shee was built for peace and not for warre, for merchants weepe to thinke of warre; therefore she must not for every angry word of her husband, betake herself into the gun-roome straight, and there to thunder, to charge and discharge upon him with broad swords, or as mariners say at sea, to turne the broade side, like Ziporah, the wife of Moses, to raile upon him, 'Thou art indeed a bloody husband.'—Exod. iv. This is no ship of merchants, this is the *Spite*, I thinke," &c.—"But what meaneth Solomon by that, *From a farre, she bringeth her food from a farre?* Surely not to answere that which is proverbially said, that far fetcht and deare bought is fittest for ladies; as now a daies, what groweth at home is base and homely, and what every one eates is meat for dogs; and wee must have bread from one countrie, and drinke from another, and we must have meat from Spain, and sauce out of Italie; and if we weare any thing, it must be pure Venetian, Roman, or Barbarian; but the fashion of all must be French; and as Seneca saith in another case, *victi victoribus leges dederunt*, wee give them the foile, and they give us the fashion. Therefore this was not Solomon's meaning, but *from a farre* either hath respect to the time, *a longinquo tempore*, as it seemeth to be expounded in the very next words, *she riseth while it is yet night, and giveth the portion to her household*, &c. Hee doth not say shee meeteth it at the doore, as shee that riseth to dinner, and then thinkes her daies work halfe done, and for every fit of an idle fever betakes her straight to her cabbin again; and if her finger but ake, shee must have one stand by to feede

her with a spoone; this is no ship of merchants, this is the *Mary Slug*," &c.—" Ladies and gentlemen, I beseech you mistake me not, and impute not partiality to me. If I have said any thing sharpely, yet know, I have said nothing against the good, but all against evil women; yea, nothing against the sex, but all against the sinnes of women," &c.*

The " Incomparable Jewel" may furnish another specimen of Episcopalian eloquence. In the " Epistle Dedicatorie," the author says:—" The historicall naration calls for not onely a *Tullian* orator, but for a *Tertullian*, to shew it to life; and that requires a just volume too. For if there be a mercuriall quillibet, who can, in his quodlibeticall capacity, comprehend an immensitie, or in his sublimated braine define an infinity, or in his stupendious presumption dares take upon him to relate an *infandum* (and of such an Utopian *minus* I utterly despaire), then may it be as well shewed how two minds may breathe in one breast, and one mind may live in two hearts."

The text is Prov. xxxi. 10: " Who can find a vertuous woman? For her price is farre above rubies." " The *Quære*, as an inlet, runs into foure rills. The *first* is the indefiniteness of the question: *Who?*—who, I say, among all? *Secondly*, the difficultie of the question: *Who can?* which, albeit, it be difficult, yet it is feasible; for an act tending thereunto is implied, *Who can finde?* which implies seeking. Some by seeking find them *sans question:* the reason is manifest; for the evangelical precept *seeke*, hath an angelicall promise annexed, *and ye shall finde*. *Thirdly*, the subject, or rather object: What? *A Woman. Who can finde a woman?* Alas! what more easie to finde than that creature. She is no *Ostium Nili*. Yea, but that's not all. The quality is the question, and that's the knot: *Who can finde a vertuous woman?* which is the fourth rill that the quære runs into."

" The *Quære* is rationall, and discloseth itself into five parcels. For, *first*, God's wisdome resembles her to a jowell

* The Merchant Royall: a sermon preached at Whitehall before the King's Majesty, at the Nuptialls of the Right Honourable the Lord Hay and his Lady, upon Jan. 6th, 1607.

in the generall. *Secondly*, to a rubie, in particular. *Thirdly*, in pluralitie, to rubies. *Fourthly*, superlatively, above rubies. *Fiftly* and *lastly*, super-superlatively, farre above rubies. This is the *quære*, and herein I finde pricelesnesse."

"A vitious woman, and death, are two of the bitterest things in the world. The case is all one with the comique conceit. The day that a man marrieth such an one, is all one as if his friend should bid him goe home and hang himselfe. Such a monster as shee is, shall be brought out into the congregation, and examination shall be had of her children; her children shall not take root, and her branches shall bring forth no fruit; a shameful report shall shee leave, and the stinke of her reproach shall not be put out. A vitious woman in her choleric mood is a *pyromantick* divell; in her melancholy and sullen fits, a *geomantick* hobgoblin; in her phlegmatic disposition, a *hydromantick* hydra; and in her sanguine and best condition, an *æromantick* mushrome. *Concipit æthera mente; mens levior vento*, tossed up and down with every fancie. I have read of Cardanus his father, how hee conjured up seven divels at once. Hee that marrieth a vitious wife hath no need to send to a conjurer; he shall see the seven deadly sinnes ruling, reigning, and raging in his empousa, as the seven divels in Mary Magdalene, while she was yet no convert. The poor man then hath no remedie but prayer and patience, and fast he must too; for this kinde of divels goeth not out but by prayer and fasting."

"Weigh your wives, then, good men, you that have them."

"If they prove counterfeit and light, surely they are not pearls but bugles, light every way. In their heels like the corke there; in their heads like the feather in their caps; and in their hands like their foolish fanne. If you meet with such, sing,

> Quid levius Pluma? Flamen: quid Flamine? Flamma:
> Quid Flamma? Mulier: quid Muliere? o.

"The *Hierogliphiques* describe and pourtraite a woman sitting upon a shell-snaile, when they would signify a good housewife; for as that creature carries an house upon its

back, so the good housewife will keep her house over her head, and stay within doors, unless she have urgent occasions abroad. She is not of the tribe of Gad, to be a gadder abroad caulesly, as commonly they doe who are such gadders, and come home crackt, as did wandering Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, when shee went gadding to see the fashions of the country."

"Doe you thinke that you are vertuous women in these and such like fantasticks? Or when you get upon one joynt of your least finger, a Sardonix, a Smaragd, a Jasper, and a Diamond, as the fond, foolish, phantastick courtier, Stella in Martial is said to weare? or when, like Lollia Paulina, ye go beset and bedeckt all over with emerauds and pearles ranged in rowes one by another, round about your Tires, Caules, Borders, Peruges of haire, Boongraces, Chaplets, Carcanets, upon your wrists in Bracelets, upon your fingers with rings? that yee glitter and shine again as yee mince along; what with all these can you make of yourselves, but idle housewives and idols of vanity?"

"Let the case be put, that this vertuous man finds a vertuous wife. O how sweet is that conjunction! the blessing is doubled to either, the relation is Cherubicall, the reflection Seraphicall, the consummation of their loves Angelical."*

"As King Richard bestowed himselfe diversly at his death, so must wee in life. Bohemia claimes a part in our loue, the Palatinate a part, the churches abroad, our brethren at home, a part; at home, in selling, we must be buyers; in lending, borrowers; in visiting, patients; in comforting, mourners; abroad, we must in our owne peace consider their warres, feele them panting, see them bleeding, heare them scriching, 'O husband, O wife, O my child, my child; O mother, mother, mother, my father is slaine, my brother is torne, my legge is off, my guts be out, halfe dead, halfe aliue, worse than either, because neither.' O that wee had hearts to bleede over them, and to pray for the peace of Ierusalem."—"Yes, you lawyers (to instance) must be

* The Incomparable Jewell, 1632.

common blessings, and not seeke your owne; you must (with Papinian) reiect bad causes, and ripen good; there goes but a paire of sheares between a protracting lawyer and cheating mountebanke, that sets his client backward and forward like a man at chesse, and proves a butcher to the sillie sheepe, which ran to him from the grasier." "You landlords must be common too,—a poore man in his house is like a snayle in his shell, crush that and you kill him; say, therefore with thy selfe, my tennant is a man, not a beast; were he a beast, yet a righteous man is mercifull to his beast; a breeding bird must not haue her nest destroyed, a yong kidd must not be sod in his mother's milke; what will become of me and mine, if I destroy the nest of breeding Christians, and having chopt them to the pot, seethe old and yong in one anothers blood?" *

In the Epistle Dedicatory of his Two Sermons to the Lower House of Parlament, 1624, Mr Thomas Taylor says,—"Whereas the Babylonians have mightily increased of late in their hopes, numbers, and strength, not onely those forraigne frogs and locusts, the Priests and Iesuits, have in great armies invaded our countrey, but our home adversaries have greatly multiplied, and recusants risen up everie where with great hopes of raising up the ruinous wals of Ierico againe. We (fearing lest these sonnes of Zeruiah may grow too strong for us) doe trust and pray, that your wisdomes provide that these frogs may be taken away from us and our people, and confined to their owne sea and rivers, for the heaps of them stinke in the land; that their merchandise be vendible no more, that their base coines be no more currant amongst us; nor such strange children (brats of Babylon) nourished any more amongst us, unlesse they will doe as the Kenites who joyned to the Iewes.

"Looke backe, worthy Gentlemen, upon the zeal and former love of your famous predecessors, who pulled downe the nests of these antichristian birds. Cause the uncleane birds that flutter againe about us, with some hopes to roust and nestle among us (if that only would serve their turnes),

* Harris's Sermon at St Paul's Crosse on the last of June 1622.

to know the prudence and circumspection of so grave, wise, and godly a Senate."

In the first sermon, entitled, "Fly out of Romish Babel," he says,—"Here Rome and Babylon, for the similitude and resemblance with it, so as one egge is not liker another than Rome and Babylon."—"For assistance we may lend Babylon no hand to uphold her, we are commanded not to seeke the prosperity of Babel all our daies, because the Lord hath devoted her to destruction, but especially those whose hands and swords God hath sanctified to this purpose; whensoeuer God shall put it into their hearts, they want neither charge nor calling to reward her as she hath rewarded them; as she hath levied forces against the princes of the earth, so must they levie forces against her; and the cup of death and wrath, which she hath filled to them, they must fill her the double."

The second sermon, entitled, "The Utter Ruine of Romish Amalek," has the following passages:—"We never want a valorous and victorious Ioshua, to lead us and fight for us against Amalek. That Ioshua was a noble generall, with whom the Lord was, and none was able to stand before him, so as he set his foot on the necks of five kings at once; but he was but a type and shadow of our Ioshua, a mighty captaine, and an heavenly leader, that great Michael, that treadeth upon the necks of all kings and tyrants that rise up in armes against him and his people."—"As Israel had not only Ioshua fighting in the valley, but also Moses praying on the hill; so wee have many Mosesses lifting up hands and praiers, which are powerfull and prevalent against Amalek."

If it be alleged that the sermons from which we have quoted were delivered during the first part of the 17th century, and that the mode of English preaching was greatly improved, we shall give a few specimens of what was preached during the reign of Charles II. And we shall do this in the language of an orthodox son of the Church of England, Dr John Eachard. "It seems pretty hard," says the Doctor, "at first sight, to bring into a sermon all the circles

of the globe, and all the frightfull tearms of astronomy. But I'll assure you, Sir, it is to be done, because it has been; but not by every bungler and ordinary text-divider, but by a man of great cunning and experience." Of this the Doctor gives a specimen from a sermon on the prophecy of Malachi, chap. iv. ver. 2: "'But unto you that fear my name, shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.' From which words, in the first place, it plainly appears, that the sun of righteousness passed through all twelve signs of zodiack. And more than that too, all proved by very apt and familiar places of Scripture. First then, he was in Aries; or else what means that of the Psalmist? 'The mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like lambs.' And again, that in the second of the Kings, ch. iii. ver. 4: 'And Mesha King of Moab was a sheep-master, and rendered unto the king of Israel an hundred thousand lambs;' and what follows? 'and an hundred thousand rams, with the whool.' Mind it; it was the king of Israel. In like manner was he in Taurus, Psal. xxii. 12: 'Many bulls have compassed me; strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round.' They were not ordinary bulls. They were compassing bulls, they were besetting bulls, they were strong Bashan bulls. What need I speak of Gemini? Surely you cannot but remember Jacob and Esau, Gen. xxv. 24: 'And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold there were twins in her womb.' Or of Cancer? when as the Psalmist says so plainly, 'What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back?' Nothing more plain. It were as easie to show the like in all the rest of the signs."—"O how it tickled the divider when he had got his text into those two excellent branches; *accusatio vero, comminatio severa.* A charge full of verity; a discharge full of severity. And I'll warrant you that did not please a little, viz., there is in the words *duplex miraculum; miraculum in modo;* and *miraculum in nodo.* But the luckyest that I have met withal, both for wit and keeping the letter, is upon those words of St Matt. xii. 43, 44, 45: 'When the unclean

spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and finding none. Then he saith, I will return,' &c. In which words all these strange things were found out. First, there was a captain and castle. Do ye see, Sir, the same letter? Then there was an ingress, an egress; and a regress, or re-ingress. Then there was unroosting and unresting. Then there was number and name, manner and measure, trouble and tryall, resolution and revolution, assaults and assassination, voidness and vacuity. This was done at the same time, by the same man; but, to confess the truth of it, 'twas a good long text, and so he had the greater advantage."—"But for a short text, that certainly was the greatest break that ever was; which was occasioned from those words of St Luke xxiii. 28: 'Weep not for me, weep for yourselves,' or, as some read it, 'but weep for yourselves.' It is a plain case, Sir, here's but eight words, and the business was so cunningly ordered, that there sprung out eight parts,—'Here are,' sayes the Doctor, 'eight words, and eight parts. 1. Weep not. 2. But weep. 3. Weep not, but weep. 4. Weep for me. 5. For yourselves. 6. For me, for yourselves. 7. Weep not for me. 8. But weep for yourselves.'"—"Neither ought he to be altogether slighted, who taking that of Gen. xlviii. 2 for his text, viz., 'And one told Jacob and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee;' presently perceived and made it out to the people, that 'his text was a spiritual dial. For,' says he, 'here be in my text twelve words, which do plainly represent the twelve hours. Twelve words: And one told Jacob, and said, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee. And here is besides, *Behold*, which is the hand of the dyal, that turns and points at every word in the text. And one told Jacob, and said, behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee. For it is not said, Behold Jacob, or behold Joseph; but it is, And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee. That is to say, Behold and. Behold one. Behold told. Behold Jacob. Again, Behold and. Behold said. (And also:) Behold, behold, &c. Which is the reason that this word *behold* is placed in the

middle of the other twelve words, indifferently pointing at each word. Now, as it needs must be one of the clock before it can be two or three; so I shall handle this word *and*, the first word in the text, before I meddle with the following. *And* one told Jacob: This word *and* is but a particle, and a small one; but small things are not to be despised; St Matt. xviii. 10: 'Take heed that you despise not one of these little ones.' For this *and* is as the tackes and loops amongst the curtains of the tabernacle. The tackes put into the loops did couple the curtains of the tent, and sew the tent together, so this particle *and* being put into the loops of the words immediately before the text, does couple the text to the foregoing verse, and sewes them close together." *

The following specimen of orthodox and loyal preaching by divines of the Church of England, during the Long Parliament, should have been inserted before the extracts furnished by Dr Eachard. But it would be unpardonable to omit it altogether; as, besides preserving a very curious anecdote respecting Border antiquities, it contains one of the most edifying reasons for passive obedience, and one of the most pleasant apologies for persecution, that our readers probably have any where met with. Dr Stephens, in a sermon preached at St Mary's, Cambridge, in 1642, on Judges xxi. 25, says, "I have heard the prophet David suspected by some as partial in his own cause, just like the northern Borderers, who conceived the eighth commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal,' to be none of God's making, but foisted in by Henry Eighth, to shackle their thievish fingers;—but I dare oppose the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans against the power of men or devils, which would trample upon the necks of kings. Suppose thy king very wicked, he hath more need of thy prayers to make him better; suppose him to be a tyrant, he will give thee the fairer occasions to exercise thy virtue of patience; suppose him to be a persecutor, he'll do thee courtesie, he'll send thee to heaven by violence." (P. 27-29.)

* The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, p. 53, 67, 68, 69. Lond. 1670.

We have room for only a few specimens of the discourses of Scots Episcopalians. The first of these that we shall mention is a sermon preached by Dr Alexander Ross, Professor of Theology at Glasgow, before the Circuit Court of Justiciary, held in that city on the 14th October 1684, and afterwards printed. We have not met with the sermon, but Mr Wodrow, who possessed it, has given a very particular account of its contents, and none who has compared his history with his authorities, will call in question either his fidelity or his accuracy. In his dedication to the judges, the Doctor tells them, that "their incomparable zeal and dexterity, whereby they managed the court, was incredibly to the advantage of a decayed religion and loyalty in that corner." "His text," says Wodrow, "was Acts xxvi. 28: 'Thou almost persuadest me to be a Christian.' But if the Professor hath preached as he hath printed, which nobody will question, I may apply Cowley's character:

'He reads his text, and takes his leave of it.'

"I will (says the preacher), 1*st*, Shew the different parties of our divided *Zion*. 2*dly*, The malignancy of the national sin of schism. 3*dly*, The necessity of Episcopacy for supporting the main concerns of Christianity. *Lastly*, The application."—"One cannot help thinking," continues Wodrow, "he might fully as well have chosen Gen. i. 1 for a text for this subject. Indeed, to these he premises a general account of Christianity, as he calls it, that he might have a hit at the disfigured faces, and hideous tones of some people;—and them he charges with being the occasions of the nation's heavy taxes, and points them out as the authors of all the confusions, rebellions, assassinations, and daily tumults in this kingdom; and, after a great many ill names of the declarations at Sanquhar, Rutherglen, &c., he gives a broad innuendo upon the Reformation, complaining that the nation lies under the reproach of ruined cathedrals and metropolitical sees; and then, in his deep oratory, descants upon Bishop Sharp's monument; and after some dry satyr upon the remaining inclinations of so many towards Presbytery, he handles the evil of the sin of schism; and, by

some threadbare arguments, a hundred times answered, the Doctor endeavours to show the usefulness of Episcopacy to remove schism, heat, and many ill things in the Church of Scotland, since her reformation by Presbyters. And for application, after he hath taken notice how unsuitable it is for an evangelical pastor to whet the sword of justice, and press severities, he comes gravely to tell the judges that they will be justified in whatever severe methods they find proper, by the malignancy of the present schism, and the inveteracy of the distemper; and presses them to take the harshest ways with such as threaten the very extinction of Christianity, and concludes with acquainting them, the Church is like to suffer more from her present enemies than ever she did from Nero and Dioclesian. Here the native spirit of the orthodox clergy breathes freely; and after he hath pointed out the persecuted party and Presbyterians in the most odious colours, and when he hath wiped his mouth, and condemned himself in what follows, he plainly hounds out the judges to wholsome severities, and tells them, though they come the length of persecution, it is no more than the schismaticks deserve, being worse than Nero and Dioclesian." Wodrow adds, "After the teaching and breathing out so much cruelty and severity in so publick a manner, I wish, for their own sakes at least, the prelatick party would be a little less clamorous upon the extremities and excesses some few of the sufferers were at this time driven to by the oppression thus preached upon them." * Not having seen the sermon, we cannot say whether the Professor employed as vulgar abuse as his brother, Dr. Canaries, who calls the persecuted Presbyterians "the very dregs and feculency of mankind, on the account both of their birth and breeding, but especially so because of their very souls and immortalities, as being such a herd of dull, and untractable, and whining, and debaucht animals, as scarcely go beyond those of the hogs and goats which ever any of them was only born for to attend." And as for the severities inflicted by Government on such creatures:—"The worst is to be flung over a

* Wodrow, ii. 415, 416.

ladder, or for one's neck to be tied to a beam, and then to have a sledge driven out under him." *

After the Revolution, the *Thirtieth of January* became the grand day for the display of Scots Episcopalian eloquence and loyalty. We have before us a great number of sermons preached "as on this day;" but at present we can find room for extracts from only two of them; the one a specimen of genuine rhetoric, and the other of deep and sound judgment. The text of the first of these is Exod. xx. 12: "Honour thy father and thy mother;" and the sermon begins thus—"My text lyes here inclosed within a sacred cabinet of orient gems, and pearles of great price, to witt, in this chapter containing the ten commandments, which are indeed so many rich and precious jewels, shining in the mid'st of darkness. Or, they are like the golden candlestick of the sanctuary, Exod. xxv. 31, *his shaft*, and his *branches*, his *bowls*, and his *knops*, and his *flowers*, with all his *lamps* of pure gold, shining with their native brightness and splendour, and enlightning all that are content to be guided by their light."—"'Tis the great glory, and has been the blessing of this kingdom, that God (by whom kings reign) gave us princes, who, for their royal endowments, may be reckoned amongst the best of kings and princes of this earthly globe. For how many ages have they run down the squadrons of our enemies! and raised to their names everlasting trophees, by their admirable courage and conduct, in defending our ancestours, their liberty, their lands and heritages, against puissant and inveterate enemies? Our princes in stormie times have been our refuge under GOD, and our shelter. Nor were we ever overcome by humane force, while we kept *fidelitie* to our GOD, and *loyalty* to our *princes*. And if at any time the bright sun of monarchy amongst us suffered an eclipse, it happened always by the dreadful interposition of the misty clouds of *impiety* and *disloyaltie*."—"O thrice cursed blow that struck the head from the head of these nations! The mirrour of manhood, the nursing father of

* Discourse representing the sufficient manifestation of the will of God, pp. 187, 192, anno 1684.

the Church, the ornament of religion, the glory of Christianity! who died a faithful martyr, and is buried in the everlasting monuments of Fame; of whom history (the world's looking-glass and time's recorder) shall make honourable mention to all generations. 'Tis but needless to speak much of him, the deprivment of whose excellencies can't better be shadowed out by the skilfullest pensil, than by covering it over with the vail of silence. For what can my words but wrong his perfections, his virtues, and excellencies, which the British world, and the Church of Christ were deprived of, by the bloodie hands of wretched miscreants? O execrable, O unparallelled villanie, and to be remembered with continual lamentation!"—"Scotland then did weep (like *Rachel*) for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not. Our enemies displayed their proud banners against our walled towns, and raised up their loftie and swelling rampiers against our fortified places. The great ordinance (that fatal engine invented for the destruction of mankind), in manner of a great earthquake, so terribly roared and thundred, that the earth seemed not only to tremble under men's feet, but by and by to rend in sunder, and swallow them up. The air became thick, and the skie darkened with the smoak of the great artillery. Then were the walls of our towns made saltable, and the enemy (who glistered in their bright armour) approaching, some assaulted the breaches, others, with their scaling ladders, scaled the walls. Then followed the noise of small shot, the clashing of armour, the neighing of horses, the sound of the trumpet, the beating of drums, and other warlick instruments, with the lamentable outcryes and pitiful groans of dying men, which was so confused and so great, as if heaven and earth had been confounded together." *

The other sermon is by the celebrated champion of Episcopacy, Mr Robert Calder. The text is Gen. xlix. 5–7. Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations, *or*, as the preacher renders the words,

* A Sermon preached on the xxx day of January 1703–4, at Coupar of Fife, by Mr Al. Auchinleck.

Instruments of crueltie are their covenants. And in their self-will, they digged down a wall; "that is, in their willfullness, they broke down the fences. Others render it from the Hebrew, *an Ox*, and so by a metaphor it will signifie *a prince with strength and power.* Others placing the singular for the plural, make it *Oxen*, and so the meaning to be, They took away the Shechemites' cattell, xxxiv. Gen. 28. They took their sheep, their oxen, and their asses," &c.—"In the fourth place, I come to the application; and here I shall consider, 1. Who was murthered? 2. By whom? 3. By what means? 4. When? 5. On what pretences? 1*st*, Who? A *man*, a *prince*, a *Christian*, yea, and a *martyr* for the Christian religion."—"In the second place, let us consider, By whom? The answer is, by Simeon and Levi, brethren in iniquitie, by a prevailing partie in Scotland and England, the one the Judas that betray'd him, the other the Pontius Pilat that crucified him; and to deal verie plainly, they were the Presbyterians and Independents, two fraternities pretending to a further step of reformation, and a greater distance from the antichrist, and so others have reform'd from them, till thereby religion is dwindled into air, and enthusiastick whimsies, and have reform'd themselves, out of all forms, except it be a form of godliness, the power whereof they deny."—"It is by virtue of these principles, that the gentlemen of the *Calves-head-Club* meet together upon this day to stick their knives in a calve's head, thereby engageing themselves in an unitie to extirpate monarchie out of Britain, and to mock the humiliations and devotions of the day out of the Church. These gentlemen act conform to the Covenanters' principles, which took off the King's head. For, as a learned penn saith, 'Tis not the meat, but the principle that makes those feasts detestable. For trulie if the people be supream and soveraign, the King was judg'd and sentenc'd by his proper judges. Yea, let me ad another consideration by way of question: Is not the calve's-head feast as lawfull as the public thanksgivings that the Covenanters appointed for any victories they got when fighting against the King?"—"The next particular to be

considered, is, When? As to the day of the month, it was this 30 of Januarie, where the second lesson appointed for morning prayer, is the historie of our Saviour's passion, which his Majestie thought Dr Juxton, his confessor, had chosen purposlie for his case, but being informed that it was the ordinarie lesson of the day, he was exceedingly comforted. As to the year, it was the fatal 164$\frac{8}{9}$. Then it was that all things turned upside down, that servants turned masters, and masters slaves; then it was that the spirit of the sword turn'd out the sword of the Spirit; then a king was chang'd into a protector, a covenant brought in for a creed, and a liturgie was exchang'd for a directorie. Then were taverns turn'd into temples, tubbs into pulpits, mechanicks turn'd ministers, and ministers ston'd like the old prophets. Churches were made stables for horses, or folds for cattell; the house of prayer was made a den of thieves, or a synagogue for Sathan: then it was that the new gospell turn'd out the old, and extempore excluded the paternoster.—And then a notable design was set on foot for enlarging the body of Protestants, which was to make an incorporate union with the Turks.—Nay, then a days, the Jews could obtain their petition for S. Paul's church to be a synagogue for the 500,000 lib., which they offered to the usurping and arbitrary rulers, but the new reformers found they could not spare it, from being a guard-house to keep the city of London in obedience; and had this held, there is no doubt but Moses had thrust out Christ, and the two tables the four Evangelists."—"Lastly, let us seriously pour out our souls before God, for our national and personal sins; particularly the sin of rebellion, that God may not pour down the vials of his wrath on the land. Let us pray that the principles for which he suffered may be revived, and become the practice of this land. Let the memory of Charles I., as a King and a Christian, become to us as musick to the ear, and honey to the mouth; and let the name of Cromwell and Bradshaw become as odious to British subjects, as the name of Judas and Pontius Pilat are to Christians.

"From the spirit of Core, Dathan and Abiram, Absalom and Achitophel, Balaam and Judas, Good Lord deliver us." *

The importunity and insolence of the British Critic has extorted these extracts from us; and if he shall come forward with his whole "century of Presbyterian preachers," we shall be prepared to confront them with *two* centuries. We have some little acquaintance with the history of Episcopacy in England and Scotland, both secret and public; and we think also that we know something of what its defenders, whether clerks or cavaliers, can produce against Presbyterians on the score of imprudence or of violence. The aggression has been on their side; we have appeared on the defensive; and being satisfied that this is our duty, we shall not shrink from its performance.†

* A Sermon preach'd on the Barbarous and Bloodie Murder of the Royal Martyr, King Charles the First, 1708.

† [It says much for the reviewer's forbearance and good taste, that he did not suffer himself to be so far provoked by the effrontery of the British Critic, as to borrow any of his materials from the Answers to "Scots Presbyterian Eloquence;" for although these tracts might have furnished him with much more ridiculous specimens of the Episcopal curates, than those above quoted, they are accompanied with such disclosures, that it were better, for the sake of our common religion, to allow them to remain in oblivion. Knowing this, it is truly astonishing how the British Critic could venture to name the book which drew forth such answers.—Ed.]

PART III.

AMONG the delinquencies of the author of the Tales, we consider it as none of the least, that his work is highly calculated to foster those mistaken and unfavourable notions which the people of England entertain of his countrymen during the period of which he writes. Of this we have already seen a very convincing proof in the language held by the British Critic. As an additional proof, we may appeal to the British Review for January. That work is conducted on principles unspeakably more moderate and liberal than the British Critic; and, accordingly, the notice which it takes of the Tales, is marked with candour, and a regard to critical justice. It begins very fairly, by giving a short narrative of the oppressions which the Covenanters endured; and it concludes with expressing a suspicion, (for what person of judgment could fail to suspect?) that the work has "infused too much absurdity and ferocity into the character of the Covenanters,"—"that its features are too much on the confines of caricature,"—and that it "displays too little sensibility to the crimes and cruelties of the royalists." But the reviewer was destitute of that knowledge which could enable him to detect the errors which he suspected, or which could preserve him from adopting others of which he entertained no suspicion. The reader may take the following specimen:—"Six bishops were consecrated, and sent off to Edinburgh in one coach, to graft prelacy upon the kirk; to *substitute a regular liturgy for inspired effusions*;

to impose forms and ceremonies upon a people, who, in the height of their spiritual fervours, regarded all forms and ceremonies with the bitterest scorn, and to destroy the darling equality of Presbytery, by *elevating huge monopolizers of church power and jurisdiction.*" * Whether there were six bishops consecrated at London, or only four, we do not reckon it worth while to dispute, and whether they were sent off in one coach, or in four coaches, we shall not give ourselves the trouble to inquire; but certain we are, that all that follows in that sentence, with the exception of grafting prelacy on the kirk, is an ignorant waste of empty words, which only tends to show the reviewer's rashness, in taking up a subject with which he had no proper acquaintance. It is long since we were satisfied that no dependence was to be placed upon the judgments, whether favourable or unfavourable, which English censors of the press may be pleased to pronounce upon any historical work relating to Scotland. And we should not be at all surprised to find that every one of them had adopted, as genuine, the most foolish and extravagant of the statements in the Tales, with even less qualification than has been used by the conductors of the work to which we now refer.

We would be ashamed of being found to cherish a spirit of narrow and illiberal nationality, especially towards the natives of our sister kingdom; but we confess that we have felt proud of the superior knowledge which our countrymen have displayed of the history of England, compared with the knowledge which Englishmen have of ours; and we feel proportionally humbled when we perceive a Scotsman retailing English blunders, and dressing the most crude materials with laborious trifling, to feed English prejudices at the expense of his country's honour. It is but of late that Englishmen have come to entertain correct notions of Scotland, or of the character of its inhabitants; and to this day their knowledge of its history, and of its parties, political and religious, during the 16th and 17th centuries, is extremely imperfect and erroneous. Passing over such

* British Review, No. XVIII. p. 195.

considerations as are connected with the political situation of the two countries both before and after the union of the crowns, we cannot refrain here from adverting to a few facts which serve to account for this singular phenomenon. During the infamous administration of Arran (Captain James Stuart), when the national liberties were overthrown along with Presbytery, a libellous attack on the proceedings of the Scottish nation and church was published under the name of a Royal Declaration. * Upon the fall of that unprincipled minister, the King disowned the Declaration, and threw the whole blame upon Archbishop Adamson, by whom it had been drawn up. But previous to this disavowal, it had, through Adamson's influence with the English bishops, been reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself, and inserted in the Chronicle then publishing by Hollinshed, from which it continued to be copied into the histories of England; while the Scots were precluded, by the peculiarity of their circumstances, from publishing any thing in their own vindication.† After James's accession to the crown of England, the pen, as well as the influence of the monarch, was employed in propagating among his new subjects, prejudices against the Presbyterian Church, and in loading the memory of its most distinguished members with every species of unfounded abuse. During the troubles excited by the imposition of the Liturgy, another calumnious declaration against the Scots Church was published by royal authority.‡ The spirited conduct

* Declaratioun of the K'ngs Majesties Intentioun and Meaning toward the lait Actis of Parliamant. Edinburgh, 1585.

† The first History of the Church of Scotland, by a Presbyterian, which came farther down than 1567, was Petrie's, published so late as 1662. The abstract of Calderwood was not printed until 1678. Those only who are intimately acquainted with the events that intervened, and with the fraud and violence practised by the court and the prelatic faction, are capable of judging how far Presbyterians were excusable, and to what degree they were culpable, in not publishing the genuine history of their proceedings, until falsehood and misrepresentation had taken such deep root as to become inexterminable.

‡ A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, from their first originals: together with a particular Deduction of the Seditious

of the Scottish nation, and the sympathy which was excited in England by a similarity of circumstances, prevented this attack from proving injurious to the cause of Presbytery. The Declaration was withdrawn; and Charles I. imitated the conduct of his father, by leaving his chaplain, Balcanquhal, to sustain the odium of that offensive publica-

Practices of the Prime Leaders of the Covenanters; collected out of their owne foule Acts and Writings, &c. By the King. London, 1639, fol. pp. 430.

The following extracts will show the spirit of this Declaration:—"The first contrivers, and since pursuers, of their late wicked covenant (their national covenant, as renewed in 1638), or pretended holy league (a name which all good men did abhorre in them of France), though following the patterne of all other seditions, they did and doe pretend religion, yet nothing was or is lesse intended by them; but that they, having received from us full satisfaction to all their desires, expressed in any of their petitions, remonstrances, or declarations, yet their persisting in their tumultuous and rebellious courses doth demonstrate to the world, their weariness of being governait by us and our laws," &c.—"These men, who give themselves out to be the onely reformers of religion, have taken such a course to undermine and blow up the religion reformed, by the scandell of rebellion and disobedience, which, so farre as in them lyeth, they have gone about to cast upon it, that if the conclave at Rome, the several colleges or congregations perpetually sitting at Rome for contriving and effecting the meanes of reducing to the Roman obedience all those kingdomes and provinces which have justly departed from them, nay, and if, with both these, all the Jesuits and others, the most specially combined and sworn enemies to our profession, were all assembled in one place, and had all their wits and devices concentrated into one conclusion and resolution, they could hardly have fallen upon such a way as these pretended reformers have fallen upon for turning all men out of the pathes of the reformed religion."—"For by their particular proceedings, truely set down in this Our Narration, it will plainly appeare, that their maxims are the same with the Jesuites; their preachers' sermons have been delivered in the very phrase and style of Becanus, Scippius, and Eudæmon Johannes; their poor arguments, which they have in their seditious pamphlets printed or written, are taken almost *verbatim* out of Bellarmine and Suarez, as appeareth to us by Our Royal Father his Monitorie Preface to all Christian Kings and Princes," &c., pp. 2, 3. All the pulpits in England, under the influence of the Court, re-echoed these charges against the Scots nation; and yet, in the following year, the very proceedings so virulently arraigned, were ratified by his Majesty as just and lawful, and the Large Declaration was condemned as a "scandalous and dishonourable treatise—full of lies and untruths."

tion. The cloud of prejudice was completely dissipated, and for several years the character of Scots Presbyterians stood high among the people of England; but no sooner was that proud and inconstant nation freed from its fears of despotism, than it began to treat the Scots, whose assistance had contributed so materially to its deliverance, with ingratitude and insult. As a glaring proof of this, it deserves to be mentioned, that the slanderous Declaration of Adamson above referred to, was at this time reprinted, and circulated with great industry, in England, not by the cavaliers, but by the sectaries, and that both in the English and Scots dialects.* During the reign of Charles II., and under the tyrannical administration of the Duke of Lauderdale, the corrupting of the public mind in England by the circulation of the most false and exaggerated accounts of Scottish affairs, was systematically pursued, and carried to an ex-

How far Charles was sincere in this matter,—what confidence could be placed in his declarations and promises, while he continued attached to his evil counsellors,—and what security the people of Scotland would have had for the enjoyment of their lately recovered rights, in the event of the King's having subjugated the Parliament of England,—it is not difficult for any one acquainted with the history of those times to determine.

* Baillie's Historical Vindication, Ep. Dedic. "That pestiferous carcasse," says Baillie, "which, with all possible infamy, was buried so soon as borne, and did lye quiet in its grave of shame till a full climacterick of threescore and three yeers, our good friends have been so wise for themselves, and kind to us, as to dig up its stinking bones, and to carry it from house to house, from shire to shire, over all England, and whereever else a printed pamphlet can goe, serving their brethren of Scotland with this curtesie according to their covenant. And least the antick face of so long buried a body should not have been looked upon by the multitude with any contentment, they did choice to be at the cost of putting it in a fine new English dresse, and setting upon its head the cape of a royall title: all to draw the eyes of the vulgar upon it, who otherwise might have passed by it with neglect and disdaine. In this they have put themselves to a peece of pains which I never knew or heard used with any other book; they do print it first in Master Adamson's owne old Scottish language, and thereafter translated it in good moderne English, setting before both the title of—A Declaration made by King James in Scotland concerning Church Government and Presbyters." Copies of these two editions, printed in 1646, are now before us.

tent of which very few are now aware. Dr Hickes, Lauderdale's chaplain, was for a number of years employed in composing the most abusive libels against the Presbyterians, and all who sought to thwart the measures of his patron; * and though none who has any regard to his own reputation for sense or candour would now refer to his writings as authorities, yet many of his most notorious falsehoods, and grossest misrepresentations, were admitted into the general history of England, and continue to this day to pollute its pages. If we add to these the assiduous efforts of the Scotch Jacobites from the Revolution to the death of Queen Anne, adverted to in a preceding part of this review, we may be able to form some adequate idea of the causes which have produced such misconceptions in the minds of Englishmen respecting the most important transactions in the history of Scotland.

It might be thought that these mistakes would have been corrected by the histories of Scotland more lately written by some of our own countrymen. But this effect has been but partially produced. This may be attributed, in a great degree, to the general and comprehensive nature of these histories; the plan adopted by their authors confining them to an exhibition of the leading facts, and precluding them from entering into more minute inquiries and details. But a regard to truth obliges us to go farther, and to state, that some of our late historians, from prejudices felt by them on the score of politics or religion, have, instead of correcting, confirmed the erroneous impressions previously made on the public mind with relation to some of the most estimable characters and important transactions in our national annals. We shall give an example of this from Mr Laing's History. In his narrative of transactions from the Restoration to the Revolution, that able historian describes, with commendable feelings of indignation, the cruelties of an oppressive and persecuting Government. At the same time, it cannot be

* The principal of these are "Ravillac Redivivus:"—"The Spirit of Popery speaking out of the mouths of Fanatical Protestants;" and "The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised."

denied, that he has been almost as liberal as Hume in applying the name of fanatics to the objects of persecution, and has exposed himself to the censure passed by the poet on his predecessor, who

> ——————— "Execrates, indeed,
> The tyranny that doomed them to the fire,
> But gives the glorious sufferers little praise."

Mr Laing shows himself unfavourable to the Covenanters at an earlier period. In general, we consider him as having failed to do justice to their enlightened zeal for civil liberty, and to their disinterestedness in the union which they formed with the English Parliament, and in the assistance which they afforded it, during the civil war. But the passage which we have immediately in our eye relates to the Scots preachers who went to London in 1640, along with the commissioners appointed to conclude the treaty begun at Rippon. "A house," says he, "was appropriated in the city for their (the Scotch Commissioners) residence: the adjacent church of St Antholin's was assigned for their devotions. They were attended by Henderson and other eminent divines; and from dawn till the Sabbath was concluded, their chapel was crowded and surrounded with multitudes of all ranks, whom the novelty of the Presbyterian worship had attracted. The conflux and insatiate resort of the people who clung to the windows when excluded from the doors, to inhale the sanctified tone and provincial accents of a barbarous preacher, has been justly ascribed to the fanatical spirit that began to predominate, which rendered them apt recipients for the fumes of devotion." * In support of this representation, Mr Laing refers to Clarendon and Hume. Now, Clarendon does not say one word about sanctified tones, provincial accent, barbarous dialect, fanatical spirit, or fumes of devotion. All that he says in proof of the bad taste of the people who crowded to hear the Scotch preachers, is, that their discourses were very "insipid and flat,"†—properties, one would be apt to conclude, not much calculated to foster

* Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 184.

† Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 151. Lond. 1702, fol.

a "fanatical spirit," or to raise "the fumes of devotion." Mr Laing must, therefore, have borrowed his representation solely from Mr Hume; and, indeed, he has merely altered the language used by that historian. Having described the crowd without doors as "catching at least some distant murmur or broken phrases of the holy rhetoric," Hume adds:—"All the eloquence of Parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, was not attended to with such insatiable avidity, as were these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and ignorance."* Now we must say, that all this is ridiculous cant, and full of ignorance; and we are surprised that a person of Mr Laing's good sense, and who well knew upon what slender grounds many of Mr Hume's descriptions rest, should have adopted such a statement. It was ridiculous cant in Mr Hume to talk in the style of applause of the refined eloquence of Parliament, and of their being "animated with the spirit of liberty," for which he felt no admiration; and we can view this in no other light than as a flourish to enable him to aim a more effectual stroke at the Scots preachers, and the exercises of religion; just as he exalted the character of Queen Mary, of whom he confesses he had no good opinion, that he might lower the reputation of the reformers of his native country. What ground had he for saying that the sermons of the Scots preachers were "delivered with ridiculous cant?" Or what good reason had he for asserting that they spoke with an "accent full of barbarism and ignorance?" We are persuaded he had none. Both he and Mr Laing seem to have taken it for granted, that the farther back we go in the history of Britain, the difference between the language of the English and Scots was the wider. The very reverse of this we believe to be the truth. They seem to have taken it for granted, that, in 1640, well educated natives of Scotland could not deliver a discourse before Englishmen of the same class without exposing themselves to ridicule by

* Hume's History, chap. 54.

the barbarity of their provincial dialect and accent. It might have occurred to them, that, if this had been the case, Lord Clarendon would scarcely have omitted to particularize it on the present occasion. It might have occurred to them, that they must, in the course of their reading, have met with this allegation by some contemporary writer, if there had been any foundation laid for it. For our part, we can declare, that we do not recollect a single instance of such a reflection being brought against the Scottish divines (and they were exposed to many reflections, both grave and satirical) during the time that they were in London attending upon the Westminster Assembly.*

With respect to the matter and composition of their sermons, which are of greater consequence, we must say, in opposition to Lord Clarendon, that they were not "insipid and flat," and in opposition to Mr Hume and Mr Laing, that they were neither debased with "pedantry," nor "fanatical and barbarous." We have read, not one, but a number of sermons preached by Henderson, Gillespie, and Baillie,† and we are sure we do not go too far when we say, that they may bear a comparison with any sermon at that time delivered in London, and that they might have been heard

* [Mr Laing quotes as an authority the language of Baillie, who, speaking of a sermon delivered by Mr Davidson, one of the Protesters, says, "The man's vehemency in this, and in his prayer, a strange kind of sighing, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonising out of the belly of a second person, made me amazed."—*Letters*, ii. 373. Now there are three things which Mr Laing entirely overlooked, but which completely neutralize the force of this testimony. The first is, that Baillie was a keen opponent of the Protesters, and takes every opportunity of disparaging them. The second is, that this was his account of one of their number only, and not, as Laing would have it, of the whole class. And the third is, that this instance was so singular, that Baillie was quite amazed at it, having never heard the like before; from which one would naturally draw a conclusion the very reverse of that which Laing adopts, namely, that such a mode of delivery formed the exception, and not the general practice at the time.—Ed.]

† Mr Robert Blair was the only other Scots minister in London at the time referred to. We do not speak of him because we have not met with any of his sermons; but we have no reason to think that they were inferior to those of his colleagues.

(and indeed were heard) by the most refined members of the Parliament of England without the slightest feeling of disgust or ridicule. With respect to Henderson in particular, three of his sermons, preached before that Parliament, are now on our table, and they show that he possessed not merely good sense and learning, but also a rich imagination and a refined taste. That our readers may not be left to depend upon our opinion, we shall give the character of this divine as drawn by a member of the English Church, who cannot be suspected of partiality. "Alexander Henderson, the chief of the Scottish clergy in this reign," says Grainger, "was learned, eloquent, and polite; and perfectly well versed in the knowledge of mankind. He was at the helm of affairs in the General Assemblies in Scotland; and was sent into England in the double capacity of a divine and plenipotentiary. He knew how to rouse the people to war, or negociate a peace. Whenever he preached, it was to a crowded audience; and when he pleaded or argued, he was regarded with mute attention." * Such was the man whom our modern historians modestly call "a barbarous preacher;" and under such direction were those ecclesiastical courts, whose proceedings they represent as characterised by bigotry and fanaticism!

We have pointed out this instance of inaccuracy and unfairness in the writings of Mr Laing, because many, who are on their guard against the palpable prejudices of Hume, may be in danger of being imposed upon by his representations. With the political sentiments which he avows in his history, we have the happiness in general to agree; and on many points we have been much indebted to the accuracy of his researches. But no coincidence in political opinion, nor in any set of opinions, and no obligations which we may feel to the labours of an individual, will induce us to overlook any act of injustice done to truth, or any attempt to detract from the hard-earned praise so justly due to men who, in critical times, stood forth as the defenders of religion and liberty. It is but justice to say, that we know

* Biographical History of England, vol. i. p. 416.

none of our historians who has been more exact in examining his authorities than Mr Laing, and we have never in one instance found him chargeable with any thing like intentional unfaithfulness in reporting the result of his inquiries. But we beg leave to make two remarks here; and we make them not so much in relation to the case under consideration, as with a view to historical reading at large. In the *first* place, there is a wide difference between the consulting of books and manuscripts in order to acquire what may be called the *facts* of a period, and a consulting of these in order to ascertain the *character* of the age, including the opinions, talents, acquirements, and moral qualities of the principal persons who figured in it. This last requires a compass of reading, a minuteness of investigation, a slowness in progress, a patient and long continued attention to the subject, which few are inclined to bestow, and which is scarcely to be expected from those who write general history, or the history of a particular nation during a long period of years. Even the most accurate historians will commit very great mistakes in this respect, if they are not extremely cautious and diffident in giving their judgment on points which they have not carefully investigated. In the *second* place, we must remark, that a spirit of indifference to religion incapacitates a person in a great measure for doing justice to our history during the 16th and 17th centuries. Religion had such influence on all the revolutions of that period, and its disputes were so much involved in all the great political questions which were then agitated, that it is impossible to give a just view of the latter, without an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the former. But those who are inclined to be sceptical in religion, or who view all its forms as equally uncertain, or false, or unworthy of rational reception, naturally feel a disgust at those inquiries which it is absolutely necessary for them to make, and, entering upon the investigation with reluctance, they are apt to conduct it with superficiality. To the same cause we must trace the disposition of such writers to form a low opinion of the talents of

religious persons, or to impute their actions to unworthy motives. Unacquainted with the influence which religion exerts over the minds and conduct of men, they are ready on all occasions to charge them with weakness, with hypocrisy, or with fanaticism.

To some, perhaps, these observations may appear irrelevant to the subject of this review; but the truth is, that we would not have deemed the Tales worthy of the notice which we have bestowed on them, had we not been convinced that the ordinary sources of public information are deeply polluted. We judge it of consequence to point out this along with some of its principal causes. A radical mistake, both as to measures and characters, runs through the most interesting part of our history, and until this is noticed and corrected, partial misrepresentations may be exposed, but the evil will remain uncured. Nor can the instances to which we have just referred be viewed as unconnected with our present subject. The preachers who, in the Tales, are held up to ridicule and odium as fools or fanatics, received their education under Henderson and his colleagues; their principles agreed with those of their predecessors; their talents and acquirements did not radically differ; and the aspersions thrown on the characters of the one and the other may be traced to the same causes, political or religious.

The author of the Tales has given a most unfair view of the common people of Scotland in point of intelligence. This we deem very unworthy of a Scotsman, who should be proud of the superior sense and information of his countrymen, and be always ready to do justice to them. He could scarcely fail being aware, that the common people among the Presbyterians were in general better informed than the rest of their countrymen of the same rank. But what a poor idea must we form of their intelligence, if we judge of it from the ridiculous and incoherent harangues put into the mouth of such persons as Widow Headrigg, even on points of religion, with which they had the best opportunity of being acquainted! Such unfair representations will,

however, have no influence, except on those who are either completely ignorant of the subject, or predisposed to embrace them. They are flatly contradicted by the credible testimonies of both friends and foes to the Covenanters. "At the king's return," says Kirkton, "every paroche had a minister, every village a school, every family a Bible; yea, in most of the countrey all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles, either by the parents or their ministers."* As a proof of the thirst for knowledge excited in the minds of the people, that historian mentions; that he knew of sixty aged persons who went to school, that they might acquire the art of reading. Bishop Burnet confirms the statements of Kirkton respecting the assiduity with which the Presbyterian ministers performed the public and private duties of their office, and the proficiency which the people made under their instructions. He was one of the six Episcopalian divines selected to itinerate in the west country, and to persuade the people, by their sermons and private conversations, to agree to the scheme of accommodation between Episcopacy and Presbytery, which Leighton was so eager to carry into effect. They were the most learned and able men of that persuasion, and usually called *the Bishops' Evangelists*. "The Episcopal clergy who were yet in the country," says Burnet, in his account of that progress, "could not argue much for any thing; and would not at all argue in favour of a proposition that they hated. The people of the country came generally to hear us, though not in great crowds. We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, or on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion: upon all these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand; and were ready with their answers to any thing that was said to them.†

* History of the Church of Scotland, MS.

† [The whole history of this period shows, that the knowledge possessed by this class was by no means confined to the topics adverted to by the bishop, but was conversant with the true springs of life and peace, so that, "walking in the fear of the Lord and comfort of the Holy Ghost, they were edified."—Ed.]

This measure of knowledge was spread even among *the meanest of them, their cottagers, and their servants.* They were, indeed, vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of a most entangled scrupulosity; so that they found or made difficulties in every thing that could be laid before them."* The reader will observe that this extract refers to the very topics on which the Covenanters are made to talk so foolishly and ridiculously in the Tales. It is evident, from his own account, that the bishop had found himself not a little "entangled" and hard pressed in the disputes which he maintained with these cottagers; and, therefore, we can excuse him for complaining of the scrupulosity with which they adhered to their opinions, and the vanity with which they triumphed in the replies which they made to his arguments. He tells us, however, that he had afterwards an opportunity of revenging himself on one of their preachers, to whose studied speech against Episcopacy, he, being "then full of those matters," made a most triumphant and silencing reply.†

The author of the Tales may perhaps think that he is so far borne out in his representations of the Presbyterian commonalty, by what Bishop Burnet has said of their prayers. "They," says he, speaking of the ministers, "had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed *extempore.* I have often heard them at it; and though *there was a large mixture of odd stuff,* yet I have been astonished to hear how copious and ready they were in it."‡ But a small degree of attention will convince any one, that this affords only the shadow of an apology. The bishop acknowledges, in the very next sentence, "they had a comprehension of matters of religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where." By the mixture which he finds fault with, he therefore most probably meant such unfit expressions and phrases as sensible people may be supposed

* History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 431. Edin. 1753. 12mo.
† Ibid., p. 435.
‡ Ibid., p. 228.

to use in extemporaneous speaking. And we know that the same charge is to this day brought by the advocates for a prescribed liturgy against the prayers still used in the Presbyterian Churches. Besides, the things which the bishop characterises as odd, are in a great measure matters of taste, which is various and changeable. What one man thinks odd, appears to another very natural, and what was familiar in one age, becomes strange in the next; nay, so very capricious is this principle, that we often find things which had been exploded as oddities and barbarisms, revived and brought into fashion again. We shall endeavour to make this as plain as we can, by an example. Poetry has of late adopted a new style among us, and has exhibited beauties which were not formerly recognised, or held in admiration, during what was usually called our Augustan age. Let us suppose that some of the critics of the old school should rise from the dead—Addison, Pope, and Johnson, for instance; and let the admired productions of some of our Lake and Border poets be submitted to their judgment, we are strongly inclined to suspect that their verdict would contain a clause of the same kind with that which the bishop pronounced on the extempore prayers of the Presbyterian commonalty, and that they would say, "There is a large mixture of *odd stuff* in them; yet we have been astonished to see how copious and ready they are in it." As for the bishop himself, he is a very entertaining memoir-writer, and a very instructive one too; but it must be confessed by his greatest admirers, that there is a great mixture of *odd stuff* in his OWN TIMES; and often have we been astonished at the copious and ready manner in which he pours it forth. Even the Liturgy of the Church of England is not exempted from this charge—it, too, contains "odd stuff;" and we do not recollect to have heard any expressions or phrases, or any repetitions of them, used in extemporaneous prayer, which are half so objectionable and offensive to us as the irreverent ejaculations and vain repetitions which occur in the Litany alone, "to be sung or said after Morning Prayer, upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and

Fridays, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary."

Bishop Burnet is very particular in his account of the Presbyterian preachers; and while he allows that they were pious men, and highly respected by the gentry as well as the common people, he testifies a disposition to find as many faults in them as he can. With all the faults he has ascribed to them, we do not hesitate in preferring them far, not only to his brethren in Scotland (whose inferiority, with a very few exceptions, he does not attempt to conceal); but even to the Episcopalian clergy of England, including both the "pyeballed," and also those who undertook to "reform the way of preaching," and who recommended themselves so much to that excellent judge of true taste and good sermons, Charles II. We have a great respect for the bishop, on account of his private character, and his public services in the cause of civil and religious liberty both before and after the Revolution; but regard to truth, and to the character of men who suffered far more for this cause than he did, obliges us to mention a few facts not generally adverted to, which go to qualify our confidence in his *dicta* on this subject. The first relates to his sentiments in religion. The Presbyterian ministers were all decided Calvinists, whereas the bishop was an Arminian,—a circumstance which at that time could scarcely fail to give a tinge to his opinion respecting their sermons. *Secondly*, we ought to consider his employment during the time that he was in Scotland. He was not only of Episcopalian sentiments, but, during a number of years, he acted as a zealous champion for Episcopacy, and for the laws by which it was established and supported in this country after the Restoration. In this warfare, he did not confine himself to the pulpit, the academical chair, and private disputations, but he appeared as a declared antagonist to the Presbyterians from the press.* It is proper also

* In 1669, he published "A modest and free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, about the present distempers of Scotland." This was answered, in 1671, by "The True Non-Conformist;" to which he replied in "A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland. Glasgow, 1673."

to state, that, in these publications, he did not treat them with the greatest mildness, and was in his turn handled by his opponents without much ceremony. He has not mentioned these facts in his history; and he was extremely anxious to suppress the dedication of one of his polemical works, in which he panegyrized Lauderdale, whose administration he had warmly supported, but whom he afterwards deserted.* Although, therefore, he had altered his views, and repented of his former conduct, in many things, before he composed the "History of his Own Times," yet there is good reason for doubting if the bishop was the impartial historian which many have supposed him to be, so far as Scots Presbyterians are concerned; and it is natural to think that the unfavourable impressions which he had early received against them, and which were confirmed by the controversial warfare which he had managed, continued to exert an influence over his mind. This will account, in a great degree, for what he says of the haughtiness of the Presbyterian ministers,—their servility, censoriousness, indiscretion, and passion,—the indifferent size of their capacity,—and the confined nature of their literary acquirements. Some of these charges are not very consistent, and the accusation of servility or fawning comes with rather a bad grace from one who repeatedly fell into this sin. More than one

* In his Dedication of the *Vindication* to the Duke of Lauderdale, he says, "To whom is a vindication of the authority and laws of this kingdom so due as to your Grace, to whom his Majesty hath, by a royal delegation, committed the administration of affairs among us; and *under whose wise and happy conduct we have enjoyed so long a tract of uninterrupted tranquillity.*—I pretend not, by prefixing so great a name to these Conferences, to be secure from censure by your Patrociny, since *these enemies of all order and authority*, with whom I deal, will rather be provoked to lash me with the more severity." The first Conference is intended to refute the opinion, "that subjects under a lawful sovereign, when oppressed in their established religion, may, by arms, defend themselves, and resist the magistrates," and to prove that magistrates do not derive their power from the people. This shows that the bishop's political sentiments afterwards underwent a great change, and that his biographers do not state the matter fairly, when they assert that, before this period, he was averse to all severities in matters of religion, and condemned the harsh measures taken against the Presbyterians.

of them possessed as large a size of capacity, and as great a compass of learning, as the bishop; and they would have distinguished themselves, had it not been for the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed. We have no hesitation in mentioning Mr John Brown of Wamphray as one of these.

"The preachers," says the bishop, "went all in one tract, of raising observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those and showing the use," &c. Now, in the *first* place, it is highly to the credit of the Presbyterian preachers in point of sound sense, that none of them did at any time suffer themselves to be infected with the conceited, pedantic, absurd, and disgusting practice, so general and so long continued among English divines, of interlarding their sermons with phrases and quotations from Latin and Greek authors. *Secondly*, the bishop is forced to allow that their method was excellently calculated to gain, at least, one of the great ends of preaching; for he says, that "the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it." But, *thirdly*, it is not true that the method described by him was invariably followed by the Presbyterian preachers. We allow that it was common. But a mode of preaching less encumbered with divisions of the subject, more varied, more free and excursive, and more fitted to awaken the attention, and enliven the mind, had been introduced among them at an earlier period, and was followed by many of the ministers. This plan was adopted, not only by Archbishop Leighton, but also by many of the Protesters, who were the most zealous Presbyterians.* If we have room for it, we

* Mr Baillie gives the following description of the plan in his account of the settlement of Mr Andrew Gray, by the interest of the Protesters at Glasgow :—"He has the new guise of preaching, which Mr Hugh Binning and Mr Robert Leighton began, containing [perhaps *disdaining*] the ordinary way of expounding and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses; but runs out on a discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing, and unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memory and understanding."—*Baillie's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 385. This,

shall afterwards give a specimen of a third method, which was simple and chaste, and united in a great degree the advantages of the two preceding plans. The author of the Tales has given a specimen of what may be reckoned a *fourth* plan, in the sermon that he has put into the mouth of Ephraim Macbriar, of which the idea has been borrowed from a sermon preached by Cameron, that we have read. These facts show that neither the bishop nor our author was well informed on this subject, though both of them have written on it with sufficient confidence. The bishop farther tells us, that some of the Presbyterian preachers mistook for "the work of the Spirit of God" what their people said to them "under fits of melancholy; or vapours, or obstructions." It might be so, and it might also be true that the bishop mistook the vapours for "abstraction of mind, and the other great heights of Christian religion," and that, by recommending these feelings as the essence of true religion, he fed this disease of weak minds too much. For it should be known, that the bishop was, at least at one period of his life, an admirer of ultra-puritanism, and found great fault with the Presbyterians for their want of spirituality. "The true heights of spirituality," says he, "were as little preached as the living much in abstraction, silence, and solitude; the being often in the still contemplations of God and Christ, the becoming dead to all things else, spending dayes and nights in secret fastings and prayers,—how seldom were these things spoken of? Who of you despise the world? give away your goods to the poor? who bear injuries without resentments and revenge? Who are willing to be set

it must be recollected, is the representation of one who was prejudiced against the party, in which this method of sermonising was most prevalent. Mr Baillie was warmly attached to the *Public Resolutions*. Specimens of this plan may be seen in the discourses of Leighton and Binning. It may contribute to the correction of mistakes as to the character of those times to remark, that Archbishop Leighton differed very widely from Burnet, Nairn, and Charteris, on the doctrines of revealed religion. On these, he coincided in sentiment with the Presbyterian ministers, several of whom, although they condemned his compliance with Episcopacy, yet, having been educated under him, or admiring his talents and piety, imitated his style of preaching.

at nought?" &c.* We do not, however, suppose that Bishop Burnet was ever a thorough convert to the opinions of the mystics; he spoke, in a great measure, the language of Charteris, and one or two others with whom he at that time associated; and he was too much a man of the world, and too fond of company and of talking, ever to become an ascetic or quietist.

Whatever were the talents of the Presbyterian preachers, there can be no doubt of their success in accomplishing a most salutary and desirable reformation on the manners of the people. This had become very conspicuous in the latter part of the Interregnum, after the confusions produced by the civil war had subsided. The efficacy of Presbytery, in producing sobriety and decorum of behaviour, was universally acknowledged. "Nobody," says Kirkton, "complained more of our Church government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, 'Their trade was broke, people were become so sober.'" After the restoration, when licentiousness of every kind was not only tolerated but encouraged, when the priest as well as the prince had become profane, the Presbyterian spirit with which the nation was still animated, was the only principle which checked and counteracted the progress of the alarming evil. It was the salt which preserved the mass from total and incurable corruption. We are told, that, in the primitive days of Christianity, those who were persecuted, were scattered abroad, and went every where preaching the word. The laws

* Modest and Free Conference, pp. 19, 23. "Sir," says the bishop's opponent in reply, "you are so much upon your *heights*, that you see nothing about you. Pray, descend a little, and consider that your own ministers are as great strangers to these fine expressions of yours, and you and they to the things signified, to say no worse, as ours are."—He adds, that this ideal and abstracted scheme of devotion was taken up by many as an excuse for their patronising a religious establishment, which was founded in violence, and productive of profaneness, and as a prudent pretext for their consulting their own ease in complying with the arbitrary injunctions of authority. "O the rare temper of this new device, that both inwardly elevates to the highest spiritual abstractions, and outwardly smooths to a most easy temporizing compliance!"—*The True Non-Conformist*, pp. 52, 61, 62.

against nonconformity, and their rigid execution, contributed indirectly to introduce the blessings of religious knowledge and good order into some parts of Scotland, which had hitherto resisted the influence of all the ordinary means of civilization, and continued in a state of ignorance and barbarism. The good effects of field preaching on the inhabitants of the Borders have been mentioned by different writers;* but there is reason to believe that they were more extensive than is commonly supposed. There is an anecdote illustrative of this which deserves to be generally known. The "Thieves of Annandale" had become a proverbial expression, from the fact of the inhabitants of that district being generally addicted to theft. In 1678, after the Highland host was brought in upon the west country, the Duke of Hamilton having gone to London to represent the grievances of the country, was followed by the Marquis of Athol, and the Earl of Perth. In travelling through Annandale to Carlisle with a small retinue, the two statesmen were benighted, and unable to find their way. Two country women, who happened to meet with them in this situation, conducted them to a cottage, the inhabitants of which gave them the best entertainment in their power. The noblemen having expressed a fear that their horses would be stolen during the night, as the house in which they were lodged was unlocked, the cottagers quieted their apprehensions by assuring them, that "there was now no thieving in their country since the field preachings came among them;" adding many other particulars respecting the reformation which had been produced upon the inhabitants.† We shall subjoin another anecdote, very characteristic of the two parties into which the nation was divided, and descriptive of the marks by which the judges were accustomed to distinguish the objects of prosecution. During the heat of the contentions, the parish of Wiston, in Clydesdale, having become vacant, a very unpopular candidate was pre-

* Leyden's Scenes of Infancy; and Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Introd.

† Kirkton's MS. History.

sented. On the day of his admission, the people rose and chased the curate and his company from the church. A lady in the parish, who was suspected of having instigated the tumult, was summoned before the Privy Council. When she appeared at the bar, and her libel had been read over, the chancellor asked her if the charges were true, to which she replied, "The devil one word is true in them." The lords stared on one another; and after a short pause, the chancellor courteously told her, that her cause was adjourned to a future day. She was never more troubled. "Such virtue," says Kirkton, "there was in a short curse fullie to satisfie such governours; and many thought it good policy to demonstrate themselves to be honest profane people, that they might vindicate themselves of the dangerous suspicion of being Presbyterians." *

The author of the Tales accuses the Covenanters of "an abhorrent condemnation of all elegant studies."—(Vol. ii. 315.) In order to make room for statements which we consider as of greater intrinsic importance, we must exclude at present the materials which we had collected on this subject. We positively deny the charge, and challenge the proof. Though certainly not bound to prove a negative, we have not the slightest doubt that we could show, to the satisfaction of our readers, that the accusation is utterly unfounded; that it is of the same kind with the charge so long reiterated against the Roundheads of England, until it was silenced by a more accurate knowledge of their private history, and particularly by the publication of the Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson; that though the circumstances in which they were placed did not admit of their cultivating them, yet the Covenanters did not condemn, far less express their abhorrence of elegant studies; that, among those held in great reputation among them, there were persons of an elegant turn of mind and good taste; and that, while the author, with the view of exalting the character of the cavaliers, and putting into the mouth of Burley that condemnation of elegant pursuits which he imputes to the whole party,

* Kirkton's MS. History.

has fabricated a copy of verses for Bothwell, he has, at the same time, from inexcusable ignorance, or the most culpable partiality, overlooked or suppressed the fact, that there was, at that very time, in the camp of the Covenanters, a man, who, besides his other accomplishments, was a poet superior to any on the opposite side whom he could produce or now can name.* These affirmations we engage to make good, provided they are called in question, and as soon as we shall have a regular opportunity of redeeming our pledge. †

If we believe the author of the Tales, the Covenanters were devoid of enlightened regard to civil liberty, and actuated solely by bigoted attachment to Presbytery, and a desire to have it restored in opposition to Prelacy and Erastianism. It is unnecessary to refer to particular passages; this is the idea conveyed to the mind of the reader by the whole representation. Now, in the *first* place, this statement, granting it to be correct, would not warrant a summary condemnation of the struggles of the Covenanters, and still less the ridicule with which it has been attempted to

* [The poet here referred to is evidently Colonel Clelland, of whom the following notice is given in Dr M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, p. 108:—"Colonel William Clelland was son to Thomas Clelland, gamekeeper to the Marquis of Douglas. He was educated at St Andrews, where he entered St Salvador's College in 1676, and was matriculated on the 2d of March 1677. Having, with his brother-in-law, Bailie Haddoway, accompanied Mr Blacader to Fife in 1678, he showed his courage, particularly at Divan, in facing the troops which came to disturb their meetings, or to pillage the people on their dismission. A collection of poems and verses, by Lieutenant-Colonel Clelland, was printed Anno Dom. 1697, in 12mo. They are chiefly in the Hudibrastic style, and discover considerable talent."—Ed.]

† [This challenge having never been accepted, the pledge here given was not fulfilled. Our Jacobite opponents are singularly chary of entering on the open field of historical evidence. It suits their purpose much better to cull a few specimens of vulgar effusions from the more illiterate Covenanters,—men who would never have been heard of, had they not been forced into notoriety by their persecutors:

"They lived unknown,
Till persecution dragged them into fame,
And chased them up to heaven."—Ed.]

cover them. The resistance lately made by the Spanish nation to French usurpation, and its persevering exertions to throw off the yoke imposed upon it, met with general applause in this country. Did these proceed from liberal views of civil liberty? or was the object of them of more intrinsic importance than that for which the Scottish Covenanters contended? Who will say so that knows any thing of the subject? At the Restoration, the Presbyterians of Scotland were in possession of rights, political and ecclesiastical, which were secured to them in the most solemn manner. These were violated and overthrown by a prince, who had sworn in his coronation oath to maintain them. Their established religion was taken from them; laws were enacted and penalties inflicted, to enforce conformity to an establishment odious to the nation; and they were fined, imprisoned, and proscribed for refusing this, and for receiving divine ordinances from the only class of persons whom they could acknowledge as their lawful ministers. After enduring such oppressions, and being driven at last to the extremity of taking up arms in the defence of their lives, are they to be stigmatized and derided, because, in their manifestoes, they demanded the restoration of their covenanted privileges and laws, instead of pleading for the rights of men, or for their "chartered rights as freemen," in the elegant and approved style which a modern novelist is pleased to prescribe?

In the *second* place, we directly oppose ourselves to the statement, and maintain, that the Covenanters were the genuine and enlightened friends of civil liberty, and the only persons who made a consistent and firm stand in its defence. It may justly be matter of surprise that this should be doubted, or that we should be obliged to produce evidence in its support. Who can doubt it, that is acquainted with those covenants from which they obtained their name, for which they have been accused of cherishing a superstitious veneration, and which they justly venerated? In the National Covenant, as renewed in 1638, did they not declare, that the innovations and evils against which they had supplicated and complained, did "sensibly tend to the

subversion and ruin of our *liberties, laws, and estates?*" and did they not "promise and swear to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, the king's majesty, his person and authority, in defence of *the liberties and laws of the kingdom?*" In the Solemn League and Covenant, made in 1643, did they not declare, that they had before their eyes not only "the glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, but also *the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms?*" did they not swear to endeavour, with their estates and lives, mutually to preserve "*the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms*, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and *liberties of the kingdoms?*" and did they not describe the object of their league to be the defence and promotion of "this *common* cause of religion, *liberty*, and peace of the kingdoms?" In the renovation of this covenant, in 1648, did they not declare, "Some amongst ourselves have laboured to put into the hands of our king an *arbitrary* and *unlimited* power, destructive to—*the privileges of the Parliaments, and liberties of the subject;*"—"and many of us have been accessory of late to those means and ways whereby the freedom and privileges of Parliaments have been encroached upon, and the subjects oppressed in their consciences, persons, and estates?" and did they not promise to "vindicate and maintain *the liberties of the subjects*, in all these things which concern their consciences, persons, and estates?"—We appeal to the struggle which they maintained, in conjunction with the Parliament of England, during the civil war, and to the blood and treasure which they expended in that contest. Was not the preservation of the liberties of the three kingdoms against arbitrary power, and the settlement of these on a sure basis, one principal object of this, and constantly avowed by them in all their manifestoes, declarations, and apologies? And did they not protest against the invasions made on these by the English army, in trying and executing

the king, putting down the Parliament, and altering the whole frame of the constitution and government?—We appeal to their conduct when they espoused the interest of Charles II., in opposition to the Commonwealth of England. Did they admit him to the exercise of the royal authority in Scotland, upon his consenting to the Presbyterian establishment, in the way of overlooking and sacrificing their own civil rights, or those of the sister kingdoms? Did they not, on the contrary, expressly take him bound, at his coronation, to preserve the latter, as well as the former, inviolate?—We appeal to their conduct at the Restoration. Were they not the only party who endeavoured to prevent the overthrow of the civil, as well as the ecclesiastical constitution, and who testified against the laws which stretched the royal prerogative beyond all due bounds, and encroached upon the liberty of the subject?—We appeal to the books written by Covenanters, and held in the greatest esteem among them. To "Lex, Rex," which had the honour to be consigned to the flames among the first acts of the Government after the Restoration, which, as its title expresses, was intended to prove that "the law is superior to the prince," and which established, with much learning and ingenuity, the leading principles of political liberty, in opposition to the patrons of absolute power and passive obedience. To the "Apologetical Relation," in which the *civil supremacy* with which Charles II. was invested is shown to be no less incompatible with the liberties of the nation, than his *ecclesiastical supremacy* was with the liberties of the Church;* in which the

* In answer to the objection, that "the Parliament having annexed such power to the crown, it is lawful for private subjects to acknowledge and swear to maintain it," the author makes the following reply:—"In poynt of law it will be a very great question, whether Parliaments, who are but trustees intrusted by the people, whose commissioners they are, and virtually, if not expressly bound to maintaine their rights and privileges, may betray their trust, and give away the just and ancient privileges of Parliament, and therewith the just and ancient liberties of the people. It will be a great question, if they, at their own hand, may alter the fundamentall lawes of the land, without the consent of those whose commissioners they are. And it will be a greater question in law, if this Parliament might have sold or given away the privileges of Parliament,

proceedings of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, in opposing the arbitrary designs of Charles I., and the validity of the rescinded acts, are defended; and in which the court of *High Commission* is condemned as contrary to "the rights and privileges of parliaments" and "the liberties of the kingdom," and as flowing from "an arbitrary power assumed by the prince over them, contrary to the fundamental laws of the land, in setting up what judicatories he pleaseth without consent of Parliament, without whose special warrant and authority the meanest fixed court cannot be erected." * The same principles are avowed and vindicated in "Naphtali;" † in the defence of that work, entitled "Jus Populi Vindicatum;" ‡ and in the "Apology for the persecuted ministers and professors of the Presbyterian Reformed

and liberties of the people, seeing so much in poynt of law may be objected against its being a free Parliament, if the want of freedome of election in shires and brughs,—if prelimitation,—if the election of such as were not capable, by the fundamentall constitution of Parliaments, and practice of the kingdome,—and other informalities of that kinde, may have any place or weight in the annulling of Parliaments. But, 2*d*, in poynt of conscience, it is clear that Parliaments may not now give away, and according to their pleasure dispone of the rights and privileges of Parliament; for in the third article of the league and covenant, all the people of the land, and Parliaments among the rest, are sworne to maintaine, in their severall places and capacities, and so Parliaments, in their parliamentary capacity, the rights and privileges of Parliament. 3*d*, Though the Parliament, notwithstanding of the bonde of the covenant, should denude themselves of their privileges, yet, now seeing every particular member of the kingdome is sworne, according to his place and station, to maintaine the rights and privileges of Parliament, they may not assent unto such a deed of the Parliament, and by their oath and subscription approve of such a wrong; for that is the least that private persons, who desire to minde and make conscience of the oath of God, can do at such a time, viz., to refuse to give an expresse, clear, and positive assent unto such a wrong done to the rights and privileges of Parliament contrary to the covenant."—*Apologetical Relation*, by Brown of Wamphray, pp. 257, 258. Printed anno 1665.

* Ibid., sect. x., xi., xix.

† Written by Mr James Stirling, minister of Paisley, and first printed in 1667.

‡ Written by Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees (Lord Advocate after the Revolution), and printed in 1669.

Religion." * These were the books which were in the hands of the Covenanters, and from which they derived that knowledge which astonished Bishop Burnet; and none but a person who is ignorant of their contents, could ingenuously oppose "whiggery" to the "chartered rights of freemen," as the author of the Tales has done. If, in their reasoning on this subject, they made frequent appeals to the Bible, this is no more than our author has made Morton do, upon the very evident principle, that arguments drawn from this source are most level to the minds of the common people, and best adapted to satisfy conscience. It is no more than was common at that time among writers on government, and was afterwards practised by Sydney, Locke, and Hoadly. But they by no means confined themselves to such arguments; they freely appealed to the law of nature and nations, to the constitution and practice of free monarchies and republics in ancient and modern times, and to the authority of the best writers on politics and jurisprudence.

It is true that the Covenanters, in their apologies, grievances, and demands, gave a prominent and distinguished place to their ecclesiastical rights and privileges. And must they be blamed for doing this? They did so, because, much as they valued their civil rights, they prized their religious rights still more highly. They did so, because they considered it as more daring to invade, and more criminal to surrender, the privileges of "the kingdom of heaven," than the privileges of an earthly kingdom. They did so, because it was more immediately on the ground of religion, and of their adherence to their ecclesiastical liberties, that they were then suffering. And, in fine, they did so, because they were convinced that it was principally through these that their civil rights were struck at and endangered. The author of the Tales holds up the Covenanters to ridicule as narrow-minded bigots and fanatics, because they preached, and testified, and contended, with such zeal and keenness, against Prelacy, Erastianism, and the Indulgence. But the ridicule must appear extremely futile, as soon as the sub-

* Printed in the year 1677.

ject is properly understood. We know that there are not a few who treat with indifference all questions relative to the external order and government of the Church, and disparage all contendings about these as savouring of bigotry, and tending to draw away the minds of men from due attention to the essential and more momentous parts of religion. The words of the poet are always in the mouths of such persons:

> "For modes of government let fools contest,
> Whate'er is best administered is best."

Such maxims, whether they proceed from poets or pious men, and whether they be applied to the state or the church, are to be received with great caution, and are often urged with the most insidious design. If believed and acted upon, according to their native import, they would lead us to sacrifice and throw away privileges of the most valuable kind, which have been acquired or transmitted at the greatest expense. Who will say that the Government of Turkey or Spain is equally good as that of Great Britain, and that there is the same reason to expect national happiness under the former as under the latter? If this be the case as to political government, much more must it hold with reference to that which is of an ecclesiastical nature. No external order, indeed, will infallibly secure the advancement of real and genuine religion; but we are warranted, from the reason of the thing, and from experience, to expect that the diffusion of knowledge, the preservation and transmission of truth, and the regular and profitable dispensation of all religious ordinances, will be more effectually provided for by one form of ecclesiastical polity than by others,—not to refer here to the determinations of Scripture, which has not left the government of the Church to be constructed according to the capricious opinions of men, or to rest on the same general grounds with civil polity.

But this is not the view of the subject that we have chiefly in our eye at present. What we assert is (and we make the assertion without the slightest fear of refutation), that, in opposing Prelacy, Erastianism, and the Indulgence,

the Covenanters were standing up for the civil rights and political liberty of their country. Prelacy in Scotland was always combined and leagued with arbitrary power. The prelates, to use an expression of one of themselves (Archbishop Gladstanes), were *the king's creatures;* they derived their power entirely from him; they were supported by him in opposition to the inclinations of the nation; and they uniformly showed themselves disposed and ready to gratify his will, and to sacrifice to it the liberties and best interests of the people. What is Erastianism? Is it not the principle which ascribes the whole power of modelling and regulating the government of the Church to civil rulers? Now, in Scotland this was declared to belong, not to the whole Legislature, but to the Crown, as one of its inherent and peculiar rights. The whole weight of this extensive branch of authority, and of the influence arising from it, was thus thrown into the regal scale. By Erastianism, Prelacy was introduced, and by means of it the absolute subserviency of the hierarchy to the Crown was infallibly secured. The Indulgence was merely an excrescence of Erastianism, proceeding from the ecclesiastical supremacy, and exerted in suspending the existing laws. If it was in some instances employed in suspending the execution of laws which were bad and oppressive, it was capable of being employed for setting aside all those which were good. And in the succeeding reign it *was* employed, in conjunction with the civil supremacy, as an engine for overthrowing the constitution in church and state, and for introducing Popery and despotism.

But are these merely our inferences from the subject? No; they were the views entertained by our ancestors, and by which they were animated in their opposition to these invasions of their ecclesiastical constitution. We shall produce positive evidence of this. And first with regard to Prelacy:—"These prelates, who make an absolute surrender of religion, conscience, and all sacred concernments, for the gratifying, and to the arbitriment of these powers, whose creatures they have often atheistically acknowledged them-

selves to be, do with the same and greater profusion subject both laws, liberties, and the fortunes of others, to the lust of the same powers, which they may so easily perfect unto their own establishment and advancement. And this indeed is, and hath always been, that great aggravation of our latter Prelacy, rendering the same worse and more intolerable than the Romish hierarchy, which, being wholly dependent upon the Pope, another and distinct head, and not upon the civil power, whose interests are oftentimes not only distinct, but directly opposite, it hath neither that access nor influence to abuse princes; whereas our prelates, deriving all their power and being from the king's supremacy, by endeavouring, for their own better establishment, to render him incontrollably absolute over and in all things, they being otherwise mean and abject persons, having the least, and almost no share nor interest in the commonwealth; and, by reason of their ill right and worse conscience in what they do possess, being always cruelly jealous, have, by sad experience, ever inclined the Government unto tyranny." * After having confirmed this by a reference to a variety of late acts and proceedings, this writer concludes:—"To see a free nation, by the perfidy and insolent domineering of a few up-start prelates, and the violence of their wicked and slavish favourites, reduced to the condition of a most insupportable and unnatural conquest, both was, is, and ever will be, a most just cause and provocation to all ingenuous spirits and true patriots, to undertake the asserting of their own liberty, upon the greatest hazard." † The same views came to be entertained by persons who had been attached to Episcopacy, as appears from the following extract of a letter from an independent individual, written at the time of the rising at Bothwell:—"For me you know how much and how often I have contended for Episcopacy. But now I have considered their partial behaviour in the matter of Danby and the lords in the Tower, those arch enemies of our king and government. I see them both there and here so knit to the bias of the court, that they will rather sell

* Naphtali, pp. 174, 175, edit. 1680. † Ibid., p. 178.

their souls, and the whole interests of the kingdom, than not swing to that side right or wrong. I see them generally to be men altogether set upon their own profit and advancement, and that, when once they can make their court well, they little mind religion or the care of souls. I see they take no effectual course for curbing of profanity, and that, if a man will but stand for their grandeur and revenues, they easily dispense with his being otherwise what he will. I see that almost any scandalous fellow that will own them, and hath but an M before his name, may have a kirk; too many whereof I know, and more here than with you. I have considered Bishop Sharp as their head and last introducer, whose reward hath been terrible in the justice of God, whatever the actors have been. And I have considered Bishop Paterson as the tail, whose reward is, no doubt, waiting him also, if he mend not his manners. I have not forgot their cruel, arrogant, and blood-thirsty stopping of his majesty's gracious bounty, and keeping up of his remission after the business of Pentland, which, with their torturing and hanging of the poor people, after quarters given them in the fields by General Dalziel, as it was a singular reward to him for his good services done them, so may it, to all honest hearts, be as palpable as it is an odd example of their faith and manners. I see the very offscourings of the earth employed by them, as their trustees and heroes, for propagating of their conformity; and some of them, though base all over, and despicable above all expression, yet owned and caressed by them as brave fellows, and chief promoters of their principles and interest; yea, so little choice make they on this head, whether as to profanity, popery, atheism, or what else you can think on, that for ought that appears, as many devils out of hell would be welcome to them to prop their Dagon of Prelacy, and be a scourge to the fanatics." * In the same manner we

* Wodrow, vol. ii., Appendix, pp. 18, 19.

[I take the liberty of adding the testimony of an Episcopalian writer, a layman, who wrote after the Revolution, and whose apology for his freedom with the bishops, is his "too great veneration for that order." "It

find such of the Presbyterians as opposed the Indulgence reasoning. They condemned it as an assumption of ecclesiastical power, as an encroachment upon the liberties of the Church, and a scheme to bring its ministers to a state of base and servile vassalage to the court. But they also condemned the acts of Privy Council, which granted the Indulgence as proceeding upon a dispensing power on the part of the Crown. "The sole warrand of the king's letter," says Brown of Wamphray, "cannot in law warrand and empower them to contraveen express lawes and acts of Parliament, and not only to disobey the injunctions of Parliament, but in plain terms to counteract and counter-work the established and ratified lawes, and so to render them null and of no effect?—The very embracing of the Indulgence,

must be said that your bishops were sadly corrupted, and became a hissing and a by-word in the land. So that it was no wonder the honest minister whose memory I now celebrate, did sometimes envy (inveigh) against them; for so did many great and good men before him. After showing that the dissolute lives of the Popish prelates pulled down their hierarchy, he adds, "And why not also the Protestant hierarchy in this nation, when the evil sprung from the same source, the scent whereof went up to the nostrils of God, so as his indignation has been so far raised against them, as to withdraw the beauty of order and decency in his house, and made them be trode under the foot of their implacable enemies. How did they brigue (canvass) for preferments at court, and become tools to the ambitious designs of great men! And when they got once in, how did they hecter and domineer over their clergy in their synods and assemblies, and called every thing Presbyterian that looked like piety and strictness of living! Have they been seen in riotous companies, without checking them or themselves, nay, running to the same excess of riot; so that it was not without ground that heavenly Archbishop Leighton wished that *he, with the other twelve, were cast into the river of Forth with a millstone about their necks*, as a no less heavenly soul (Mr Charters) told me from his mouth. These unaccountable practices of your bishops made the convention, anno 1689, come to the height of declaring that holy order to be an insupportable grievance to this nation." ("The Country-Man's idea of a Gospel Minister, held forth in the following Preface and Funeral Oration on the Death of that faithful minister of Christ, Mr Roderick Mackenzie, of Avoch, in the county of Ross in Scotland, who died the 17th day of March 1700." Advoc. Lib., DDD.) This Roderick Mackenzie was son of the Archdeacon of Ross, who was censured in the Assembly 1638, and cousin-german to Tarbat, Earl of Cromarty. He was married to a sister of Sir George Mackenzie.—Ed.]

was, upon the matter, a recognition of this power in the king to do, in and by his privy council, in church matters, what he pleased, even though contrary to antecedent acts of Parliament." * On such grounds many worthy ministers refused to take the benefit of the Indulgence, although the liberty which it granted was nothing more than what they were entitled to, and exposed themselves to great hardships and persecutions, rather than recognise a usurped supremacy, and countenance an illegal exercise of royal authority, —conduct which merits the highest applause, instead of the censure which it has incurred.

These extracts, which might easily be multiplied, place the conduct of the Covenanters in a very different point of view from that in which it is presented in many of our histories. They throw light upon the genuine import of the language which we find them so frequently using, and dissipate the ridicule which has been ignorantly attached to it. In testifying against Episcopacy and Erastianism, and in contending for Presbytery, the Covenants, and the Reformation established in pursuance of them, they were in fact appearing in behalf of the national rights and liberties, in opposition to tyrannical imposition, and an arbitrary system of government, and not merely in support of certain principles of religious belief and ecclesiastical polity. Additional proofs of their attachment to the principles of rational liberty are at hand in great abundance. In refusing the illegal bonds and oaths that were imposed on them, they pleaded the laws of the land, and the rights of freemen. † In their personal appearances at the bar—in the testimonies which they composed in prison—and in the speeches which they delivered on the scaffold—we find them advancing the same plea. ‡ In all the declarations published by the Cameronians, from the time that they separated from the rest of the Presbyterians till the Revolution, whatever

* History of the Indulgence, pp. 30, 31. Printed in 1678.

† Wodrow, vol. i., Appendix, Nos. 82, 83.

‡ Naphtali, pp. 308, 311. Samson's Riddle, pp. 27, 29, 40. Testimony by Mr John Dick, pp. 4, 12.

we may find to condemn, we cannot but admire the ardent and invariable attachment which is expressed to political freedom.*

As a specimen of the ardent and enthusiastic love of civil liberty, combined with zeal for the Protestant religion, which inflamed the breasts of the Presbyterians, we cannot refrain from making the following quotation from a letter of a minister, exiled in Holland. It was written by him in the end of 1679, upon his being informed of the flattering reception which the Duke of York met with on his arrival in Scotland:—"I cannot hide it from you, that I would have been less troubled, if I had heard that he had marched down to Scotland with an army, made up of his English, French, and Irish Papists, and all the men of that kidney, soul, and complexion, which are associate to burn, slay, and destroy that poor church and nation, because of their declared detestation at his abominations and idolatry, to the erection whereof he resolves to sacrifice the lives of all the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ in the three kingdoms, and of the patriots of their country, who witness that they cannot outlive the departing of the glory, nor give up the interest of Christ, together with the liberty of the nation, to the lust of so publickly declared an enemy to both; than to have heard, that by this very deed, we have declared our abominable baseness, in the sight of God, angels, and men. Alas! whither have we not caused our shame to go? Alas! where is the Lord God of Elijah? Oh! where is the spirit of our noble ancestors, zealous for the Lord God of Hosts?—I shall not trouble you with the stories of all that horrour, hatred, and shaking of head, wherewith this account is entertained abroad, amongst all that are so much Christians, as to give the just preference to religion, or so much men, as to love the liberty of their nation,—and would rather die in the quarrel, ere they saw and suffered themselves to be robbed of that only treasure of religion, and together with that, to outlive the loss of their liberty—and so only to live—to breathe, as beasts, under the yoke

* Informatory Vindication, *passim*.

of antichristian bondage; and at length breathe out their miserable lives, under the bitterness, anguish, and agony arising from the reproachings of their own conscience, that they had been so much beasts, as to entail slavery on their posterity—and so go to the grave, as the most miserable captives, under the curse of the children not yet born. Nor shall I entertain you with the account of that just discountenance and disrespect, wherewith he was entertained in the United Provinces, where he might have presumed and promised himself a great and predominant respect; in so much as, all the time he was there, the people were so incensed at him, as an enemy to pure religion and true liberty, that his name was not so much as put in the publick courants; lest, if it had, both pens and tongues had taken a just liberty and freedom to regrate his having so much countenance or regard.

"And, by the way, what may the United Provinces think of us, when their courants shall be filled with the stories of this solemn and sumptuous reception, appointed for welcoming such a declared enemy to religion and liberty; as if he were, for his affection to both, the very darling and delight of the nation? Sure, they will bless themselves, that they are not yet degenerate so far as we are; who, in this, seem to have forgotten we have souls, and are so much beasts, as, with the faces of men, we can bow our neck to the yoke of bondage, and glory in being so base. But it concerns us much more to think, and seriously to weigh, what England will judge of the solemnity of this reception; when, from the one end of that nation to the other, their publick gazettes shall set before their eyes, our shame, and the matter of their grief and sorrow. What shall these true patriots, who then withstood the court-contrivances, while under so many disadvantages, now think of us? What shall these nobles, who with so much greatness and grandure of spirit, did not only own the Protestant religion (while they saw the design discovered of destroying it), by displaying openly a banner for truth, in face of Parliament; but were pleased, in high, heroick freedom, which will make

them famous to posterity, to concern themselves, even in the preservation thereof, in Scotland, France, and Ireland, as well as in England? I need not recite any part of that memorable discourse, wherein the noble speaker * carried rather as an ambassador of Jesus Christ, than a statesman, cast in the mould of carnal-court politicians of this declining time.—I say, what judgment shall they give of us?"†

The account which the author has given of the insurrection of the Covenanters is not correct. He represents them as having "broken out into actual rebellion" previous to their being attacked by Claverhouse at Drumclog, and as having "declared their intention to remain together in arms, for furthering the covenanted work of reformation." (Vol. ii. p. 300.) No resolution of that nature, however, had been formed by them, nor is any thing of the kind expressed in their declaration published at Rutherglen. ‡ For a considerable time previous to this, a number of those who attended field preachings, had been in the practice of carrying arms, to defend themselves and their brethren against straggling parties of soldiers who attacked the conventicles. In consequence of the violent measures lately adopted, the number of these had increased; and, instead of assembling in small parties as they had formerly done, they drew together in larger bodies, with a view to greater safety. But still their object was merely to defend their religious assemblies, and to prevent those who attended them from being maltreated or massacred. It was after the rencounter which they had with the corps under Claverhouse, that they resolved to act in an offensive manner; and the dread of the severe revenge which the Government would take, had no small influence in determining them to come to this resolution.§ The present rising was, therefore, similar in its origin to that of Pentland; and Government never dis-

* The Earl of Shaftsbury, in his Speech to the House of Lords, March 24, 1679.—Wodrow's Hist., vol. ii., p. 22, Appendix, p. 3.

† Mr Ward's Επαγωνισμα, or Earnest Contendings for the Faith, pp. 332-334, 336.

‡ Wodrow, ii. 44; Informatory Vindication, p. 171.

§ Wodrow, ii. 47.

covered any trace of correspondence with England, or of previous concert and intended insurrection, on the part of the Covenanters.

We do not mention this circumstance because we judge it essential to the vindication of those, who, on the present occasion, took arms to defend themselves against intolerable oppression, and to assert their liberties. Their defence rests on more substantial grounds. It rests on the same grounds as that of the resistance made by the Protestants in Germany, the Netherlands, and France, who were publicly aided by Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. If the Covenanters were chargeable with rebellion, it is impossible to vindicate these princes and their parliaments from the charge of fostering rebellion. We appeal not only to their practice, but also to their public declarations, in which they avowed the right of subjects to defend themselves against the oppression and tyranny of their native sovereigns. We appeal to the language held by James, whose ideas of royal prerogative were sufficiently high. "My reason of calling you together," says his Majesty in a letter to Dr Abbot, "was to give your judgment, how far a Christian and a Protestant king may concur to assist his neighbours to shake off their obedience to their own sovereigns, upon the account of oppression, tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late queen's time, this kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders both with arms and advice, and none of your coat ever told me that any scrupled about it in her reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know, it came from some of yourselves to raise scruples about this matter; yet I never took any notice of these scruples, till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. I called my clergy together to satisfy, not so much me, as the world about us, of the justness of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not." * In his speech to the Parliament that year, he had these words:— "A king ceases to be a king, and degenerates into a tyrant,

* The Bishop of Sarum's Speech on the Impeachment of Dr Sacheverel.

as soon as he leaves off to govern by law; in which the king's conscience may speak to him as the poor woman to Philip of Macedon,—either govern by law, or cease to be a king." * And again, in his speech, anno 1609, "A king governing in a settled kingdome, ceaseth to be a king, and degenerateth into a tyrant, so soon as he leaveth to rule by his lawes, much more when he beginneth to invade his subjects persones, rights, and liberties, to set up an arbitrary power, impose unlawfull taxes, raise forces, and make warre upon his subjects, whom he should protect and rule in peace; to pillage, plunder, waste, and spoile his kingdom; imprison, murder, and destroy his people in a hostile manner, to captivat them to his pleasure." We can appeal to divines and dignitaries of the Church of England, who have sanctioned the principles of resistance on which our ancestors acted—to Jewel, Hooker, Bilson, Bedel, Burnet, Hoadly, and King. But this is unnecessary, as the whole convocation, the Church of England representative, in Elizabeth's reign, publicly acknowledged it "glorious to assist subjects in their resistance to their sovereigns, and their endeavours to rid themselves of their tyranny and oppressions." † And in 1628, when Charles I. resolved to assist the French Protestants, both Houses of Parliament petitioned his majesty to appoint a fast; and in the office of devotion composed for the occasion, the nation was directed to pray for all those "who, here or elsewhere, were fighting GOD'S BATTLES, and defending his altars." In fine, their conduct was vindicated at the Revolution, when the Parliament of Scotland, "in prosecution of the *claim of right*," rescinded all the forfeitures and fines passed against those who had been in arms at Pentland and Bothwell, and pronounced them "void and null *from the beginning*." After mentioning a vast number of names, the act proceeds, "Likeas, their majesties, and three estates, rehabilitate, reintigrate, and restore so many of the said persons as are living, and *the*

* The Bishop of Sarum's speech on the Impeachment of Dr Sacheverel.

† Hoadly's Measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrate, p. 149.

memory of them that are deceast, their heirs, successors, and posterity, to their goods, *fame*, and worldly honour." *

But though the unconcerted nature of the insurrection at Bothwell is not necessary to vindicate its lawfulness, yet it is of great consequence, as tending to account for the divisions which arose among the insurgents, and led to the complete failure of their enterprise. Had they taken up arms from previous concert, a plan would have been formed; proper leaders would have been chosen; and the grounds of their undertaking would have been agreed on and digested. As it was, the first measures were taken on the spur of the occasion; those who had been called to take the lead in the sudden affair of Drumclog, and who were probably elated with the unexpected victory that they had gained, considered themselves as entitled to retain their command, although some of them do not appear to have been the best qualified for it; and they proceeded to state the grounds of the quarrel according to their own views, without waiting the advice of their friends, who soon joined them from other parts of the country. Upon the arrival of the latter, a difference of opinion arose, which, in spite of all attempts to accommodate it, produced hot altercations, and issued in the most fatal disunion. The majority of the officers who commanded at Drumclog insisted, that the authority of the king should not be acknowledged, and that the acceptance of the

* Acts, Parl. I., William and Mary, July 4, 1690. Among the reasons for passing this act, the first is as follows:—"Because it is evident by His Majesty's declaration, while Prince of Orange, for the kingdom of Scotland, that the oppressions and violent persecutions which these persons suffered, as well after as before their forfeiture, are there set down amongst the principal motives that induced His Majesty to undertake for the relief of this kingdom." To the objection, that "to restore persons who were forfeited for rising in arms upon necessary standing laws, and clear and evident probations, were to lay down the worst of preparations to encourage rebellions for the future," it is honestly and bluntly replied, "Can any man allege that the rescinding of forfeitures for these former insurrections can be a bad preparative to encourage insurrections for the future; but, at the same time, he must think that the late great Revolution may likewise be drawn into a far more mischievous consequence, a thought which certainly all honest men must abhor."—*Wodrow*, ii., App. No. 159.

Indulgence should be condemned in the manifesto which it had been resolved to publish. Both of these propositions were resisted by those who joined them, and were admitted to their council, before the battle of Bothwell.

The account which the author of the Tales has given of this dissension is very far from being correct. After describing the officers of the covenanting army assembled in council in the darkest colours of his pencil, he proceeds to say:—

"With them were mingled their preachers, men who had spurned at the indulgence offered by Government, and preferred assembling their flocks in the wilderness, to worshipping in temples built by human hands, if their doing the latter could be construed to admit any right, on the part of their rulers, to interfere with the supremacy of the Kirk. The other class of counsellors were such gentlemen of small fortune, and substantial farmers, as a sense of intolerable oppression had induced to take arms and join the insurgents. These also had their clergymen with them, who, *having many of them taken advantage of the Indulgence*, were prepared to resist the measures of the more violent, who proposed a declaration in which they should give testimony against the warrants and instructions for indulgence, as sinful and unlawful acts."

Now, the truth, we are persuaded, will turn out to be, that there was not one minister who had "taken advantage of the Indulgence" in the camp of the Covenanters, from the battle of Drumclog down to that of Bothwell Bridge. In the royal proclamation against the rebels, fourteen ministers are mentioned, and Wilson gives the names of eighteen, as present.* Is the author able to point out one indulged minister among all these? We are convinced he is not. Yet, as if the matter had been quite unquestionable, he goes on to describe the contest between the indulged and non-indulged ministers with great minuteness, and in a manner which, we doubt not, he thought, and still thinks, infinitely humorous. "Macbriar, Kettledrummle, and other teachers of the wanderers, being at the very spring-tide of polemical discussion with Peter Poundtext, the indulged pastor of Milnwood's parish, who, it seems, had e'en girded himself with a broadsword." The author could not be wrong; for

† Wodrow, vol. ii., Appendix, No. 30. Wilson's Relation of the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, pp. 13, 15, edit., Glasgow, 1797.

"it was the din of this conflict, maintained *chiefly* between Poundtext and Kettledrummle, which saluted Morton's ears upon approaching the cottage;"—and "both the divines were well gifted with words and lungs, and each fierce, ardent, and intolerant, in defence of his own doctrine, prompt in the recollection of texts wherewith they battered each other without mercy, and the noise of the debate betwixt them fell little short of that which might have attended an actual bodily conflict." This is fine; but there is something still more finished behind,—a description which proves our author to be a most accurate observer of nature, and which does not yield to the best comparisons in Homer. Burley, who, with all his fierceness, had a great deal more sense and moderation than the preachers, separated the combatants. "But although Kettledrummle and Poundtext were thus for the time silenced, they continued to eye each other like two dogs, who, having been separated by the authority of their masters while fighting, have retreated, each beneath the chair of his owner, still watching each other's motions, and indicating, by occasional growls, by the erected bristles of the back and ears, and by the red glance of the eye, that their discord is unappeased, and that they only wait the first opportunity afforded by any general movement or commotion in the company, to fly once more at each other's throats." We "opine" that the time spent by the author in marking the attitudes, and looks, and growls, and bristles of his two dogs, and in committing them to memory and paper, might have been better employed in examining more exactly his historical authorities, printed and manuscript; unless some of our readers should be of opinion, that he would have been still better employed, if, instead of composing Tales, he had occupied his time in writing a *cunomachia* to supply the loss of the *batrachomachia* of the Grecian bard.

We object seriously to this part of the author's representation, as conveying a false idea of the state of matters, as if the indulged ministers had actually joined in this enterprise. We have no doubt that many of them, if not the

whole, wished it success, and that they might have taken part in it, provided it had been conducted to their mind. Some of them sent from Edinburgh the draught of a declaration of which they approved. It was conveyed by Mr Dunlop, afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow, but not then a preacher, who was refused admission to the council of war; and none of his constituents ever made their appearance in the camp.* How then, it may be asked, did the Indulgence become the subject of dispute? We shall explain this in a few words. The question agitated was not, whether the Indulgence was lawful, but whether the acceptance of it should be expressly condemned in the proclamation to be made by those who were in arms. This was opposed as improper and inexpedient, because it would hinder many from joining them who were cordial friends to Presbytery, and it was proposed that the determination of this point should be reserved to a free General Assembly.† At the head of this opposition was Mr Welsh, who, instead of being an indulged minister, had been a zealous field preacher, and intercommuned for many years.‡ It was natural for those of his opinion to endeavour, in the course of reasoning on the subject, to moderate the severe censures which some of their brethren passed on the conduct of the indulged ministers, and to suggest such circumstances as tended to extenuate their compliance with it, from which the high party took occasion to accuse them of approving of the Indulgence, and in their narratives of the controversy have designed them the Erastian party. Such is the language employed in Wilson's Relation, and in the manuscript written by Russel, one of the persons engaged in the assassination of the archbishop, by whose representations the author of the Tales has, we perceive, been chiefly guided. Both Russel and Wilson are also anxious to represent the ministers, King and Kid, as going along with the high party;

* Wodrow, ii. 59. † Ibid., pp. 55, 57.

‡ Howie, while he condemns the part which Welsh acted at Bothwell, allows that he never approved of the Indulgence.—*Preface to Collection of Sermons*, p. 5.

but this does not agree with several circumstances mentioned in their own narratives, and it is flatly contradicted by the solemn declarations of these two ministers, from which it appears, that they expressly avowed the king's authority, and that, though they disapproved of the Indulgence, they had recommended pacific measures.*

How, then, does the case stand? Of eighteen ministers who were in the camp, the high proposals were supported by two only, Cargill and Douglas; for Cameron, who afterwards gave his name to the party, was not then in the country. And they were opposed by sixteen. To speak the sentiments of the *two*, the author of the Tales has introduced *three* preachers, Macbriar, Kettledrummle, and Mucklewrath; and to express those of the *sixteen*, he has brought forward—*one*, the Reverend Peter Poundtext, the indulged pastor of Milnwood's parish! Such is the equal and impartial representation of our author! And in this manner has he thrown a dark shade over the proceedings of the Covenanters, and aggravated the charge of violence and folly which he brings against them, by imputing to the greater part what was in reality confined to a very few of their number.

Truth requires us to state farther, that the violent measures of disowning the royal authority, and excluding from the army all who had accepted of the Indulgence, appear to have originated with, and were chiefly urged, not by the preachers, but by certain private gentlemen in the camp. This appears from the accounts of both parties. Even Cargill and Douglas were pushed on to extreme courses, both on this and on subsequent occasions, which there is reason to think they would not have followed if they had been left to their own unbiassed judgment. We formerly signified that we considered Robert Hamilton as the chief person who urged these extremities. His rank as a gentleman (he was the brother of Sir William Hamilton of Preston) had procured his being called to the command of the

* See the authorities adduced in a preceding part of this Review, pp. 363, 365.

small body of armed men who defeated Claverhouse at Drumclog. The success which attended that encounter, and the courage which he displayed in it, gave him great influence among those who had fought under him, and, without any election, he retained the place of general.* He was destitute of military experience; and, although honest and zealous in the cause, his views were contracted, and his temper uncomplying and overbearing. We find him and some of his fellow-officers uniformly opposing all the moderate measures which were proposed.

We now proceed to notice the charges brought against the Covenanters on the head of sanguinary principles and practices. The statements which we have made will enable our readers to form a judgment of these. Though we should allow them to be accurately stated, and free from exaggeration, still they are applicable only to a small part of the Covenanters. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp affords one of the most common topics of declamation. But the author of the Tales has himself allowed, that "the greater part of the Presbyterians disowned the deed, as a crime highly culpable, although they admitted, that the archbishop's punishment had by no means exceeded his deserts." (Vol. iii. p. 161.) We must beware of thinking that all those who, when interrogated by military men or judges, refused to pronounce the bishop's death murder, justified or approved of his assassination. Such illegal and arbitrary questions were resisted by them as an infringement of their liberties, inconsistent with the principles of justice, and obliging them judicially to disclose their private sentiments, and to pronounce sentence on the conduct of others.† Even Morton refused to answer the question when it was first put to him by Sergeant Bothwell; and in his conversation with Burley on this subject, he says,—"But it is not mine to

* Mr Laing has strangely conceived that Hamilton was "a preacher," and, proceeding upon this misconception, he talks of the "ghostly commanders" of the covenanting party.—*History*, vol. ii. p. 98.

† See an account of a curious conversation which Fraser of Brae had with Charles II.—*Wodrow*, ii. 288.

judge you. I have not forgotten that the way was opened to the former liberation of Scotland, by an action of violence which no man can justify,—the slaughter of Cumming by the hand of Robert Bruce; and, therefore, condemning this action, as I do and must, I am not unwilling to suppose that you have motives vindicating it in your eye, though not to mine, or to those of sober reason." (Vol. iii. p. 170.) The circumstance of the murderers of the archbishop having joined the insurgents, has been urged as reflecting discredit on the cause. But it is a curious fact, that down to the battle of Bothwell, it was not generally known that they were in the camp; and Mr King, one of the ministers present, was ignorant that Burley and Rathillet were accessory to that crime.* This shows how much we should be on our guard against substituting presumptions and probabilities for proof in historical matters.

Morton expresses his fears of a departure from the ordinary laws of war, by refusing to give quarter to the enemy. There was some ground for this; and we shall candidly state the facts from a letter of Hamilton, the person mainly implicated in the charge. "As for that accusation they bring against me," says he, "of killing that poor man (as they call him) at Drumclog:—I being called to command that day, gave out the word that no quarter should be given; and returning from pursuing Claverhouse, one or two of these fellows were standing in the midst of a company of our friends, and some were debating for quarters, others against it. None could blame me to decide the controversy, and I bless the Lord for it to this day. There were five more that without my knowledge got quarters, who were brought to me after we were a mile from the place, as having got quarters, which I reckoned among the first steppings aside."† Judging from this account, Hamilton alone was responsible for this step. He takes the whole blame, or rather, as he viewed it, the whole praise to himself. It does not appear that he consulted with a single individual before giving the word; his men testified an aversion to act upon it; and in

* Wodrow, ii. 43, 86. † Howie's Faithful Contendings, p. 201.

spite of his command and his example, the lives of prisoners were preserved. It should also be noticed, that Claverhouse is said to have issued the same orders before the battle commenced.*

After the defeat at Bothwell, those called *Cameronians* or *Society People*, were completely separated from the rest of the Presbyterians, both indulged and non-indulged, in religious communion, and in political managements. We shall advert briefly to such of their proceedings as have been deemed most unjustifiable. In the "Sanquhar Declaration," published June 22, 1680, they, "as the representatives of the true Presbyterian kirk and covenanted nation of Scotland," did "disown Charles Stewart as having any right, title to, or interest in the said crown of Scotland," which he had forfeited "by his perjury and usurpation in church matters and tyranny in matters civil;" and they did "declare war" against him as a "tyrant and usurper," and against all the abettors of his tyranny.† About the same time a paper was found on one of them, usually called the "Queensferry Paper," which was published by Government, and occasioned a great outcry against the whole party. It contained, among other articles, a resolution against monarchical government, as "aptest to degenerate into tyranny;" but it was not subscribed, and was never owned by the Society.‡ The "Lanark Declaration," published January 12, 1682, was intended to state more at large the grounds of that of Sanquhar. This contains a striking description of the oppressions of the Government, and a forcible appeal to the public on the necessity which the sufferers were laid under to adopt the measure which they had taken.§

But the most singular paper, and that which made the greatest noise, was published by them in October 1684, under the name of "The Apologetick Declaration and Admonitory Vindication anent Intelligencers and Informers." After mentioning their renunciation of the authority of Charles, and their declaration of war against him and his

* Wilson's Relation, p. 8. † Wodrow, vol. ii., Appendix, No. 47.
‡ Ibid., vol. ii., Appendix, No. 46. § Informatory Vindication, p. 176.

accomplices, it runs in the following terms :—" That therein our mind may be understood, and for preventing farther mistakes anent our purposes, we do hereby jointly and unanimously testifie and declare, that, as we utterly detest and abhor that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment or persuasion from us, it having no bottom upon the Word of God or right reason ; so we look upon it as a duty binding upon us to publish openly unto the world, that, for as much as we are firmly and really purposed not to injure or offend any whomsoever, but to pursue the ends of our covenants, in standing to the defence of our glorious work of reformation, and of our own lives; yet (we say), We do hereby declare unto all, that whosoever stretch forth their hands against us, while we are maintaining the cause and interest of Christ against his enemies, in defence of our covenanted religion, by shedding our blood actuallie, either by authoritative commanding, such as bloody councillors (bloodie, we say, intimating clearlie by this, and the other adjective epithets, an open distinction betwixt the cruel and blood-thirstie, and the more sober and moderate), especially that, so called, justiciary, general of forces, adjutants, captains, lieutenants, and all in civil and military powers, who make it their work to embrue their hands in our blood; or by obeying such commands, such as bloodie militia men, malitious troopers, soldiers, and dragoons; likeways such gentlemen and commons, who, through wickedness and ill-will, ride and run with the foresaid persons to lay search for us; or who deliver up any of us into their hands to the spilling of our blood; by inticing morally, or stirring up enemies to the taking away of our lives; such as designedly and purposely advise, counsell, and incourage them to proceed against us to our utmost extirpation, by informing against us wickedly, and wittingly, such as viperous and malicious bishops and curats, and all such sort of intelligencers, who lay out themselves to the effusion of our blood, together with all such as, in obedience to the enemies their commands, at the sight of us raise the *hue and cry* after us; yea, and against all such, as compearing before the adver-

saries their courts upon their demand, delate us, and any who befriend us, to their and our extream hazard and suffering: We say, all and every one of such shall be reputed by us, enemies to God and the covenanted work of the Reformation, and punished as such according to our power and the degree of their offence, chiefly, if they shall continue, after the publication of this our declaration, obstinately and habitually, with malice, to proceed against us any of the foresaid ways."—"We are sorry at our very hearts that any of you should chuse such courses, either with bloody Doeg to shed our blood, or with the flattering Ziphites to inform persecutors where we are to be found. So we say again, we desire you to take warning of the hazard that ye incur by following such courses; for the sinless necessity of self-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land, and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished. Call to your remembrance,—All that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven. Therefore, expect to be dealt with as ye deal with us, so far as our power can reach; not because we are acted by a sinful spirit of revenge for private and personal injuries, but mainly, because, by our fall, reformation suffers damage," &c.*

It is impossible to read these extracts without strong emotions of a mingled kind. The first feeling that must rise in every ingenuous breast, is indignation at the Government, which, by its tyrannical and cruel conduct, had driven a sober and religious people to such extremities. We cannot but condemn the step taken by the sufferers, as calculated, notwithstanding all their qualifications, and in spite of all the precautions they might use, to open a door to lawless bloodshed, and to give encouragement to assassination. At the same time, it is impossible to condemn them with great severity, when we reflect that they were cast out of the protection of law, driven out of the pale of society, and hunted like wild beasts in the woods and on the mountains to which they had fled for shelter. It is impossible not to

* Informatory Vindication, pp. 186–188, 159, 160.

recognise the honesty of their intentions, to perceive the reluctance with which they took this delicate step, and to be convinced that they had no desire to defile their hands with the blood even of their persecutors, but aimed principally at impressing their minds with a wholesome terror. This end was in some measure gained: informers were terrified, and the persecution slackened for some time after the publication.* The only instance in which it is alleged, so far as we recollect, that it led to murder, were those of two soldiers at Swine-Abbay, and of the curate of Carsphairn. The last of these was publicly disowned and condemned by the Society People.†

Finding that several expressions in their declarations were misrepresented, and that others were expressed in a dubious or exceptionable form, the general meeting of the Society People published their "Informatory Vindication." In this document, although there are positions advanced which are not strictly consistent, nor are defensible upon the common principles of Presbyterians, yet a spirit of candour and moderation is displayed. "If in any thing," say the authors of it, "we have, in the manner of managing affairs in reference to the public cause, through ignorance or imprudence, jointly miscarried, having good designs, and the thing not attended with obstinacy, our weakness and insufficiency, in the abounding confusions of these preceding times (our faithful guides and men of understanding by death and otherwise being removed), should be compassionately looked upon, and tenderly handled." They state that they were not to be understood as claiming, in the Sanquhar and Lanerk Declarations, the character of formal representatives of the nation; and that, in disowning Charles II., they did not proceed judicially and authoritatively, but merely declared their own private judgment, refusing to own him as standing in a magistratical relation to them. Their declaration of martial war they explained as directed solely against the tyrant, and those under his authority, who bore arms against them; and

* Wodrow, ii. 430. Howie, Faithful Contendings, p. 155.

† Wodrow, ii. 467. Renovation of Covenants at Lesmahago, p. 61.

as to such as did "any way strengthen, side with, or acknowledge the said tyrant, or any other, in the like tyranny and usurpation, civil or ecclesiastical," they declared that they would oppose them, not with arms, but by their "profession, practice, and testimony." They add, "We positively disown, as horrid murder, the killing of any, because of a different persuasion or opinion from us." * About the same period, they abolished the *oath of secrecy* which they had for some time used in their societies.†

Let it be remembered, that the proceedings which we have detailed took place subsequently to the battle of Bothwell, when the feelings of the Covenanters had been irritated and inflamed by a continued series of shocking and brutal barbarities. At the period referred to in the Tale of Old Mortality, their minds were in a very different state. But we shall grant that the author was at liberty, in forming his likenesses, to take into view the character of the objects of persecution, after, as well as before, the affair of Bothwell. We appeal, then, to every impartial and intelligent person, if there was any thing in the conduct of the Society People to warrant the representations which he has given. Where are the ruffians and the madmen whom Burley and Macklewrath resemble? Where is the transaction that bears the most distant resemblance to the horrid scene at Drumshinnel? Where are the principles, that, by the help of the utmost ingenuity, can be tortured into such a construction, as to favour that atrocious attempt? And what person of candour and of judgment can allege, that those who "positively disowned, as horrid murder, the killing of any because of a different persuasion and opinion from them," would have conspired to take away the life of such a person as Morton? We have read of a painter, known by the appellation of "Hellish Brueghell," who accustomed himself so much to painting witches, imps, and devils, that he sometimes made but little difference between his human and his infernal figures. The best apology we can make for our author is, that having been much habituated to the describing of

* Informatory Vindication, p. 63-68. † Howie, *ut supra*, p. 104.

moss-troopers, misanthropes, gypsies, and other beings of a savage or unnatural kind, he has been insensibly led to impart the qualities, so familiar to his mind, to the principal characters in the present work.

We are persuaded we shall give pleasure to our readers, by laying before them the following manly and liberal reflections of a living author on the transactions which we have been considering. "In the midst of the fiery furnace of persecution," says the eloquent Dr Charters, in a sermon now published a second time, "men appeared assuming the high character of witnesses for God, and maintaining it in the face of danger and death. Though few in number, like the gleaning of grapes after the vintage, and a few berries on the top of the outermost bough, they lifted up the fallen standard of religious liberty, and generously devoted themselves. They would swear no oaths, subscribe no bonds, take no test, nor yield to any imposition on conscience. They would not pray for the king, because that might be constructed as owning a title which, in their judgment, he had forfeited; and they resolved, whatever it might cost, to be ingenuous and open, decisive and unembarrassed, both in word and in deed. 'They published a seditious declaration, renouncing allegiance to Charles Stewart, whom they called, as they for their parts had indeed some reason to esteem him, a tyrant.' * They testified against all the arbitrary persecuting acts of Charles, and published acts of their own, disowning the king, excluding the Duke of York, and declaring war in defence of their religion and of their lives. The avowal of disaffection was the signal of death, and, by means of mercenary spies and traitors, many of them were seized and executed. They denounced vengeance on the spies, admonishing both the bloody Doegs and flattering Ziphites to remember, 'All that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven.' The coward race were appalled by a threatening that came from men without falsehood, and without fear. Their bold example attracted congenial spirits, and, like the Israelites in Egypt, the more

* Hume's History.

they were afflicted, the more they grew and multiplied. They formed into societies, and settled the ground and nature of their testimony. A love of liberty they considered as the national character, which it was their duty to maintain and transmit. A defensive war against tyranny they justified by the law of nature, and by precepts and doctrines in the Bible. To those who objected that their testimony was unexampled, they answered, the tyranny of the times is also without example; former examples arose from the state of things which produced them; the present singular state of things demands a new example to after ages. Tyrants formerly used force, but they now demand an explicit owning of arbitrary power: the limitations of kingly power is a question which they compel us to decide; and our example may instruct and animate posterity. Such were the principles of those whom Wodrow calls *Society People*, from the religious societies into which they were formed, and who, from the names of two of their leaders, were likewise called Cameronians and Cargillites. If, in some instances, they run to extremes, Solomon's saying will be remembered, 'Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad.' Their standard on the mountains of Scotland indicated to the vigilant eye of William that the nation was ripening for a change. They expressed what others thought, uttering the indignation and the groans of a spirited and oppressed people. They investigated and taught under the guidance of feeling, the reciprocal obligations of kings and subjects, the duty of self-defence, and of resisting tyrants, the generous principle of assisting the oppressed, or, in their language, *helping the Lord against the mighty*. These subjects, which have been investigated by philosophers in the closet, and adorned with eloquence in the senate, were then illustrated by men of feeling in the field. While Lord Russel, and Sidney, and other enlightened patriots in England, were plotting against Charles, from a conviction that his right was forfeited, the Cameronians in Scotland, under the same conviction, had the courage to declare war against him. Both the plotters and the warriors fell; but their blood watered the plant

of renown, and succeeding ages have eaten the pleasant fruit." *

There are in the Tale of Old Mortality, beside what we have considered, several things which are deserving of reprehension. But we chose to enter into a particular examination of a few of its misstatements, rather than indulge in reflections upon the whole, which must necessarily have been general, and, consequently, less satisfactory. The charges of indulging in fraud and rapine, of hypocritically concealing mercenary and selfish designs under the cloak of zeal for religion, and of employing a jesuitical and wretched casuistry to vindicate such practices, which are laid in such a manner as to apply to the party at large, we deem so devoid of foundation in history, and so contrary to the known character of the Covenanters, as to be utterly unworthy of serious refutation. The allegation that they were of the same persecuting spirit as their adversaries, is, we are convinced, equally unfounded; and we intended to have shown at some length, that their conduct after the Revolution was, upon the whole, highly commendable, considering the sufferings they had endured; and that the charges of intolerance and persecution brought against some of their proceedings are founded, in a great degree, upon ignorance of the circumstances in which they were placed, and of the measures which they opposed. But this discussion we must waive, as it is high time to bring the review to a close.

We flatter ourselves that we have satisfactorily established the two leading positions that we advanced at the beginning of the review—the gross partiality which the author has shown to the persecutors of the Presbyterians, and the injustice which he has done to the objects of persecution. We have produced undeniable proofs of the former, in his withholding a just view of the severities and cruelties which they perpetrated, softening them in the representations which he has given, and exhibiting the character of some of the chief oppressors in such a light as to recommend them to the admiration of his readers. We have examined his

* Charters' Sermons, p. 273-277, edit. 1816.

representation of the Presbyterians or Covenanters, and have found it, in numerous instances, to be unfair, false, and grossly exaggerated. Instead of being the ignorant, foolish, and violent fanatics which he has held them out to be, we have shown that information was extensively diffused among them; that they were a sober and religious people; that their contendings and sufferings were directed to the support of the kindred cause of religion and liberty; and that the instances of extravagance and violence really committed, were confined to a few, and extorted by grievous and insufferable oppression. We have also shown that the work is disfigured with profaneness, and that the author has used freedoms with religion, and the sacred language of the Scriptures, unjustifiable in any book, but altogether inexcusable in one that is intended for popular amusement. These faults we have exposed with freedom, and sometimes with feelings of indignation, but, we trust, without passion or irritation, and without the slightest wish to lower the talents or the fame of the author, farther than was unavoidable in doing justice to the cause which we were bound to advocate, and to the memory of the men who suffered in its defence. We look on the work which we have reviewed as calculated to produce mischievous effects, by circulating erroneous views of the history of our country, and by instilling bad principles into the minds of the ignorant and unwary. The fictitious form in which it is composed, we consider as serving to aggravate, instead of extenuating the offence. To sober statement and argumentative discussion upon any period of our history, or on the merits of those who acted a part in it, from whatever party these may proceed, we have no objection. But it appears to us that there is something extremely presumptuous and assuming in the very attempt to select the characters and proceedings described in this Tale as a subject for ridicule and burlesque; as if, in the opinion of sensible men of all parties, they were completely indefensible, and as if the truth of the facts which the author has brought forward, and the view which he has taken of them, were already placed beyond all rea-

sonable doubt or contradiction. We trust, however, that the good sense of our countrymen, the information which they possess, and the regard which they still cherish to the cause of religion and freedom, will counteract the poison; and we are not without hopes, that this attempt may ultimately benefit the cause which it threatened to injure—by exciting more general attention to the subject, and by inducing persons to inquire more accurately into the facts of one of the most interesting portions of our national history.

REVIEW OF ORME'S LIFE OF DR OWEN.*

Dr John Owen was the second son of Mr Henry Owen, a clergyman, who traced his descent from one of the royal tribes of Wales. He was born in 1616, at Stadham, in the county of Oxford, where his father officiated for some time as a minister. Having finished his classical education under Edward Sylvester, who kept a private academy in Oxford, he entered at Queen's College. In 1635 he commenced Master of Arts; and two years after he left the university, in consequence of certain superstitious rites being imposed by the Chancellor, Archbishop Laud. On leaving Oxford, he entered as chaplain and tutor into the family, first of Sir Robert Dormer, and afterwards of Lord Lovelace. This nobleman having espoused the royal cause on the breaking out of the civil war, Owen took up his residence in London, where he published his first work, "A Display of Arminianism." The appearance of this work brought its author into notice; and in 1643, a committee of Parliament presented him to the living of Fordham, in Essex, from which he removed, in 1646, to the neighbouring living of Coggeshall, in the patronage of the Earl of Warwick. About the time of his coming to this last place, his sentiments on church

* [From the Christian Instructor for July, August, and September, 1821. In the composition of this Review, our author was ably assisted, in his remarks on the history of the Independents in Holland, by some notes of the Rev. Dr Brown of Langton.—Ed.]

government underwent a change; and instead of acting, as he had hitherto done, with the Presbyterians, he began to attach himself to the rising sect of Independents. He preached before the Long Parliament on the day after the execution of Charles I., a circumstance which subsequently exposed him to much reproach. Soon after this he was introduced to Oliver Cromwell, whom he accompanied as chaplain to Ireland, and afterwards to Scotland. On his return from this country, he received the appointment of Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford, and in the following year was created Vice-Chancellor of that University. In the former of these capacities it was his duty to lecture on divinity, and in both capacities he exerted himself most laudably and successfully in promoting the interests of literature and religion. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate, he was employed in various pieces of business of a politico-ecclesiastical nature. In 1659, he was deprived of the Vice-Chancellorship, and in 1660 of the Deanery. Upon this he retired to his native town of Stadham, where he had purchased an estate, and collected a small congregation, to which he officiated as a pastor for some time after the Restoration. This congregation being broken up by the Oxford militia, he went to London, where he at first preached privately, and afterwards became stated pastor to a congregation, which was increased, in 1673, by the accession of those who had been under the pastoral charge of Mr Joseph Caryl. He escaped personal hardships during the persecution which fell so heavy on many of his brethren; and having a competent income of his own, independent of his congregation, he was enabled to persevere in his valuable labours for the press until his death, which happened in 1683, and in the 67th year of his age. He was twice married, but left no issue, having survived eleven children, whom he had by his first wife.

Such are the principal facts in the life of Dr Owen. The most of them are to be found in Memoirs published soon after his death, which were written by Mr Asty, and have been repeated in different biographical collections. We

may be surprised that no one should have undertaken to give to the public a fuller and more satisfactory account of a man of such deserved reputation. But the truth is, that the life of Owen, like that of almost every literary man, is to be found in his writings. The only bustling part of his life falls in with a period of our history with which many were not fond of meddling; and the more judicious friends of his memory were probably afraid, that by attempting a fuller elucidation of this, they might be under the necessity of disclosing facts, which, though they could not injure the established excellence of his character, would not add to the reputation of which he was already possessed. These considerations have not, however, deterred Mr Orme from undertaking Memoirs of Dr Owen on an extensive scale. In his preface, he has stated the difficulties which he felt in procuring materials for his work, and his exertions to overcome them. We cheerfully award him the praise of diligence and industry; and it would be unjust to blame him, because, after all his researches, he has been able to add so few facts to those which were previously known respecting the subject of his Memoirs.

Whatever may be thought of the merits of this work, we apprehend there will be but one opinion as to its size. It is large beyond all due proportion and reasonable allowance. Mr Orme would have written a much more popular and useful book, and done more real justice to the subject, if he had confined himself within the half of the bounds. Those who have not read the work, and who know what a life of Owen ought to be, will be at a loss to conceive how the author has contrived to fill a thick octavo of more than 500 pages. It is a part of our duty to satisfy them on this head, and to give them a taste of the viands prepared for them before they buy and eat. In the first place, then, one great part of the entertainment consists of the author's own remarks, of which he is very liberal and communicative. A biography or history ought not to be a mere dry detail of facts unrelieved by reflections; nor are we so rigid as to debar the author from coming forward on important occasions, and giving us his own sentiments at some length on

what he relates. But if he does this frequently, there is great danger of his offending both against propriety and modesty. It was probably a sense of this that induced the ancients to have recourse to the machinery of putting their own sentiments into the mouths of their principal characters. This pleasing deception has been banished by modern ideas, which exact a more scrupulous regard to verisimilitude; but in many instances, there is reason to think that truth and the laws of history have been as much transgressed by the modern philosophical and discursive, as by the ancient oratorial and dramatic style of writing. When it is managed with address, and by a masterly hand, this method adds to the dignity of historical composition in the proportion that it detracts from its credibility; but when art and ability are awanting, when the reflections are trite and common-place, and when they are thrown out at every opportunity, and tacked regularly, but loosely, to the most trivial facts and incidents, the inevitable consequence is, that the reader becomes fatigued and disgusted, and the work is degraded, and sinks under its own weight. But we shall enable our readers to judge for themselves of Mr Orme's method. Having stated that Dr Owen's father "afforded him all the assistance in his power in the acquisition of learning, as he knew that he had no property to give him," he remarks, "Nothing, perhaps, is more unfavourable to genius and industry than being born to a fortune already provided," &c. This reflection is amplified and illustrated through the remainder of the paragraph, and is closed with the following sentence, which we are disposed to think would have found a more appropriate place in "Meditations on a Flower Garden:"—"Many a fair blossom has gone up as dust, and the seed sometimes lies so long under the surface, that all hope of its resurrection is given over, when some powerful cause suddenly quickens the latent germ, and developes the energies and beauties of the future plant." Having mentioned that Dr Owen "was fond of violent and robust exertion,—such as leaping, throwing the bar, ringing bells," &c., we are favoured with a formal defence of these amusements, concluding with another fine sentence:—"It

is much more gratifying to see the academic robes waving in the wind, than shining at the midnight dance, or adorning the front ranks of a theatre." Once more, having told that Owen took the degrees of B. A. and M. A. at Oxford, the author subjoins his determination as to these academical honours thus:—"When literary degrees are spurs to application and the rewards of merit, they answer a useful purpose; but when they come to be almost indiscriminately bestowed, they lose their value, are despised by the genuine scholar, and are sought after only by those on whom they can confer no honour or distinction." (Pp. 13, 14.) This is a specimen of the almost regular alternation of narrative and remark which is observed throughout the work. The account given of Owen's writings is by no means too large; but here also we have to complain of the too frequent intrusion, and the superabundance of the biographer's reflections. Of the merits of these reflections we shall afterwards speak; we mention them at present as one of the causes of swelling the book. We might also mention the long poetical quotations with which the remarks are interspersed, and which Mr Orme, we think, might have used more sparingly; especially as Dr Owen was not addicted to poetry. He is too fond also of repeating Latin adages which occurred to him in the books which he has had occasion to consult. There is one "ecclesiastical culverine," which he has literally burst by firing it too often. "Vernon," says he, p. 347, "had studied attentively the old wicked maxim,—

'Calumniare audacter, aliquid hærebit;'

and Owen had learned, from father Valerian, the use of another phrase, which he very decidedly applies to his clerical opponent. To some impudent slanders which were propagated against him, that father simply replied, '*Mentiris impudentissime;*' so said the amiable and witty Blaise Pascal, in answer to the calumnies of the Jesuits; and so said Owen, *sans ceremonie*, to the libel of the Rev. George Vernon." In support of the facts in this curious statement, we are referred to "Bayle's Dict. Valerian," and "Provincial Letters." Now, the saying in question may be very witty,

and it might be very well deserved in all the three instances mentioned, and in twenty other instances in which it has been applied; but we cannot help thinking that Mr Orme would have done just as well, if either here, or when he formerly repeated it, he had substituted a translation of the phrase for its history, and told his readers, *sans ceremonie*, that it meant in plain English, "*You are an impudent liar.*"

Another way in which Mr Orme has contrived to enlarge the size of his book, is by entering into the public transactions of the time, and the controversies, political and ecclesiastical, to which they gave rise. This he has done on the principle of giving an account of the "religious connexions" of Owen. We have no doubt that the author deliberated before he resolved to enter on this extensive field, but we have as little doubt that the decision to which he came was injudicious. Not to insist that the "connexions" of a strict Independent (for in this light Dr Owen is uniformly represented throughout this work) must either be very *limited* or very *loose*, Mr Orme ought to have been aware, that the subject of his memoir was one of the most unfit which could be chosen for combining with the public transactions of the period. This is practically demonstrated by the want of unity which is apparent in the work—a defect which a writer of greater talents than Mr Orme would have felt himself unable to supply. Dr Owen was a man of a retired disposition and studious habits; and he persevered in the cultivation of these from early youth to the close of his days. He was not a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and he tells us himself, in an answer to Stillingfleet, that he had no share in the debates respecting church government which were managed during its sitting, and was not answerable for the termination to which they were brought, and did not approve of the conduct of either party. It was not until after the fall of the monarchy that he appeared on the public stage. When he did so, it was with reluctance; he might be said to have been dragged to it by circumstances; and as he was an unwilling actor, so he performed his part but awkwardly. He was not in his element, and he felt it. He had not talents for public

business, nor inclination for managing bodies of men; and whenever a change of affairs released him from such employments, he returned to the privacy of his study with greater delight than he left it. Nothing can be more incontrovertible than that Dr Owen's fame rests on his writings; to endeavour to place it on any other foundation is to injure him; and if his character as a Christian, and as a divine, had not been already established beyond the risk of its being shaken, it would most unquestionably have suffered from the well-meant, but ill-judged attempt which his present biographer has made to extend his reputation.

We are also inclined to think that Mr Orme, before engaging in this task, would have done well to have pondered the Horatian advice to authors, and to have considered, *quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent.* Not to dwell on the acknowledged difficulty of executing a work in which the history of an individual is blended with that of the age in which he lived, or of the connections by whom he was surrounded, the period in which Owen lived is one which presents uncommon difficulties; and no one who considered what was due to himself and to the public, would have undertaken to record its transactions, or to review its history, unless he possessed a large previous stock of information, improved and digested by many years of painful reading and reflection. We know that it is not uncommon for an author to choose a subject, and then set about collecting information to enable him to write upon it. This may do when the subject selected is of very limited compass; but if the subject is comprehensive, and embraces a period of great extent, we will venture to affirm that it cannot succeed, unless the undertaker possesses, in addition to other talents, an uncommon portion of self-denial and patience. It is not enough that he has perused a great many volumes, and looked or dipped into a still greater number, that he has come to the knowledge of a great many facts which perhaps appear to him curious and new, and that he is able to make a great many quotations and references; he must have been long familiar with the period of which he undertakes to write,—he must, so to speak, have lived and breathed in

its atmosphere,—he must have conversed at leisure with all classes, and not merely with a few notables, or a few stragglers whom he casually picked up on the road, before he can be qualified for giving a faithful, and full, and spirited description of the men, and measures, and parties, and opinions, and transactions of the age. Had Mr Orme applied himself to ascertain more exactly the incidents in the life of Owen, to throw additional light on his conduct during the time that he was at the head of the University of Oxford, to exhibit an accurate statement of his theological opinions (not omitting, as was natural, those which related to church government), and to give a correct view of his numerous and excellent works, and of his no less excellent character—he would, in all likelihood, have performed a task which would have insured the grateful acknowledgments of every friend of evangelical religion, given sufficient scope for his talents and industry, and might, we think, have sufficed amply to gratify his literary ambition. But, instead of confining himself to this task, he has chosen *vagari extra oleas*; and, by attempting more than he was called to undertake, or was qualified to execute well, he has compiled a work, which he could not but know would give great offence to some of the warmest admirers of Dr Owen, and which has exposed himself to charges which it will be extremely difficult for him either to evade or repel. For the sake of Mr Orme, and for the sake of the cause of genuine Christianity, to which we believe him to be sincerely attached, we could have wished that he had acted otherwise; but he has made his election—he has taken his ground, and put himself on his trial before the public; and we, as the organ of a part of that public, are bound to pronounce our verdict. We shall endeavour to do this with all possible impartiality, without favour or feud; but, at the same time, with that freedom and decision which the case calls for. If, in the discharge of our duty, we shall employ any severity of language, we can assure Mr Orme that it is not our wish unnecessarily to hurt his feelings; and we are not without hopes that he will, at some future period, although not perhaps just at present, thank us for the freedom of

our remarks. Nor do we altogether despair of reaching a wholesome admonition to others, besides the individual whose work is immediately under our consideration; for experience proves that Independents need to be taught as well as other Christians, "not to think of themselves more highly than they ought, but to think soberly."

The father of English poetry, it seems, entered, at some period or other of his life, into one of the Inns of Court. On this account, Mr Godwin, in his Life of Chaucer, reckoned it incumbent on him to give a history of Roman Law, from the compilation of the Twelve Tables, down to the 14th century. Dr Owen wrote against Arminianism, and Mr Orme, in like manner, reckons it incumbent on him to give a history of the Arminian controversy, which he traces, by the help of one of the Doctor's poetical "connexions," beyond the fall of man. As we are no antiquarians, we must decline giving any judgment on the dispute as managed by the convocation of "fallen angels," in which, for any thing we know, Mr Orme may have discovered the prototype of modern ecclesiastical synods. But we feel ourselves more competent to judge of his statements respecting a period nearer our own time; and we must say, that the accuracy of these is not such as to inspire us with unlimited confidence in those which relate to a period of which we profess ourselves ignorant. He tells us, "the work of Luther, '*De Servo Arbitrio*,' and the reply of Erasmus, '*De Libero Arbitrio*,' show how early these subjects occupied the attention of the Reformers." (P. 30.) Now, it is very evident that Mr Orme never saw either the one or the other of these books, and that he talks at random on the subject; for the work of Luther here mentioned was a reply to that of Erasmus. We are next favoured with a critique on the disquisitions of Calvin on this controversy, and assured that "in his minor details and illustrations, he has sometimes expressed himself incautiously, and has afforded too much room for Arminians to dispute, and for Antinomians to abuse his doctrines." In proof of this modest and sweeping censure, all that our author says is,

"See Calvin's Institutes, *passim*." We have had many opportunities of ascertaining such references as this to be a covert for ignorance or evasion; and we strongly suspect that, if required to substantiate his charge, Mr Orme would have his lesson to learn. From what he says of the progress of Arminianism in Holland and England, it appears that his information is superficial and incorrect, and that, in reference to Holland, he has adopted the misrepresentation of partial and prejudiced writers. But it may be presumed, that he has made himself better acquainted with facts and controversies at home than with those on the Continent.

There are two objects which Mr Orme keeps in view through the whole of his work, and which he labours in every possible way to establish. The one is, to recommend Independency, and to exhibit it as vastly superior to all other forms of church government. The other is to show, that with Independents originated the principles of toleration or religious liberty, and that they are the only sect which uniformly, and under all changes, advocated these principles. The last of these is, indeed, only a branch of the first, and is all along managed by the author in subserviency to it. Had Dr Owen not been an Independent, we have little doubt the world would never have been favoured with the present account of his life and writings; for there is no striking accordance between his other sentiments and those of his biographer, who is of a new school on many doctrinal points which Owen deemed of great importance. Of this our readers may be satisfied by what we shall have occasion to produce before closing our review. We would not be understood, by what we have said, as objecting to an Independent being the biographer of Owen. On the contrary, we are persuaded, that, when the sentiments of the author of any biographical work coincide closely with those of its subject, this circumstance will serve powerfully to stimulate his researches, and will fit him for writing, if not always with strict impartiality, at least in a style which is always agreeable, and *con amore*. So far from finding fault with Mr Orme because he is an Independent, and

because he avows himself to be so, we would not have censured him although he had availed himself of the opportunity, in any part of his work that he chose—at the beginning, middle, or end of it—to state what he considered as the claims of Independency to superior regard. There would have been nothing unfair in this—it would have been open and manly. But what we complain of is, that, while he affects "not to advocate the principles of Independency"* (p. 64), he shows himself to be a most keen advocate for them, descends to special pleading in their behalf, leaves the subject in one place only that he may recur to it in another, and has devoted to its discussion a proportion of his book far beyond what any impartial person will consider it as entitled to, either from its comparative importance, or from the exertions made in its behalf by the individual whose life he has undertaken to write.

Prefixed to the account of Owen's adjoining himself to the Independent party, we have a historical narrative of the rise and progress of Independency, particularly in England. It is not traced back, like Arminianism, to "the fallen angels," but it is made to be as old as Christianity; and that the author may not appear to be advocating its cause, he says, "others, as well as Independents, have successfully shown" this. As a matter of course, we are referred, in proof of this, to Mosheim's Commentaries, and Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History. For, whatever pretensions he makes, in common with his connections, to the Scriptures as the sole foundation of their church order, it is very observable that both he and they are extremely fond of availing themselves of human authority and great names,

* Mr Orme had been "advocating the principles of Independency" in the sentences immediately preceding this declaration, to which, moreover, he is careful to append the following note: "See, for this purpose, 'Conder on Protestant Nonconformity;' a work which deserves the highest praise for its amiable spirit, its scriptural views, and *its hitherto unanswered reasonings*." Does Mr Orme really think, that every work which he deems irrefragable must receive an answer, and especially a work which, in some of its leading principles and most prominent features, is the very reverse of *Protestant Nonconformity* in its best times?

whenever they think they can serve their purpose by them; and since they came to the knowledge of Mosheim's work, and since the appearance of Dr Campbell's, it would seem, if we may judge from the eagerness with which they seized, and the triumph with which they have appealed to their testimony, that they place more confidence in it than in the Scripture arguments of the most Achillean defenders of their cause.* Mr Orme is evidently distressed at finding that Presbytery had the start of Independency at the era of the Reformation. But, as he never wants something to say, he comes forward with one of his stout averments: "The constitution of the Church," says he, "was among the last subjects the Reformers were likely to study," &c. But facts are stubborn things; and the indisputable fact, that the constitution of the Church *was* studied at an early period by the Reformers, will overthrow a thousand theories. Mr Orme has no right to assume it as generally admitted (as he does, p. 38), that "Calvin was the first, after the Reformation, who brought it (Presbytery) into notice, and reduced it to practice," nor that "in the school of Geneva originated the Presbyterianism of Britain." Instead of pronouncing dogmatically on a subject on which his work shows that he has read very sparingly, he would have done better to have paused, and meditated an answer to the following question (which we would have thought must have forced itself on his mind): *Whether is it "most likely" that, in studying this point,* JOHN CALVIN *or* ROBERT BROWN *would discover the truth?* Let it be remembered, that we are at present on the ground of human authority, and inquiring, as our author expresses it, into what is *likely* and *most likely.*

Mr Orme is not a little puzzled as to the best mode of wiping off the reproach attempted to be fixed on the Independents, by "tracing their origin to Robert Brown," who

* As we have noticed this topic, we may add, that the whole of the authorities adduced by Mosheim and Campbell have been examined by Dr Brown in his Vindication of Presbytery (First Appendix, p. 103–119), and proved to be inconclusive; and we beg leave to refer Mr Orme, and others who wish information, to that work, and "*its hitherto unanswered reasonings.*"

"returned to the bosom of the Church of England, and died miserably." On the one hand, he might have disclaimed all connection between them; but then, on the other hand, this would have greatly reduced the antiquity of the Independent line; and, besides, it would have deprived him of a tissue of authorities, with which he meant afterwards to eke out the evidence for his favourite hypothesis, that his friends were the first discoverers of the principles of religious liberty. Accordingly, he makes an attempt to show, that there were "persons in England who held and acted on these principles" before Brown was heard of. "Bolton," says he, "though not the first in this way, was an elder of a separate church in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's days;" for which he quotes Robinson's Justification, p. 50. The truth is, these are the very words of Robinson; and the reader will judge of Mr Orme's partiality (not to use a harsher term), when we subjoin the remainder of the sentence which he has thought proper to suppress: "and falling away from his holy profession, recanted the same at Paul's Cross, and afterwards *hanged himself*, as Judas did." Which is the most honourable pedigree—that which is traced from Brown, who "died miserably,"—or from Bolton, who "hanged himself?" Mr Orme is equally unfortunate in his other instances. Mr Penry does not refer to a church on the Independent or Brownistic model, as existing in Queen Mary's days, but to a Protestant church which is known to have met in London at that period, and of which our countryman, John Rough, was pastor.* This appears from Penry's joining them with others "elsewhere in exile;" and also from what he says in a following paragraph, which Mr Orme, perhaps, overlooked: "for then, madam, the Church of God within this land, and elsewhere, being strangers, enjoyed the ordinance of God's holy Word, *as far as then they saw*." † We are next told, that "in the year 1567, a number of persons were imprisoned belonging to a society of about a hundred, who appear to have been of this persuasion." Now, we ask Mr Orme, how he could have the

* Fox's Monum., p. 1840–1842, edit. 1596. † Brock's Lives, vol. i. p. 51.

confidence to make this assertion, when it appears from the very authority to which he appeals, that the persons imprisoned on this occasion gave an entirely opposite account of their principles.* The only other proof which he alleges for the existence of Independents before Brown, consists of a raw inference from a rhetorical exclamation of Sir Walter Raleigh in the House of Commons respecting the numbers of the Brownists! As if conscious that he had failed completely in making out a case, Mr Orme changes his mode of defence, and comes forward next as the apologist of the Brownists, against the injustice done them, "both by Churchmen and Nonconformists." That they have been subject to misrepresentations like other parties, we will not deny; but when Mr Orme says,—"It ought to be remembered, that the chief accounts which we have of the Brownists are from the pens of their adversaries," we must tell him that we remember no such thing, and we do not believe it. "It ought to be remembered" by him, that though he takes up facts on second-hand authority, there are others who are not accustomed to do so. The Brownists were not the men to keep silence, and to allow others to hand down their opinions and practices to posterity. The writings of Brown himself, of Johnson, of Ainsworth, of Canne, of Barrow, and of others who sprang from them, are still extant, and bear witness to the extravagance of many of their opinions, to their intemperate and abusive language against all who differed from them, and to their uncharitable and

* "We remembered," says one of them, "that there was a congregation of us in this city in the days of Queen Mary" (the church referred to by Penry, we have no doubt), "and a congregation at Geneva, which used a book and order of preaching, ministering the sacraments and discipline most agreeable to the Word of God. This book is allowed by the godly and learned Mr Calvin, and the other preachers at Geneva; which book and order we now hold."—"We will be tried," says another of them, "by the best reformed churches. The Church of Scotland hath the Word truly preached, the sacraments truly administered, and discipline according to the Word of God: these are the marks by which a true Church is known." *Parte of a Register*, apud *Brock*, i. p. 135–143. See also *Baillie's Answer to Cotton and Tombes*, p. 5.

unceasing jars, and excommunications, and separations among themselves. It is not our wish to involve all of them equally in this censure. We speak in general. We know that Ainsworth and Robinson were learned men; and what sect, entertaining the most fantastic opinions, cannot boast of some persons of learning? But why did not our author tell us, that Robinson, in his latter days, laid aside his rigid notions, and declared his readiness to communicate with the Dutch, French, and Scotch Churches?* We do not doubt that there were good men among them; but how came Mr Orme to know, and to pronounce, so decisively, that "the souls of Copping and Thacker, &c., are now before the altar above?" When he shall give us some proof of his acquaintance with the original sources of information, we shall pay some attention to his admonition, not to show implicit deference to the authorities which he names. In the meantime, we must say that we know something of their characters; and though we do not feel disposed to adopt their representations implicitly, we are satisfied they are equally trust-worthy as those others, with whose nitre and soap he thinks to wash out the leopard's spots.

While he is partial to the Brownists, Mr Orme does injustice to the old Puritans, or regular Nonconformists, in whose principles the subject of his memoir was educated. In one place, indeed, where the subject is introduced incidentally, he says,—"It was not a particular rite or ceremony which they refused to observe, so much as the principle which enforced obedience;" and he adds, in the strong, but not too strong words of Owen, "that that principle, that the Church hath power to institute any thing or ceremony belonging to the worship of God, either as to matter or manner, beyond the orderly observance of such circumstances as necessarily attend such ordinances as Christ himself hath instituted, lies at the bottom of all the horrible superstition and idolatry, of all the confusion, blood, persecution, and wars, that have for so long a season spread themselves over

* This is granted by Mr Cotton, in his answer to the Dissuasive, chap. ii. sect. 5. Baillie's Vindic. of Dissuasive, p. 8.

the face of the Christian world ; and that it is the design of a great part of the revelation to discover this truth." (P. 20.) Such, and of so great importance, was the principle contended for by the old Puritans. But in the place where Mr Orme gives his own statement of their sentiments and contendings, this principle does not appear at all ; in the room of it he has substituted their opposition to particular rites and ceremonies ; and the account which he gives of these, together with some other objections which they made to the English establishment, wears the same air of ridicule which the defenders of a formal and ceremonious worship have always attempted to throw over the subject. (Pp. 5, 6.) So sensible was he of this, that he finds it necessary to enter a caveat by way of apology ; but it amounts only to this, that he reckons that " nothing is unimportant which is enforced on the conscience as a part of religion,"—a proposition which it is extremely difficult to make sense of, and which is very different from the principle so clearly laid down in the extract just given from Owen ; although, perhaps, Mr Orme did not perceive the difference between the two. He omits entirely the complaints which the Nonconformists made of the want of ecclesiastical discipline, of the admission of the irreligious and profane to the privileges of the Church, and of the ruin of souls by an ignorant, idle, and scandalous ministry ; nor does he mention the platform of church government and discipline which they drew from Scripture, and published to the world. Believe him, and their exertions, if they had been crowned with success, would have accomplished a reform only " so far as externals are concerned :" the internal and animating principle of true religion behoved to be inspired, forsooth, by Brownism ! All who are not ignorant of the spirit and sentiments of the persons referred to, will know what estimate to form of such a representation. On this subject there is a radical difference between the sentiments of the doctor and his biographer. According to Dr Owen, the Puritans struck at a principle which " *lies at the bottom* " of all the evils that had so long " spread themselves over the face of the Christian world ;"

according to Mr Orme, though they "had succeeded, *the root of the evil* must still have continued." But what is this root, bearing so much gall and wormwood, which "the great mass of the early, and even of the later, Nonconformists" were disposed to spare and cherish? The lawfulness of religious establishments! *Hinc illæ lachrimæ.* "The great body of them had no difference with their opponents about the lawfulness of ecclesiastical establishments." "They were not Dissenters from its constitution, but Nonconformists to some of its requisitions." "So long as the spiritual and temporal kingdom remained incorporated" (so he nicknames all connection between Church and State), "the root of the evil must still have continued." Had Mr Orme lived in the 17th century, he must have been a Brownist, or rather a Leveller, and not a Nonconformist, or an Independent; for neither Dr Owen, as we shall afterwards show, nor any of the respectable Independents of his connection, were of such sentiments.

We have, perhaps, dwelt too long on this topic, but we could not resist an opportunity of doing justice to a body of men, to whom England owes so much in point of religion and of liberty. Of their influence upon the religious character of the nation it is unnecessary for us to speak. But the civil and religious liberty which it afterwards attained, must also be ascribed, in no small degree, to their exertions and sufferings. The resistance which they opposed to the ecclesiastical supremacy, was highly favourable to the cause of political liberty. They were, for a series of years, the only check on the despotism of the court and clergy. They produced those patriots who lifted up their voice in the senate for the rights of their country; and they gave them the most effectual support in their efforts to curb and reduce the overgrown and increasing prerogative of the crown, supported as it was by an ambitious and time-serving hierarchy. The more rigid Puritans, by their extravagancies and excesses, strengthened the hands of the oppressor. While they were living at ease, or exercising themselves with intestine feuds in the refuge which they found in Holland and in New

England, the more moderate Nonconformists were bearing the brunt of the battle at home; and had it not been for the exertions of the latter, aided by the firm and seasonable resistance of Presbyterians in Scotland, the former would never have had an opportunity of returning to their native land, nor been put in possession of that liberty which they knew not how to use, and which they afterwards lost to themselves and to their country. The unthinking and short-sighted, who compose a great portion of mankind, are always apt to undervalue the gradual and slow, though regular and sure, operation of rational principles, in meliorating human institutions, and in eradicating abuses; and they are dazzled with the schemes of any extravagant, enthusiastical projector, who proposes to strike at once at the root of all their grievances, and to put them in possession of perfect liberty, by abolishing all existing establishments, and recurring to the first elements of society. The Brownists were the Radicals of their age, the Nonconformists the Moderate Reformers.

This brings us to our author's statements respecting toleration and religious liberty. On this subject there are three distinct questions: What are the true principles of religious liberty? What are the causes which have contributed to develope them? and, What parties have been most influential in their developement? The second of these questions is inferior in importance to the first, and the third to the second. The first question does not immediately come under our consideration at present, and yet it is evident, that the views which persons entertain on it will materially influence them in the determination to which they come on the other two. That men, *in a state of society*, can enjoy a liberty in religion absolute and uncontrolled, no one who has thought attentively on the subject for a moment will affirm. Such a proposition could not be maintained without maintaining, at the same time, that one man, in the exercise of his liberty, cannot encroach on that of others, and that there is no such connection between civil society and religion, as to require any regulations on the part of the former respecting the latter. For, so far as any regulations of

this kind are made, individual or private liberty is proportionably laid under restraint. We may add, and indeed it is only a native inference from what has been stated, that religious liberty must be accommodated to the state of society; and that that degree of it which may be practicable and safe in one state of society, would be impracticable and unsafe in another. Those who please themselves with vague, general principles, may be scandalized; but we have no doubt that all who are acquainted with facts, and who have learned to bring principles to the test of experience, will go along with us, when we assert farther, that if the views of religious liberty which are commonly entertained among us at present, and which are acted on without any apparent danger, had been reduced to practice at the beginning of the Reformation, they would have been productive of great mischief, and would have hazarded the very existence of the great cause in which the reformers had embarked, including the invaluable blessing of religious liberty. This statement is supported by undeniable facts. The bold, but incautious and unguarded manner in which Luther advanced certain positions on Christian liberty, gave occasion to the insurrection of the Boors and Anabaptists of Germany; and both of these contributed very powerfully to strengthen the hands of the defenders of religious despotism, and to induce many to return and seek refuge within the pale of the Papal Church. Nor will it admit of a doubt, that the imprudence and excesses of many of those who ranged themselves under the banners of civil and religious liberty, about the middle of the 17th century, produced a strong reaction, and operated in bringing back, with increased and more desolating fury, the reign of persecution and arbitrary power in Britain. The sun of religious liberty rose at the morning of the Reformation; but it rose like the natural sun, with a mild and tempered radiance, sufficient to banish the shades of night, and to drive the wild beasts within their coverts, without overpowering the eyes of mortals; and it continued gradually and imperceptibly to advance to the perfect day. To ascribe the discovery and establishment of the civil and

religious rights of men to any one cause exclusively, is a proof of ignorance and narrow views; but we have no hesitation in saying, that, in producing this effect, the influence of the great principles of the Reformation, and of the contendings of the reformers, was as superior to any thing which can properly be traced to the sectaries, as the salutary and steady light emitted by the ruler of day is to the transient coruscations darted from the clouds which pass over his disk, or from these erratic stars which make their appearance at intervals, "with fear of change perplexing monarchs."

The positions which Mr Orme lays down, and which he flatters himself he has established irrefragably, are, that Independents were the first who avowed and defended the genuine principles of religious liberty,—that all besides them—the Reformed in general, and the Presbyterians in particular—were in complete darkness on this subject;—that his friends were led to the adoption of these principles, not by the circumstances in which they were placed, but by the very nature of the religious system which they held;—and that they adhered to them consistently, when the civil power was on their side as well as when it persecuted them. Now, we are prepared to contest every one of his positions, and to show, that, in attempting to support them, he has betrayed gross ignorance of history, glaring partiality, and a disposition to avert his own mind, and that of his readers, from evidence that is destructive of his favourite hypothesis. It is not at all singular, to find those who suffer restraint pleading for toleration. What will Mr Orme say if the Papists had the start of his friends? It is a fact, however, that, long before the first publication in favour of religious liberty mentioned by him appeared, and when as yet the Brownists had not begun to make a noise, the English advocates of the Roman Catholics not only complained of the hardships which they suffered, but dwelt on "the iniquity and impolicy of persecution, and in the most moving manner invoked the king (or at least the queen) and parliament to grant the inestimable blessing of toleration." Nor were

the arguments by which they enforced their representations essentially different from those which were employed at a later period; as any may see who consult the books referred to at the foot of the page. *

"None of the first reformers," says Mr Orme, "seem to have understood the principles of religious liberty; and inconsistently advocated to themselves a right, the exercise of which they denied to others." (P. 98.) *Bona verba, quæso!* The person who pronounces this summary censure would need to be better acquainted with the writings of all the reformers than we have any reason to believe our author is. He has given us three extracts from the writings of Dr Owen, which he considers as incontestible proofs of his liberal and enlightened sentiments on this subject. (Pp. 59, 86, 104.) They are worthy of all the praise bestowed on them, although we imagine Mr Orme will find few who will agree with him, that they contain "strong statements about the impropriety and iniquity of human interference with religion,"—a sentiment not to be found in the writings of Dr Owen, and which he had too much good sense ever to adopt. But what we have to observe is, that if Mr Orme had been conversant with the works of the two first great reformers, he would have been able to produce from them the very same sentiments, supported by the same reasons, founded on the same passages of Scripture, and expressed in language equally strong, and even stronger. Our limits forbid lengthened extracts, but we cannot refrain from giving a few specimens. "*Perhaps*," says Owen, "the parable of the tares gives us a positive rule as to this business." Luther, in his exposition of this parable speaks in a more decided tone. "We are taught by it," says he, "how we ought to act towards heretics—that we must not extinguish and cut them off; for here Christ *plainly* says, 'Suffer them to grow together,'—teaching us that we ought to act against them by the Word of God alone; and thus it may turn out

* Andreas Philopater, Presbyter Romanus, Respons. ad Edictum Anglicum, p. 58, &c. Will. Allanus, Concert. Eccles. Cathol. in Anglia, fol. 146.

as in other cases, that he who errs to-day may be brought back to the right path to-morrow. For who knows when the Word of God may touch the heart of any one? But, if he be burned, or removed in any other way, it is impossible to reclaim him; nay, he of necessity must perish, who otherwise might have been reclaimed from error." To the same purpose he urges the words of our Saviour, Luke vi. 67: "Will ye also go away?" "Therefore," says he, "the Church ought to act in the same way; not to force persons to believe, nor to animadvert capitally on those who follow a different religion." And again, "To believe is something free, yea divine, being the fruit of the Spirit; wherefore it cannot, and ought not to be forced by any external violence." * The same sentiments were entertained by his illustrious contemporary, Zuinglius. We had marked out various passages of his works; but on looking into his life, lately written by an author of the most liberal views, we prefer giving his account of the sentiments of the Swiss reformer. Among the articles which he undertook to defend in a public colloquy, held in 1523, was the following:—"No person ought to be molested for his opinions; it is for the magistrate to stop the progress of those which tend to disturb the public tranquillity." The following (adds his biographer) are some of the ideas on this subject found scattered through his different works. "No human power can command conviction; therefore, neither popes nor councils have a right to prescribe to Christendom what ought to be believed; the Scripture alone is the common law of all Christians. It is at once contrary to the Gospel and to reason, to employ violent measures to extort a confession of faith contrary to conscience. Reason and persuasion are the arms that a Christian ought to employ; if they be insufficient, we must be content to expect the conversion of those who are still in error from time and the force of truth. When a religious sect professes opinions injurious to society, then, and then only, the magistrate may use his power, to prevent or

* Lutheri Oper. Jen. vol. ii. pp. 180, 348. See also, vol. iv. p. 408. Vol vii. p. 144.

punish disorders." * Having stated the measures to which the magistrates of Zurich had recourse to suppress the turbulence of the Anabaptists, the biographer adds, "As for Zuingle, neither the invectives nor the calumnies of these sectaries rendered him unfaithful to his principles of tolerance; he never incited any act of persecution, or took part in the judgments pronounced against them, though he could not but feel that the preservation of public tranquillity had rendered some degree of severity necessary." † It would be easy for us to multiply quotations of a similar kind from the writings of other reformers and their successors. We know it will be said, that some of them contradicted their doctrine by their practice, and even advanced doctrine which countenanced persecution. We grant that this is true; but then, we confidently ask, what party, or what class of writers, is free from the same charge? Not the Socinians, who, while they filled the world with outcries against the burning of Servetus, were themselves chargeable with throwing Francis Davides into prison, where he died. And for what? Because he denied that divine honours were to be given to one whom they pronounced a mere man, on which account, the followers of Davides loudly, and not unjustly, accused Socinus, and his friend Blandrata, of deep fraud, infidelity, and cruelty. ‡ Not the Remonstrants or Dutch Arminians; for they, when the magistrate was favourable to them, extended his power in religious matters beyond all just bounds, and used it to oppress and bear down their adversaries. § Not, in fine, the Independents; for they, as we shall show, were chargeable with the very same inconsistency.

When Mr Orme was employed in tracing the origin of the principles of toleration, is it possible that he could have forgotten, that there was a *Presbyterian* country in which they were known and acted upon before they were avowed by the

* Hess, Life of Zuingle, pp. 148, 159–161. † Ibid., p. 240.

‡ Bod. Hist. Unitariorum in Transylvania; in Bibl. Hagana, tom. vi. pp. 346, 387–431.

§ Voetii Politica Eccles., tom. i. p. 125–129.

Brownists, and a country where his friends found an asylum when persecuted by Elizabeth? The country to which we allude was Holland, of which it is observed by Dr Watson, that so far back as the year 1579, toleration was sanctioned in it by the Union of Utrecht.* We can easily conceive that Mr Orme was ignorant of the treatises in favour of religious liberty which were published in France during the latter half of the 16th century; but could he have forgotten that he had elsewhere designed Holland, in 1593, "the land of liberty," to which "the greater part of the Independents retired?" Why did he not inform us, that there was an ecclesiastical establishment in that country; that the established church was Presbyterian; and that she did not hold "the necessity of genuine conversion" to entitle persons to membership with her, which is one of the leading principles from which he deduces the doctrine of toleration? Did it never occur to him as exceedingly likely, that it was during their residence in Holland, that the Brownists learned those milder and more liberal views, which would not, in all probability have suggested themselves to persons of their severe spirit and contracted mode of thinking? And how, knowing what he did, could he make the following assertion?—"*All* the Protestant governments held the lawfulness and necessity of punishing heretics and idolaters, and ranked dissent from the established faith among crimes against the state."

When it is Mr Orme's object to clear his friends from the charge of putting Charles to death, he is anxious to separate "Independents, properly so called," from "a crowd of anomalous fanatics—*Baptists*, and Fifth Monarchy Men, Seekers and Antinomians, Levellers and Ranters, *all* monstrous, *all* prodigious things." (P. 90.) He is all in horrors at the thought that these ugly creatures "took refuge in the general name and *respectable* character of the Congregational body;" and he actually falls into a poetical fit on the occasion. *Si natura negat, facit indignatio versus.* But he soon recovers from his fit, which, like those of sentimental ladies

* Hist. of Philip II., p. 276.

and gentlemen, has a considerable mixture of art and affectation in it. He recollected, perhaps, that "Independents, properly so called," would have made but a poor figure, and have had but a poor stroke in the public transactions of the time, if they had not joined the "crowd of anomalous fanatics," and availed themselves of their powerful and overwhelming assistance. It is necessary for him to make out a case for his friends on the head of toleration; and, before we have turned many pages, he has whitewashed the Ethiopians, and these "monstrous things," the Baptists, are introduced to us as brothers-german of the "respectable" Independents, and legitimately "sprung" from the same honourable stock of the Brownists. Whether Mr Orme's account makes these "prodigious things" still more prodigious, by representing them as springing from their own children, or not, we shall not inquire; but such is his account. "To the Brownists," says he, "are to be ascribed the first correct views of religious liberty; and from them, and the Baptist and Pædo-Baptist Independents, *who sprung from them*, every thing that appeared on this topic for many years came." Our readers will be surprised to learn, that the leading persons in the sect to which "are to be ascribed the first correct views of religious liberty," while they petitioned for toleration, and exclaimed against compulsion, at the same time held such opinions as the following:—"We acknowledge the prince *ought to compel all his subjects to the hearing of the word of God, in the public exercises of the church;* yet cannot the prince command any to be a member of the church, or the church to receive any without assurance, by their public profession, of their own faith, or to retain any longer than they continue to walk orderly in the faith."* "God will have his laws and statutes kept, and not altered according to the state and policy of the times; for these laws were made, not for the Jews' estate, as Master Calvin teaches, but for all mankind, especially for all the Israel of God, *from which lawes it is not lawful in judgment to decline to the right hand or to the left.* By the neglect of these lawes

* Barrow's Plain Refutation, Preface.

the whole world overflowes with sinne. In the commonwealth, they have abrogated all God's judiciall lawes, and cut them off at one blow, as made for the commonwealth of the Jews only, as if God had no regard of the conversation of other Christians, or had left the Gentiles in greater liberty to make lawes and customes to themselves. Hereby it cometh to passe, that *so many capitall mischieffs as God punisheth with death, such as blaspheme the name of the Lord, open idolatry, &c., are not by law punished at all.* The High Commission punishes the most execrable idolatries, *but with prisons or forfeitures, making it a pecuniary matter, contrary to God's word.*" * Let it be observed, that, according to this author, the common method of naming the days of the week is *idolatry*, and that the method of studying divinity in Protestant schools and universities, by the help of catechisms, commentaries, and systems, is "most high *blasphemy* against the person of Christ." † The Confession of Faith published by the Brownists in 1602 teaches the same doctrine respecting "the suppression of the antichristian estate," although in more general terms. Are these, then, we ask, "the correct views of religious liberty" which Mr Orme eulogises as superior to those of any of the Reformers? Independent of particular sentiments held by them, the prevailing religious temperament of these people,—the overweening, arrogant, enthusiastical confidence with which they propounded their own opinions,—and the bitter, contemptuous, and intolerant tone in which they talked of all, however eminent for talents and piety, who differed from them in the most subordinate and disputed points of external order, were such as have ordinarily disposed men to impose on and persecute others; and it is not without reason that a modern writer, not inclined to be unfavourable to them, has said, "It is exceedingly probable, that, if the Brownists had risen in power, they would have exercised it in a very unjustifiable manner." ‡

We have not seen the petition which, Mr Orme tells us,

* Barrow's Brief Discovery of the False Church, pp. 108, 155, 212.

† Ibid., pp. 132, 177.

‡ Brook's Lives of the Puritans, ii. 43.

Busher, one of the Brownists, presented to the king and parliament in 1614; but we have before us, "An humble Supplication for Toleration and Liberty to observe the Ordinances of Jesus Christ." It was published in 1609 (five years earlier than Busher's) by some of the late silenced and deprived ministers, who adhered to the principles of the old, or Presbyterian, Nonconformists. This petition also is supported by "a series of seventeen arguments;" and we question if those of Busher are more correct, or illustrated with more felicity of language. John Robinson is the next authority produced by Mr Orme. Robinson was the ablest and most moderate defender of the Brownists. We have some knowledge of his "Justification of Separation," which appeared long before the year named by Mr Orme. Mr O. says, that this work "contains the most accurate statements on the distinct provinces of civil and spiritual authority." But here he, in his usual way, suppresses what makes against his purpose. Why does he not acquaint us with what Robinson teaches respecting "the difference between compulsion *active* and *passive*; or more plainly thus, that it is one thing for kings, or men in authority, to require of their subjects the performance of necessary duties, or the forbearance of the contrary upon such and such penalties, and another thing for subjects to obey them herein for fear and involuntarily?" Why is the following assertion omitted,—"That godly magistrates are, *by compulsion, to represse publique and notable idolatry*, as also to provide, that the truth of God, in his ordinance, be taught and published in their dominions, I doubt not; it may be also, it is not unlawful, for them by some penalty or other to provoke their subjects universally unto hearing for their instruction and conversion?"* We allow that this work "contains accurate (though not *the most* accurate) statements" on the difference between civil and ecclesiastical authority; but Robinson informs us himself, that "his sentiments were *entirely the same* as those of the Dutch Churches, and that he agreed *ex animo* to the doctrine of

* Justification of Separation, pp. 242, 243.

their Confession on that head!"* The truth is, if Mr Orme had been but moderately acquainted with the writings of reformed divines, he would have seen, that the most of those sentiments were borrowed from them which he brings forward as the discoveries of Brownists, Baptists, and Independents. Accurate notions respecting the distinct provinces of civil and spiritual authority enter into the very essence of religious liberty; and from the time that Erastus published his *Theses* (which was the year 1589), this subject had been canvassed and narrowly examined. In particular, it underwent a very accurate examination by the divines of Holland, during the early part of the 17th century, as appears from the writings of Walæus, Trigland, Revius, and Apollonius. As the writings of the last of these were well known, and highly approved by British Presbyterians at the time of the Westminster Assembly, we shall make an extract or two from them, as descriptive of their general strain. "The object of magistratical power is, by the authority of laws, to protect the bodies and goods of the citizens, and external order, that so the peace and tranquillity of human society may be preserved; but the end of ecclesiastical power is to bring sinners to repentance, and to procure the good of the whole Church by removing all scandals. Since matters purely ecclesiastical are totally different and distinct in kind from those which are political, the pious magistrate ought to use his endeavours to preserve the limits and boundaries of the two powers sacred and inviolate." "Our opponent asserts, that 'the magistrate ought to have the eternal as well as the temporal felicity of his people for his chief end.' But we deny that this is true, if understood of the proximate and immediate end which he, by himself and by the nature and power of his office, intends and endeavours to produce. We affirm, on the contrary, that the magistrate has, for the proper and proximate end of his function, the temporal peace and safety of the people, and not their eternal and heavenly life and happiness; according to the distinction laid down in

* Apologia, cap. ii.

the former chapter, between the end of an art or office, and the end of the artificer or person holding the office." * His antagonist, Vedelius, having taught that "it belongs to the magistrate to punish erroneous and heretical teachers," the same author replies: "The learned man knows how moderate the sentiments of most divines are respecting the punishment and restraint of heretics. Many of the reformed have quoted with approbation what Lactantius has said, *Institut.* lib. 5. c. 19: 'Religion is to be defended, not by killing but by dying, not by cruelty but by wisdom, not by wickedness but by faith; for those are the actions of bad men, these of good men. If you seek to defend religion by blood, by tortures, by injuries, in this case it is not defended, but polluted and violated. Nothing so voluntary as religion, in which, if the mind of the worshipper be averse, it is destroyed, it is annihilated.' Errors and heresies, if no offences deserving civil punishment are connected with or implied in them, are to be numbered among ecclesiastical causes, which pertain to the cognizance and judgment of the Church, and are to be corrected by the spiritual punishment of excommunication. But if they include or draw after them faults meriting civil punishment, the magistrate may, in that case, punish heretical teachers civilly according to the nature of their crime; for we agree with the learned professors of Leyden, that the divine laws against blaspheming apostates are not antiquated. If heretics become disturbers of the commonwealth, undoubtedly the magistrate may punish them according to the civil or common law." † In such repute was this work with the Presbyterians of Britain, that the author was requested by them to write on the leading controversies agitated among them; and when his book was presented to the Westminster Assembly, "it was not only well taken," says Mr Baillie, "but also, which is singular, and, so far as I remember, *absque exemplo*, it was ordered, *nemine contradicente*, to write a letter of thanks to Apollonius." ‡

* Apollonii Jus Majestatis circa Sacra, tom. i. pp. 26, 56, 58.

† Ibid., pp. 394, 397.

‡ Letters, vol. ii. p. 77.

We have now before us extracts from the public sermons and other writings of Presbyterians, chiefly members of the Assembly of Divines, which evince the moderation of their sentiments on the subject of magistratical interference with religion, and their aversion to every thing like prosecution. But we can only insert the following:—"Fierce and furious prosecution, even of a good cause, is rather prejudice than promotion. We must tenaciously adhere to all divine truths ourselves, and with our wisest moderation plant and propagate them in others. Opposites, indeed, must be opposed, gainsaid, reclaimed; but all must be done in a way, and by the means, appointed from heaven. It is one thing to show moderation to pious, peaceable, and tender consciences; it is another thing to proclaim beforehand toleration to impious, fiery, and unpeaceable opinions. Let moderation be so much awake, that discipline fall not asleep. The Papists, indeed, expect your moderation; and surely such should be shown them as may preserve your lives and the kingdomes from their frauds and cruelties. Though their religion, like Draco's laws, be written in blood, yet none of them ever suffered death among us merely for their religion."* Mr Orme tells us, that "Burton's Vindication of the Churches commonly called Independent," produced also in 1644, shows "that the magistrate must punish evil actions, but hath no power over the conscience of any, to punish a man for that, so long as he makes no *other* breach of God's commandments, or the just laws of the land." Burton was a very active supporter of Independency, and the author of a number of books in its defence. It was, therefore, incumbent on Mr Orme to give a fair view of his sentiments on this subject. This he has not done. For, in the first place, he has changed his words from "*open* breach of God's commandments," to "*other* breach," &c. Although this materially affects the sense, we shall allow that it was an oversight. But, secondly, he has given us but part of a sentence, which, being disjointed from the connection, conveys an erroneous idea of the author's sentiments. We shall quote

* Thorowgood's Sermon before Parliament, Dec. 25, 1644, pp. 15, 21.

the whole passage: "It is one thing to tolerate popery and idolatry publicly in the land, and another to tolerate a man in his conscience. Magistrates may not tolerate open popery and idolatry to be set up in the land; but the conscience of a papist they are no masters or judges of. If the civil magistrate see any of God's commandments actually violated, *he beareth not the sword for nought;* evill actions he must punish; but he hath no power over the conscience of any, to punish a man for that, so long as he makes no OPEN breach of God's commandments, or the just lawes of the land. And so in the rest."* To the same purpose he says afterwards: "But brother, however, you must distinguish between men's consciences and their practices. The conscience simply considered in itself, is for God, the Lord of the conscience, alone to judge, as before. But for a man's practices (of which alone man can take cognizance of), if they be against any of God's commandments *of the first* or second Table, that appertains to the civil magistrate to punish, who is for this cause called *Custos utriusque Tabulæ, The keeper of both Tables;* and therefore the apostle saith (Rom. xiii. 3, 4), '*For rulers are not a terror to good* WORKS, *but to the evill,*' &c. So as we see here, what is the object of civill power, to wit, *actions good* or *bad.* Not bare opinions, not thoughts, not conscience, but *actions.*"† How different is all this from the view of that writer's sentiments conveyed by Mr Orme's mangled quotation! The plain truth is, that Burton, so far from being averse to the civil magistrate giving public encouragement and support to the Church, entertained hopes of obtaining this *antichristian* aid to the churches of his own model.‡ We have to thank Mr Orme for giving us an opportunity of showing that, if we are not Independents, it is not because we are entire strangers to their writings; and we hope he will not take it amiss that we do justice to the real sentiments of his friends, although it should be in the way of supplying his omissions, and correcting his misstatements. Respecting his next witness, Roger Williams, the Independent Baptist, we have only two

* Vindication, pp. 39, 40. † Ibid., p. 70. ‡ Ibid., pp. 21, 42, 57.

things to say: *First*, That his "Bloody Tenent of Persecution" was answered by a most respectable Independent, in a work which bears at least a very evangelical title, "The Bloody Tenent washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb." And *secondly*, That Williams was banished by the Independents of New England, among other causes, for venting the opinion maintained in this book. In stating the sentiments of the Independents on this head, we were surprised that Mr Orme should have passed over the celebrated "Apologetical Narration," which bears, both superscribed and subscribed, the names of the five members of the Westminster Assembly who dissented from the votes in favour of Presbytery, and which must be regarded as their public manifesto, and was, indeed, the only joint declaration of their principles which the Independents could be prevailed on for many years to make. We give the following extract from it, by way of farther supplying Mr Orme's lack of duty; for it appears from page 71, that he was not ignorant of the work. After explaining their sentence of *Non-communion*, as distinguished from the authoritative censures of the Presbyterian churches, the apologists add, "And if the magistrate's power (*to which we give as much, and, as we think, more than the principles of the presbyterial government will suffer them to yield*) do but assist and back the sentence of other churches, denouncing this non-communion against churches miscarrying, according to the nature of the crime, as they judge meet, and as they would the sentence of churches excommunicating other churches in such cases, upon their own particular judgment of the cause; then, without all controversie, this our way of church proceeding will be every way as effectual as their other can be supposed to be; and, we are sure, more brotherly, and more suited to the liberty and equality Christ hath endowed his Churches with."*

We have thus brought down our review of the sentiments of the two parties to the time that they came to an open breach, and that the Independents despaired of obtaining the

* Apologetical Narration, p. 19.

legal sanction of Parliament to their church model. And we are inclined to think, that the evidence we have produced warrants the conclusion, that the Independents, and their forerunners the Baptists and Brownists, were indebted for what knowledge they had of the principles of religious liberty to the Reformers and Presbyterians; and that, so far from having got the start of the latter at the end of this period, they were, according to their own showing, still actually behind them in their acquaintance with this science. It may not be altogether unedifying to pursue the investigation a little farther.

In the course of the year 1645, the breach between the Presbyterians and Independents became open, and the attempts made to accommodate the difference between the two parties were abandoned. Despairing of being able to procure a parliamentary recognition of their church polity, or a formal right to exercise it, the Independents entered into a coalition with those sects which had risen of late, and were multiplying every day in England. The object of it was to thwart the public settlement of religion in the nation, according to the Presbyterian platform, drawn up and recommended by the Assembly at Westminster. This formed the great bond of union in a combination consisting of the most motley and heterogeneous materials; and *toleration or liberty of conscience* was the motto inscribed on their common banner, although they differed very widely, as in other things, so also respecting the extent of the boon which they claimed under this general and equivocal designation. Around this banner was soon collected "a crowd of anomalous fanatics (as they are described by Mr Orme), Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, Seekers and Antinomians, Levellers and Ranters, all monstrous, all prodigious things." The first appeal was made to the press, which teemed with books and pamphlets of all sizes for and against toleration. In this literary contest, the Independents displayed their usual politics. While they appeared under the flag of toleration, they fought shily, seldom came forward, and never lost sight of a retreat. The Presbyterians openly

declared against the toleration demanded, and endeavoured to prove it fraught with danger both to church and state.

In reviewing this controversy, and the conduct of the parties engaged in it, the candid and judicious may find reason to impute blame to both sides. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.* On the one hand, though many important and undeniable truths were brought forward in the writings of the advocates of toleration, the question was often stated with little accuracy or precision; and principles were laid down tending to overthrow or abridge the just exercise of public authority, and to introduce anarchy and confusion, especially in the state which the nation and men's minds were in at that critical juncture. The leaders of the sectaries, instead of assisting in removing out of the way acknowledged abuses, and securing that degree of liberty which was practicable, and would have been productive of the greatest advantages, acted like the French revolutionists of late, who bewildered themselves, and intoxicated their countrymen with aerial visions of liberty and equality, and theoretic asseverations about the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. In both cases the issue was the same. By seeking a distant and unattainable good, they lost that which was within their reach; and, like the dog in the fable, threw away the substantial benefit which they grasped, that they might snatch at its shadow. On the other hand, many of those who opposed the claims of the sectaries, from the dread which they entertained of anarchy and licentiousness, suffered themselves to be carried to the opposite extreme. They were successful in exposing the loose and extravagant tenets in the writings of their opponents; but when they came to state their own sentiments, they took up ground which was indefensible, and, in the heat of disputation, endeavoured to fortify it by arguments which lead to persecution, and which had accordingly been disclaimed by Presbyterian writers, and in some instances which we could mention, disclaimed by themselves.

But while we readily allow these things, we are not prepared to admit that all who opposed themselves to the

claims of the sectaries, on the head of liberty of conscience, were disposed to persecute, and to impose a religious profession by penalties, or forcibly to suppress all who differed from them. In their number is to be found the names of Gataker, Lightfoot, Selden, and others, whose liberal principles are well known, and some of whom were by no means prejudiced in favour of Presbytery. The sentiment contained in a quotation formerly made, was not confined to a single Presbyterian, and contains more good sense than many of those political porisms which have been extolled as serving to solve the nicest problems in the art of government:—"*It is one thing to show moderation to pious, peaceable, and tender consciences; it is another thing to proclaim beforehand toleration to impious, fiery, and unpeaceable opinions.*" (See above, p. 480.) The event showed the truth of this, and he who had so often taught that the plea of conscience established a *nolo prosequi*, learned from experience to hold a very different language.* As a proof that the "most distinguished writers among the Presbyterians advocated the rights of persecution," Mr Orme tells his readers that "Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in St Andrews, wrote a quarto volume of four hundred pages against pretended liberty of conscience!!" (P. 42.) We are certainly no advocates for Samuel Rutherford's reasons for coercing the publishers of heretical doctrine; but neither can we permit Mr Orme, with critical impunity, to trifle with literary history. Does he, by his points of admiration, mean to express his surprise at a quarto of four hundred pages? or does he mean to ridicule the idea of a *pretended* liberty of conscience? If ever he read the book in question, he must know that a great part of it is taken up in examining and refuting notions which he himself will allow to be untenable and pernicious, or which persons as enlightened and liberal as he is, view in that light; such as, that all error is innocent—that heresy does not endanger a person's salvation—that an erring conscience obliges—that conscience, and not the law or word of God, is the rule of duty—that

* Cromwell's Speeches to Parliament, September 1654, pp. 8, 10, 22, 30.

moral inability and want of grace release from obligation to duty—that no man can attain to certainty in religion, and that we should always believe with a reserve—that the decisions of synods, and the use of confessions of faith, are inconsistent with true liberty; with other opinions of a similar description, which were vented in the publications of the day in favour of liberty of conscience. We have farther to say, that if Mr Orme is as well acquainted with the subject as he ought to be, he must know that the most objectionable doctrine advanced by Rutherford in this book, is all to be found, and stated in terms fully as strong, in the "Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, by Mr John Cotton,"—a book which had more influence than any other in disseminating the principles of Independency, and which was repeatedly reprinted in England, *with a recommendatory preface by the two leading Independents, Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, who, though they qualify their approbation of the work on some points, do not state the least exception to those parts of it in which the author has "advocated the rights of persecution, and endeavoured to reason or rail down religious liberty."*

When Mr Orme approaches the objection, that, whatever were the theoretical sentiments of Independents on toleration, yet, when they have possessed power, they have acted in the same manner as other parties have done," he testifies a reluctance to grapple with it, and prudently removes the discussion to a distance from the place in which he eulogizes the liberal views of his friends. "As all these subjects," says he very calmly, "will come before us in subsequent parts of this work, I must wave any consideration of them now." (P. 111.) Now, lest Mr Orme should think us intolerant towards him, we also shall wave the consideration of this ungrateful topic for a little, and, in the meantime, shall take the opportunity of settling some other points which require some notice.

In pages 263 and 429, Mr Orme talks of some of the opponents of Independents, as "contradiction hunters," and seems to discover a particular dislike to any attempts by Presbyterians to detect inconsistencies in the principles of

his friends. We rather suspect that he has Dr Brown in his eye here, though he does not name him, and that he feels galled at the important contradictions which that writer has fastened on them; for it must be allowed, we think, that the Doctor has been very successful in this part of his work. Mr Orme is anxious to prove that Dr Owen was a strict Independent, and that his sentiments, and those of his connections, were the same, in every point of any consequence, with those avowed by the modern adherents of Independency. Now, although Mr Orme may perhaps tell us that it originates from ignorance (p. 309), we do not scruple to affirm, that many of the principles for which the latter are keenest and most confident, are as completely opposed to those held by Owen and his friends, as they are to those of the Presbyterian churches. We shall give a few examples.

The first of these subjects is that of ecclesiastical establishments, of which it is almost unnecessary to remark, that they are reprobated in general by all our modern Independents. Dr Williams, indeed, whose "masterly reasonings" are celebrated by Mr Orme (p. 83), is a very honourable exception, for he expressly acknowledges that "a national establishment, *if well ordered*, appears more agreeable to the prophetic language than the contrary plan; nay, more agreeable to the general tenor of revelation."* But while such was his opinion, they are represented as one of the most grievous and tremendous evils that ever afflicted the Church, not only by Mr Orme in particular, † but by the rest of his brethren. Now, compare with their statements both the writings and the conduct of the older Independents, and it will appear incontestably, that they were among the most ardent friends and the most strenuous defenders of ecclesiastical establishments. That this was the case with Dr Owen, will hardly be disputed, for he not only accepted of the situation of Dean of Christ Church,

* Antipædo-bapt. Examin., vol. i. p. 273.

† See p. 335, where, like many of the opponents of establishments, he declaims about their abuses, and argues from this, very absurdly, against the possibility of their utility.

and "gave away many vacant benefices in his gift to Presbyterians" (p. 188), but contended for them publicly in his sermons before the Parliament, and in many of his publications. "Although," says he, "the institutions and examples of the Old Testament, of the duty of magistrates, in the things and about the worship of God, are not in their whole latitude and extent to be drawn into rules, that should be obligatory on all magistrates now under the administration of the Gospel; yet, doubtless, there is something in those institutions, which being unclothed of their judicial form, is still binding to all in the like kind, as to some analogy and proportion. Subtract from those administrations what was proper to, and lies upon the account of the *nation and church* of the Jews; and what remains upon the general notion of a church and nation must be everlastingly binding; and this amounted thus far *at least*, that judges, rulers, and magistrates, which are promised under the New Testament to be given in mercy, and to be singular in usefulness, as the judges were under the Old, are to take care that the Gospel Church may, in all its concernments as such, *be supported* and promoted, and the truth propagated, wherewith they are entrusted." And, again, he says to the Parliament, "Judges and rulers, *as such*, must kiss the Son, and own his sceptre, and advance his ways. Some think, if you were well settled, you ought not, *as rulers of the nation*, to put forth your *power* for the interest of Christ" (alluding to the same sentiments as modern Independents, which had been then avowed by a few). "The good Lord keep your hearts from that apprehension."* "Shall he be thought a magistrate," says the Doctor in the same sermon, "bearing out the name and authority of God to men, that," provided "he and his people have present peace, like *a herd of swine*, cares not though such things pass for current, as will first devour their strength and then consume them?" And again, "these promises assert, that magistrates shall put forth their *power* for the welfare of the Church. Kingdoms are said to serve the Church; and how can a kingdom, *as* a kingdom (for

* Sermon on Dan. vii. 15, 16, pp. 52, 53, &c.

it is taken *formally* and not materially, not merely for the *individuals* of it, as appears by the threatening, Isa. lx. 12, of its being broken in pieces), serve the Church, but as putting forth its power and strength in her behalf? What God hath promised, kings, magistrates, rulers, nations, shall do, —that is their duty to do. He has not measured out an inheritance to his people out of the sins of other men. Surely these promises will scarcely be accomplished in bringing commonwealths to be of Gallio's frame, to take care for none of these things." Mr Orme has himself told us, that Dr Owen, in his treatise on Toleration, maintains, "that the civil magistrate, who has truth on his side, is bound to provide places of worship and means of support for those who are engaged in promoting it." When we consider the clear and decided language which the Doctor employs on the subject, and when we recollect the acuteness and soundness of his judgment, it is impossible to read the following remark of his biographer on it without a smile: "He," it is Dr Owen he means, "He seems not to have attended to the difference between what the magistrate is bound to do *as a Christian*, if he is one, and what he is called to do *as the head* of the *civil community*." (P. 103.) We had some idea that Mr Orme thought himself capable to teach the Doctor *biblical criticism*, but really it would never have entered our mind, unless he had told us so plainly, that he thought himself qualified for teaching him *logic*.

That it was the case, too, with Dr Goodwin and the rest of the Independents in the Westminster Assembly, is equally certain, for they both tell us that "*all the churches in a province*, being offended at a particular congregation, may call that single congregation to account; yea, *all the churches in a nation* may call one or more congregations to account: and their sentence *may be ratified and backed with the authority of the civil magistrate*, to the end it may be more effectual." * That they were approved of by Mr Cotton is no less incontrovertible, for it is observed by Mr Orme, p. 264, that, "on the subject of the magistrate's interference in

* Debate with the Assembly, pp. 115, 137, 138.

religion, both his writings and his conduct prove, that in some respects he was very far from perfection." And so beneficial did they appear even to the earliest Independents who settled in New England, that they thought it expedient to appoint them, and they have been continued by their descendants till the present day, from the firmest conviction of their necessity and ability. Here, then, is one point, and a point, too, not of small and trivial importance, on which there is the most decided opposition between the sentiments of later and more ancient Independents. The former are the enemies of ecclesiastical establishments, and labour to overthrow them, while the latter were as zealous as the keenest Presbyterian in vindicating their claims and demonstrating their usefulness.

But another of those subjects, where they are completely at variance, is the office of the elder who rules and does not teach. That there ought to be no such office-bearers in the Christian Church, is the universal belief of our present Independents, and there is scarcely a part of the Presbyterian system which they have attacked with more violence, or which has been the object of more pointed or virulent invective. But how different were the sentiments of the ancient Independents! * It would appear that these elders were not only approved of by the earliest English Independents during their exile in Holland, but that they existed in their churches; for we are informed by Hoornbeek, that one of their principal objections to the continental Presbyterians was, that they appointed these elders only from year to year, and not for life. "*Propter mutationem Presbyteriorum apud nos annuam, qui juxta ipsos debeunt esse perpetui.*"† They were approved of by Dr Owen, who has furnished one of the best and most able vindications of the office of these

* For Ruling Elders, see Apologetical Narration, p. 8.

† This was the practice, for a long time, of the French and Dutch Churches. See, too, Altare Damascen., p. 927; Summa Controv., p. 767.

[According to the First Book of Discipline, new elders and deacons were to be elected every year, and the practice continued in many congregations down to a very late period. See *Scott's Register of the Kirk-Session of Perth*, MS., Adv. Lib.—ED.]

elders that ever was published,* and who even, as he is quoted by Mr Orme (Append., p. 515), seems to express his regret to his church in London, that they wanted these office-bearers. They are asserted by Mr Cotton † to have been instituted by Christ, and are represented as having been *established very generally in the American churches.* The same, too, is the doctrine of Goodwin.‡ And it is observed by the Westminster Independents, that "the Scripture says much of two sorts of elders, teaching and ruling, and in some places so plaine, as if of purpose to distinguish them; and that *the whole reformed churches* had these different elders."§ Here, then, is another point on which the advocates of Presbytery are supported by the suffrages of the most enlightened individuals who were ever distinguished by the name of Independents; and when the present Independents contend for that simpler and more levelling system to which they are so vehemently attached, they have to encounter at once their own venerable forefathers, and the defenders of the principles of Presbyterian Church government.

The last of those subjects to which we shall at present advert, where this difference is discovered, is about Courts of Review. That there ought to be no such courts, is maintained very confidently by modern Independents, for, as is remarked by Mr Orme, p. 63, it is the distinguishing principle of Independency, that every congregation "or church of Christ, regularly assembling in one place, possesses, with its officers, the full power of government, worship, and discipline in itself." They allow, indeed, of meetings of the ministers of churches, but it is only for advice; and every thing beyond this is zealously resisted. Now, that the doctrine of their ancestors, though nominally the same, was substantially different, and was similar to Presbytery, will be manifest, we apprehend, from the following brief quotations

* Book on the Gospel Church. Mr Orme appears to feel this a good deal, but he cannot deny the fact.

† Way of the Churches of Christ in New England, p. 13–35.

‡ Catechism on Church Government, p. 19.

§ Reasons against the Third Proposition concerning Presbyterial Government, pp. 3 and 40.

from Dr Brown's "Vindication of Presbyterian Church Government," which we take the liberty of submitting to the attention of our readers, as they have been very conveniently suppressed or overlooked by Mr Orme.

It is mentioned by Dr Brown, on the authority of Hoornbeek (p. 164, 2d edit.), "That the Independent church at Rotterdam having unjustly deposed one of their ministers, the church at Arnheim wrote to them—stated the offence which their conduct had given to the rest of their brethren—requested them to subject themselves, with all their proceedings, to the review of a synod, which was to be called for that purpose (*utque se subjicerent integræ totius negotii actorumque omnium revisioni atque examini*), and told them that such a synod was to be summoned. The church at Rotterdam consented, the synod met in the city of Arnheim, and the members from Rotterdam having been cited before them, the business was investigated for several days, and witnesses were examined, and parties heard. A decision at last being given against the church, it publicly and humbly acknowledged its error, received its minister, after he, too, had confessed some fault which he had committed, and, having appointed a solemn day of fasting, humbled themselves before God and men on account of their sin." Now, we should be happy to be informed, if the power which was assumed by this synod (and it was the first Independent synod of which we have heard, and Goodwin and Nye were members of it) was merely consultative? Or is this all which it demanded, when it expressly declared, "that no particular congregation ought to claim any exemption from accounting for its conduct or being censurable by others, whether *the magistrate above them*, or the churches around them? *Non debere sibi arrogare exemptionem*," &c. It will not be maintained for a moment as to the power which they seem to have been willing to concede to the magistrate, and it can no more be affirmed as to the power to censure which they asserted to themselves.

That the views of Dr Owen were precisely similar, though he scrupled, like many older and later Independents, about

the term authority, as applied to synods, is equally clear. "There is direction hereunto included," says he, "in the order and method of church proceedings in case of offence, prescribed unto it by Christ himself. The beginning and rise of it is between two individual persons; thence it is carried unto the cognizance and judgment of two or three others before unconcerned; from them it is to be brought unto the church; and there is no doubt but the church hath power to determine concerning it, as unto its own communion, to continue the offender in it, or reject him from it. But no church is infallible in their judgment absolutely in any case; and in many, their determinations may be so doubtful as not to affect the conscience of him who is censured. But such a person is not only a member of that particular church, but by virtue thereof, *of the Catholic Church also.* It is necessary, therefore, that he should be *heard and judged as unto his interest therein*, if he do desire it. And this can *no way be done* but by such synods as we shall immediately describe." * If it was the opinion, however, of Dr Owen, that a member of any particular Independent church, who imagined that he was injured by any of its decisions, had a title to be heard at the bar of a synod, and if both the congregation and himself were to be as really subject to the sentence of the synod, as he himself, as a member of this particular church, was to be subject to its power, we leave it to every candid and disinterested man to say, whether the individual who uttered these sentiments was not virtually a Presbyterian?

Again, Owen observes, p. 419, "If it be reported or known by credible testimony, that any church hath admitted into the exercise of divine worship any thing superstitious or vain, or, if the members of it walk like those described by the apostle, Philip. iii. 18, 19, unto the dishonour of the Gospel, and of the ways of Christ, the church itself not endeavouring its own reformation and repentance, other churches, walking in communion therewith, by virtue of their common interest in the glory of Christ, and honour of

* Treatise on the Gospel Church, p. 414.

the Gospel, after more private ways for its reduction, as opportunity and duty may suggest unto their elders, ought to assemble in a synod for advice, either as to the use of farther means for the recovery of such a church, or *to withhold communion* from it in case of obstinacy in its evil ways." Now, if the ministers or representatives of a number of churches assembled in a synod might not only address an admonition to an erring congregation; but should their advice not be followed, if they might cast them out of their communion, and might pronounce upon them a sentence as important and authoritative as that of any Presbyterian court, we shall be glad to be instructed in what respects these principles are different from Presbytery.

We have only farther to notice, that nothing can be more consonant to the Presbyterian system, than the account which he gives us of the extent of these synods. "Yet this," he declares, "I shall say, that whereas it is eminently useful unto the Church Catholic, that all the churches professing the same doctrine of faith, within the limits of *the same supreme civil government*, should hold *constant* actual communion among themselves unto the ends of it before mentioned, I see not *how it can be any abridgment of the liberty of particular churches*, or interfere with any of their rights which they hold by divine institution, if, through more constant *lesser* synods for advice, there be a communication of their mutual concerns to those that are *greater*, until, if occasion require, and if it be expedient, there be a *General Assembly* of them all, to advise about any thing wherein they are all concerned." *

* Treatise on the Gospel Church, p. 426. We are aware that it is affirmed by Mr Orme, p. 436, that Dr Owen "invests them with no power over the churches, or their office-bearers, farther than that of advice, or of explaining and persuading to obey the will of Christ." But even admitting his statement, *whatever may be the language* which is employed by the Doctor to express their power, it does not invalidate our conclusion. He tells us that these synods are only *to advise*, but if their advice is not adopted, he allows them to follow it up with a sentence of non-communion; and, *by whatever name he may call it*, he gives them the very same authority over an erring congregation, when there is an appeal to them by a member of the Catholic Church, *as he allows to that congrega-*

As to the Westminster Independents, we have most satisfactory evidence, that whatever might be the terms in which they expressed their sentiments, they were favourable to Presbytery. They not only acknowledge, for example, that "*synods are an holy ordinance of God*," and of great use for the finding out and declaring of truth in difficult cases, and for healing offences, but expressly admit, "that *all the churches in a province*, being offended at a particular congregation, may call that single congregation to account; yea, *all the churches in a nation* may call one or more congregations to an account—that they may examine and admonish, and, in case of obstinacy, declare them to be subverters of the faith—that they are of use to give advice to the magistrate in matters of religion—that they have authority to *determine concerning controversies of faith*—that their determinations are to be received with great honour, and conscientious respect, and obligation as from Christ—that, if an offending congregation refuse to submit to their determinations, they may withdraw from them, and deny church-communion and fellowship with them—and that this sentence of non-communion may be ratified and backed with the authority of the civil magistrate, to the end it may be the more effectual." *

And as to the opinion of Mr Cotton, we shall only remark in general, that he affirms of synods, that "they have power not only to give *light* and *counsell* in matter of truth and practice, but also to *command* and *enjoine* the things to be believed and done." † We put it, then, to every fair and honourable man, whether the principles of the individuals who could employ such language, must not have been virtually Presbyterian? Was it only an advice which they imagined ought to be given by synods *about controversies of faith?* Was it only an advice which was to be delivered about casting out a church from their communion? And *was it merely an advice which was to be ratified and backed with*

tion over any of its members. If this is not Presbytery, by what appellation is it to be distinguished?

* Debate with the Assembly, pp. 115, 137, 138.

† Keys of the Kingdom, chap. vi.

the authority of the civil magistrate to the end it might be more effectual? We can scarcely conceive a more monstrous supposition; and as such a supposition, though it may be adopted by a few violent and thorough-going Independents of the present day, should not be rashly imputed to their illustrious forerunners, we consider it as a natural and legitimate conclusion, that the sentiments of the men who could deliver these statements, must have been favourable to Presbytery. *

It is declared by Mr Orme, p. 64, "that it is his object to state, and not to advocate the principles of Independency." He never, however, omits an opportunity where he can attempt its defence, and either introduces some argument for supporting its claims, or replies to some objection which has been urged by its opponents. We have an instance of the latter in the Appendix, p. 496, and as he seems to be rather vain of his reasoning, we feel it necessary to attend to it. "On no one point," says he, "have Independents been more furiously assailed than on the schismatical, or separating nature of the constitution of their churches. On this subject, the following passage from a work of Lord Brooke, one of the early supporters of this body, a great sufferer for his principles, and a member of the Westminster Assembly, deserves attention. It shows what has been glanced at in page 229, that the dispute between Independents and others, on this point, chiefly respects the *ultimate* appeal. If that is not in each congregation, why it should stop short of a general council, is yet to be explained. "The other grand heresy which men so much cry against in separation, is the independency of their congregations. But why should the independence of one assembly on a province or nation, be more schismatical than that of a province or nation on the whole world? Why may not Geneva be as independent on France, as France may be on

* "He was of so healing a temper in this matter," says another biographer of Owen (see Life added to his book on Spiritual Mindedness, p. 456), "*that I heard him say*, before a person of quality and others, he could readily join with Presbytery as it was exercised in Scotland."

the other parts of Europe? In Geneva, why may not one congregation be as independent on all Geneva, as Geneva is on all France beside?'"*

Now, we have to observe in reply, that were any one to recommend a civil constitution to our happy country, like what is proposed by Independents to the Churches in Britain; and were he to tell us, with Mr Orme and his independent lordship, upon being reminded of the impolicy of making every town and village a court of justice, of which all the householders were to be members, and from which there was to be no appeal, that if the ultimate appeal was not to be in the towns and villages, why it should stop short of a general convention of political delegates from every nation upon earth, remained to be explained, would we not consider him as uttering one of the grossest absurdities? And yet is not this very absurdity the basis of the answer which is offered by Mr Orme to this very serious objection; and must not the objection, of course, remain in its force against that ecclesiastical polity which would fritter down the Church and kingdom of Christ, into as many separate and independent governments, from which there is no appeal, as there are even handfuls of Christians, calling themselves churches, on the face of the earth?

It is impossible to follow Mr Orme through the whole of those instances in which he is chargeable with glaring and shameful partiality to the friends of Independency, and discovers a very marked and ungenerous propensity to avail himself of every thing which he imagines will bring discredit on the cause of Presbytery. We cannot refrain, however, from noticing, as an instance of the former, his passing over in silence, without the slightest animadversion, the conduct of Dr Owen, when he accepted of the situation of a member of Parliament, and his even apologizing for that inconsistency. Had any thing like this been done by a Presbyterian, it would have been the subject of reprehension; but it must be palliated and justified, because it was done by an Independent.† And, as an instance of the latter, we may appeal

* Brooke's Episcopacy, pp. 104, 108.

† Mr Orme informs us, by way of excuse for Dr Owen, p. 147, that

to his alluding only to Presbyterian churches, and especially to many of the old Presbyterians in England, as an illustration of the melancholy progress of churches, "from Calvinism to Arminianism, Arianism, and finally, Socinianism." (P. 216.) Did it not occur to his recollection, that the Presbyterians in England *are almost virtually Independents*, for they have no courts of review, or they have them only in name? Did it not recur to his remembrance, that he might have got many illustrations of the remark among the Independent churches, which, from the want of these courts, must be more liable to heresy than Presbyterian congregations? in the churches, for example, of Priestly and Kippis,* and many of the students of Doddridge,—in the churches of clergymen who were educated in Scotland among the Haldanite Independents, or who ministered a few years ago

"he probably considered himself as holding no clerical office during his vice-chancellorship." And yet he himself says to Cawdry, in the preceding page,—"To what purpose ask the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and dean of Christ Church, whether he was (then) a minister? Did not all the world know it?" And he tells us, that he and Dr Goodwin, at that time, divided the duty in St Mary's between them, and that "he was attended by a numerous congregation," p. 189. The duties, besides, which he had to perform as vice-chancellor, even according to the showing of Mr Orme (chap. 7th), were more almost than could be discharged by a single individual; and in addition to these, "he was one of the commissioners that were appointed in every county for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters," p. 151. O the party spirit of some men, who, after recording and expatiating on all these facts, can justify his conduct in undertaking another office, which is forbidden to clergymen in the Word of God, and which, from the extent of its cares, must have been particularly reprehensible at the period referred to in such a man as Owen! It is added by Mr Orme, that "he might think it was as lawful for him to be a member of Parliament, as to hold a civil office in Oxford; and that in this situation, he might be able to render important services to the university, which then stood in need of all the friends it could muster." Admirable logic, and still more admirable Christianity! Owen had done one thing which was unlawful, and he might think, therefore, that he should do *another*, and *he was quite right in his conceptions.* And he was desirous to be of use to the university as to its temporal interests, and *stept out of the way of duty to do so;* and not even the mildest censure is to be pronounced upon his conduct, *because he was nominally an Independent!!*

* He mentions, indeed, the names of both these divines, but he does not state that they were Independents, nor does he advert to their churches.

in some of their principal congregations,—in the churches of Independents in other parts of England,—and in their American congregations, where it is stated by Dr Morse, that the followers of Socinus are rapidly on the increase. He has omitted, however, very carefully the whole of these facts, while he has enlarged upon the former, and by his representations in this and other parts of the volume, must excite in every candid and impartial reader the involuntary impression, that it is one of his favourite objects, of which he never loses sight, to dwell upon every evil which may be connected with Presbytery, though it by no means results from it, and to suppress and conceal far more extensive evils which are to be found among Independents.

It is no easy matter to understand what Mr Orme's sentiments are respecting the civil war, although he is extremely fond of talking about it, and about those who had a chief hand in its transactions. At one time he appears zealously to espouse the cause of the Parliament, and speaks of its supporters as "men who deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance, instead of being execrated, for what they did." (P. 23.) But anon his tone is altered; his opinion is neutralized; he can give no positive judgment on the subject; persons, "of course," took the side which they thought right, to which they were inclined or which served their interests; and neither party, he is disposed at last to think, were criminal. The fault, if there was any, must be charged on "the constitution," which was "divided against itself." And, "so long as the constitution was thus divided, no man could be justly chargeable with crime, in following either the one party or the other, as his conscience dictated." (P. 25.) Does Mr Orme really mean to say, that persons might lawfully take away, or be aiding in taking away the lives of thousands of their fellow-creatures, reducing their families to beggary, razing cities, and laying waste fields and vineyards—just as their "conscience dictated?" This is *liberty of conscience* with a witness! If he does not mean this, what does he mean? And what does he mean, farther, when he says,—"Politics, however unfriendly to the growth of

religion, required to be studied, that the subject might know his duty?" and when he adds, in the way of defence, "Owen had no other connection with party politics than that which arose from necessity?" Can a Christian ever be "required," in order to "know his duty," to do what is "unfriendly to the growth of religion?" or can he be under a "necessity" to take part in that which is sinful, or even doubtful? The truth is, while Mr Orme wishes to show himself a patriot, and yet his imagination is at the same time possessed with a kind of half-notion that Christians ought not to intermeddle with politics, he must talk incoherently. The same remark is applicable to what he says of "a warlike spirit." (P. 86.) We know of nothing advanced by Owen on that head which called for the strictures of his biographer, whose distinctions appear to us to throw very little light indeed on the subject. We might also have extended the remark to his favourite opinion, as to the iniquity of all state-interference with religion, contrasted with the praises he bestows on "the commonwealth government," for "the measures it employed to advance the interests of the Gospel" (p. 123); and to his censures of Presbyterian ministers and courts for intermeddling with affairs of war and peace, contrasted with the approving narrative which he has given of the offer of "the Congregational churches in London to raise three regiments for the Parliament,"—of their having "*dispatched*" two of their ministers as delegates to General Monk in Scotland, "with a letter to him from Dr Owen, *in name of the Independent churches*, to which he was considered as belonging, (Did he belong to *all* of them?) to inform him that it was "the sense of the churches," that he ought not to conduct his army into England,—of their offer "to force back Monk into Scotland,"—and of "the private treaty with the officers at Wallingford house," at which Owen and Nye "offered to raise one hundred thousand pounds for the army." (Pp. 282, 283.) But although we could have mustered up as much patience as to go through the disagreeable drudgery of exposing these, and many other inconsistencies of a similar kind, we suspect the patience of our readers is already exhausted.

We cannot, however, pass over the defence set up for Owen's famous sermon preached before Parliament, on "the day after the decapitation of Charles I." Speaking of "this tragical scene," Mr Orme says, "*That any body of religious persons should be guilty of such lawless and unjustifiable procedure, would be sufficient to brand it with deserved and indelible disgrace.*" (P. 89.) This is sufficiently strong language. Well, on the day after this "lawless and unjustifiable procedure," Dr Owen preached before the perpetrators of it, at their express desire and appointment, on a text which he knew would be interpreted by them as giving them the greatest encouragement, a sermon which he published under the title of "Righteous zeal encouraged by Divine protection;" and his biographer commends his prudence in complying with the orders of the Rump Convention, and in dexterously shifting to say any thing that would have given offence to either party—for this is the amount of the apology made for him! "His superiors," says Mr Orme, were persons *whose commands were not to be gainsayed.* They were aware of the importance of having their conduct sanctioned, even in appearance, by a preacher of Owen's respectability. Perhaps they expected he would defend or apologize for their measures. If they did, they must have been grievously disappointed, *as the discourse maintains a profound and studied silence on the awful transaction of the preceding day. He is exceedingly cautious of committing himself,* by expressing on opinion, either of the court, or the country party; which plainly shows, that while he was not at liberty to condemn, he was unwilling to justify!!!." How are the mighty fallen! What a misfortune is it when the reputation of a good and great man falls into the hands of a person who neither knows when to blame, nor how to defend! Owen's preaching, with the sermon he delivered on the occasion referred to, was the greatest blot on his public life; but we have no doubt he approved of the procedure against Charles, and it would not be difficult to point out the circumstances that warped his judgment, and led him, notwithstanding the soundness of his head, and the integrity of his heart, into a

train of thinking so erroneous and so reprehensible. But, acting as he did, we cannot suppose him to have entertained opposite sentiments of the execution of the king, without branding his memory with "indelible disgrace." Would the Parliament have asked any of the Presbyterian ministers to preach on the occasion in question? Or was there one of that denomination, who, if he had occupied the pulpit, would have maintained a "studied silence on the awful transaction of the preceding day," and faithlessly failed to tell his audience of their sin? We cannot tell what ideas some people may have formed of ministerial honesty and faithfulness; but we know how prophets, and apostles, and other men of God in all ages have acted in similar cases,—that they have not feared the faces of the greatest—that they have rebuked kings, the company of the spearmen, and the multitude of the people that looked fiercely—that they have not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God—that they have not been time-servers or men-pleasers—not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth, commending themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. "His superiors were persons whose commands were not to be gainsayed!" Where, or who is that superior, whose commands a faithful minister will be afraid to gainsay, provided they are inconsistent with those of God? "He was not at liberty to condemn!" If his tongue was loose, he was at liberty to condemn, although every hair on the heads of his auditors had been a spear, and all of them had been pointed at once at his breast.

Quitting the unfortunate sermon, Mr Orme fixes on the essay annexed to it, which is on *toleration*, and takes occasion from it to enter (most willingly the reader may believe) on a long digression, intended to prove "the most enlightened views of religious liberty to have originated with the Congregationalists." (P. 97–110.) Following his example, we shall recur a little to this topic, and endeavour to redeem a pledge which we gave in relation to it.

The Solemn League is one of those subjects which, of all

others, we should think, an advocate for the Independents of the 17th century would wish to avoid touching on. Mr Orme seems not altogether insensible of this, as he alludes to it rarely; but still he cannot refrain from attempting, by means of it, to fasten the charge of intolerance on the Presbyterians. Describing the members of the Westminster Assembly, he says, "Some were decided Episcopalians;" (Who were these?) "a few were Erastians, or men of no fixed sentiments on these subjects; the body at the beginning were moderate Conformists, but, pushed on by the Scotch commissioners, would at last be satisfied with nothing short of the Divine right of Presbytery, and *a Covenanted uniformity*. Ten or eleven members were wholly or partially Independents." (P. 72.) Would the reader ever conclude from this statement, that all the members of Assembly, *including the ten or eleven Independents*, were at one period harmoniously and zealously engaged in promoting this "covenanted uniformity?" Yet this was the real and undeniable fact. The Covenant referred to was drawn up at Edinburgh, with the express concurrence of commissioners from the English Parliament, including Philip Nye, one of the leading ministers among the Independents, and Sir Henry Vane, their oracle in the House of Commons. Nye and Vane posted with it to London, and procured its ratification. When it was sworn by the members of the House of Commons, and of the Assembly of Divines, Nye delivered a speech, in which he extolled it to the skies, as "a covenant and league that is never to be forgotten by us nor our posterity—such an oath, as for matter, persons, and other circumstances, the like hath not been in any age or oath we read of in sacred or profane stories, yet sufficiently warranted by both;" adding, "we invocate the name of the great God, that his vowes, yea, his curse, may be upon us, if we do not this."* In an address to the Common Council and Livery of London, Sir Henry Vane, who, according to Mr Orme's statement, "possessed the most exalted views of civil and religious

* Two Speeches before subscribing of the Covenant, 25th September 1643.

freedom" (p. 105), not only commended the Covenant, but extolled the Estates of Scotland, because "they enjoined it upon the penalties, that those that should not take it, or should deferre it, should be esteemed enemies to religion, to his majestie's honour," &c.* All the Independents in the Parliament and Assembly took this oath, for "the preservation of the reformed religion *in the Church of Scotland, in discipline and government*,"—and for bringing the Churches in the three kingdoms "to the nearest conjunction and *uniformity in religion, form of church government*," &c. And this they did before a single Scotch Commissioner sat in the Assembly. If "covenanted uniformity," then, implied intolerance and persecution, how is it possible to exculpate the Independents from these vices? We suspect it will be difficult to exculpate them from additional charges. For a considerable time they continued to speak highly of the Covenant, and treated the accusation of their having violated it as a calumny. How they contrived to satisfy their consciences in taking it at first, and in afterwards thwarting its execution, both covertly and openly, their friends can best tell; but certain it is that they never disowned it, nor spoke lightly of its matter or its tie, until they got the sword wrested from the more sober part of the nation, and wielded by a host of fanatics. And it is equally certain, that they and their new allies gave too much ground for the description which the unprincipled but witty satirist has left of their treatment of those who confided in them:

> "And troll'd them on, and swore, and swore,
> Till th' army turned them out of door:
> This tells us plainly what they thought,
> That oaths and swearing go for nought;
> And that by them they were only meant
> To serve for an expedient."

To support the claims which Independents had to be regarded as the natural friends of religious liberty, and to rebut all charges against them of favouring persecution, Mr Orme has adopted one method which he seems to regard as both novel and irrefragable. It may be expressed

* Two Speeches at a Common Hall, 27th October 1643.

thus: The principles essential to Independency are the principles of religious liberty, and a true Independent cannot, in the nature of the thing, be a favourer of intolerance. (P. 108.) This looks very like a begging of the question, or a probation of *idem per idem;* and it reminds us forcibly of the preacher who alarmed his audience by announcing that he intended to establish his proposition by twenty arguments, the first of which was, That it could not be otherwise in the nature of things. But let us hear these essential principles. "The renunciation of all dependence on civil authority in matters of religion, and of all connection with temporal governments, forms an essential part of consistent Independency;" *ergo*, &c. Indeed! And was Mr Orme really so simple as to think that we would take this representation of Independency on his word, and in opposition to all the evidence to the contrary to which we had access, and have produced in the first part of our review? "Another principle of Independency is the necessity of genuine conversion, to qualify and entitle men to enjoy the privileges of the kingdom of Christ;" from which he infers, that spiritual means only can be employed to bring men into the church. Very good; but if he will only turn to the passages which we have quoted (pp. 475, 477, 480), his friends, Barrow, Robinson, and Burton, will teach him that this is no way to the purpose; and that, though men cannot be compelled to enter into or remain in the church, yet they may be compelled, and restrained, and punished, ay, and put to death too, for points of religion. The same persons, together with the authors of the "Apologetical Narration" (see p. 482), will furnish him with an answer to the argument from the last principle which he mentions, viz., that a member of an Independent church is never required to act or to remain in it, "but according to his convictions,"—a principle which probably led Adam Smith to designate Independency, "a plan, more properly, of *no* ecclesiastical government." So easily is Mr Orme's formidable breast-work demolished; and he must betake himself to the tented field, comforting himself in the best

manner he can with the compliments he quotes from Milton (p. 105), and the "northern philosophers," Hume, Smith, and Laing (pp. 106, 110, 401); like the erudite and valorous knight, who erst

> "Cheer'd up himself with ends of verse,
> And sayings of philosophers."

It is truly amusing to see the avidity with which he seizes on the favourable testimony of the sceptical philosophers and historians of the north; picks out and pronounces sterling all the good and flattering things they have dropped about Independency, and rejects and throws away as dross all the bad and disrespectful things; although it were easy to point out the superficiality of their information, and the hastiness of their judgment, in the former as well as in the latter. If one may judge from the tone in which he writes, Mr Orme regrets that he did not come into the world somewhat sooner, so as to have had a little philosophical sparring with Mr Hume or Dr Smith; he pleases himself with the fancy, that if these giants of philosophy had encountered "some of the Independents," they "would have found them not so incapable of reasoning" as they allege, and would have retired from the contest impressed with a deep respect for their powers; and he appears to entertain no doubt that, had they "been capable of entering into the views" he had just been stating, both David Hume and Adam Smith would have become not only almost but altogether Independents. (Pp. 106, 110.) On the other hand, he is much displeased with Dr Cook for ascribing the zeal of Independents for religious liberty in a great degree to policy, and the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed; although it is reasonable to suppose that the Doctor, from the nature of his undertaking and pursuits, must have made himself more accurately acquainted with that subject than writers on Political Economy and Civil History could be. (P. 107.) Mr Orme very simply asks, "Why did not political motives induce them (the Presbyterians) to make friends by the same means?" To which we can only reply with the same simplicity, Just because they were less politic,

and more firm and consistent. He asks again, "Would not others have been likely to see through the veil of hypocrisy now woven for the Independents by Dr Cook, and not have left to him the honour of the discovery?" To which we must reply, that we are really confounded to hear Mr Orme speaking of this as a modern invention or new discovery, when the charge, whether true or false, was so frequently urged against his friends by their contemporary opponents. As a proof directly in point, we beg leave to refer him to an authority to which he can have easy access: "Baillie's Letters," ii. 3, 17; and his "Dissuasive," p. 129.

That the Independents were very far from being of the principles which Mr Orme gratuitously ascribes to them, is demonstrated from their conduct during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, when the measures of government, in reference to religion, were directed in a great degree by their advice. Not to speak of their holding places and lifting stipends as ministers of an established Church, this appears from the active part which the leading men among them took, in 1654, for restricting toleration to such as professed the fundamentals of Christianity. Here Mr Orme comes forward, and interposes his ægis to defend them from the accusation of intolerance brought against their conduct by the Independent historian. He insists, with no small warmth, that Neal has "misunderstood the nature of this meeting" of the ministers, "and *the design* of the framers of these articles," meaning the list of fundamentals—that they were merely "called together by a committee of the house, to state what in their opinion was fundamental or essential in Christianity"—that "the use to be made of their paper was no concern of theirs"—that we should infer "from the title of the document, that it was intended for something about the propagation of the Gospel." And he concludes triumphantly, "Thus the main proof which has been alleged of the intolerant conduct of Independents, when possessed of power, completely fails." (P. 150–152.) Now, to all this, we have just three plain things to say: 1. Mr Orme has not stated the facts fairly and fully. He has told us that

"it was *contended*" in the house, that a clause in the instrument of government "was designed to limit the toleration," but he has forgotten to add, what is stated by his authority, that "it was *voted*, that all should be tolerated or indulged who professed the fundamentals of Christianity." * 2. As it was in consequence of this vote that a committee was appointed to nominate certain divines to draw up a catalogue of fundamentals to be presented to the house, no reasonable person could doubt or be ignorant of the design; and we suspect Mr Orme's reasoning would go far to justify the inquisitors of heretical pravity in passing sentence of heresy on those who were brought before their ghostly tribunal. But, 3. To set the matter at rest, we beg leave to inform him, that what the Parliament did in this affair was in consequence of a previous representation from the ministers, containing the following article: "14. That this honourable committee be desired to propose to the Parliament, that such who do not receive those principles of Christian religion without acknowledgment, whereof the Scriptures do clearly and plainly affirm that salvation is not to be obtained, as those formerly complained of by the ministers, may not be suffered to preach or promulgate any thing in opposition unto such principles."† The writer of this pamphlet says on the margin, "Upon occasion of which motion, the ministers were desired to instance, who therefore presented fifteen fundamentals, the copy whereof is not yet come to my hand." Facts laugh at confident assertions and long-winded arguments, as Leviathan does at sling-stones and the shaking of a spear.

We already noticed that Mr Orme, when employed in eulogizing the liberal sentiments and consistent conduct of his friends on the head of toleration, postponed the consideration of the strong objection to his statements drawn from the sentiments and conduct of the Independents of New England. We must now seek out the place where he takes up the objection, and examine what he has got to say

* Neal, iv. 98.

† Major Butler's Fourth Paper, unto which is subjoined the Fifteen Proposals of the Ministers, p. 23.

to it. The plain case is shortly this: in New England, the Independents were both legislators and magistrates—they had both the making and executing of the laws in their hands; and being thus "possessed of power," they were chargeable with great intolerance and undeniable persecution. It is unnecessary for us to enter into any details concerning the facts, which are well known. Suffice it to say, that by fining, imprisoning, whipping, banishing, and selling into slavery, the Independents of New England, in the course of a few years, exercised greater severities on the score of religion than have been committed by Presbyterians, not only in England, but also in Scotland, from the time that Presbytery was first introduced into it, down to the present day!—severities, too, which were exercised in many, we may safely say most instances, on persons not chargeable with errors commonly reckoned fundamental. The consideration of this ought to humble Mr Orme, in reviewing what he has written in his present work. But what does he advance to ward off the fatal blow which these facts aim at the very heart of his favourite hypothesis? We are perfectly serious when we say, that all that he brings forward has not more weight or relevancy in it, than if he had said, These acts of intolerance were committed in a country which lies at the distance of 2000 miles from Britain. "That men *calling themselves* Independents," says he, "may be persecutors, it would be foolish to deny." (P. 335.) So, then, we must look upon all the persons engaged in these measures as merely nominal and self-called Independents—men who said they were Independents, and were not, but did lie. A very modest requisition, truly! He had told us formerly that "a persecuting Independent is a *monster*," which, among other things, means a *rare* creature; but now, when he comes to America, he finds these creatures so *common*, that they can no longer be viewed in the light of monsters, and therefore he casts them off as *spurious*—pretended Independents. "The Brownists," he adds, "who colonized New England, understood *most thoroughly* the principles of religious liberty." Did they so? And yet we are imme-

diately told of "the erroneous principles on which their legislative code was founded;" and it is allowed that they enacted the laws which produced persecution, as soon as there were objects on whom to exert it! Is not this thorough, pure, palpable contradiction? Vain is the attempt to shift the odium from the original settlers to the subsequent emigrants from Britain. Mr Orme says,—"Most of the Puritans who went over to New England, were attached to a species of Presbyterianism rather than to Independency." What is the proof of this? Why, "they had their regular meetings of synods and councils, in which the civil magistrate occupied a place; and the laws and regulations of which were enforced by his authority." And will Mr Orme now venture to affirm that the respectable Independents of Old England disapproved of these things? We know very well, and we have given our reasons for believing, that the Independents of the 17th century, in England and in America, approached much nearer to Presbytery than the moderns of the same denomination do. What then? Still they were the Independents of that day, about whom, and in defence and praise of whom, Mr Orme has written a large book. He may dress up an abstract idea, or bring forward a modern scheme, according to the imagination of his own heart, and say, This, and this only, is entitled to the name of Independency, or consistent Independency. What have we to do with that? He may say that Cotton, and Hooker, and Norton, were not Independents, nor their congregations Independent churches. Let him make his choice, and stand to the consequences. All the world have thought and spoken otherwise, and so hitherto had Mr Orme. The *Model of New England* was a common designation by which Independency was known at the period of which we are speaking. New England was the cradle of Independency; it was the place from which the principal books in its favour, and the principal answers to the attacks made upon it, came; which were reprinted, circulated, and warmly recommended by the Independents of Britain, who uniformly professed the highest veneration

for the ministers and churches of that foreign settlement. When Mr Orme, therefore, says, "It is an obvious misapplication of the term Independency to apply it to such procedure," he forgets himself,—he does not know what he is doing. What is this but, upon the matter, to deny that there were in that age any such beings as "Independents properly so called;" and to acknowledge, that he has himself been all along writing about, and defending, and bepraising an imaginary sect—a galaxy of churches in the clouds? To such a wretched shift is our author driven in his reasoning! He acts like a person who had undertaken to wash a *Moor*, and make her as white and fair as a *Circassian*, and who, after dipping and redipping her in a river, until he has exhausted himself in the fruitless attempt, concludes the scene in despair by drowning the victim of his experiment. Because he cannot prove the Independents what he would have them, he will annihilate them. We have heard of the *reductio ad absurdum;* but this is *reductio ad nihilum.*

We must not omit mentioning, that, in the year 1669, Dr Owen and some other Independent ministers in London, having heard of certain recent severities against the Baptists, wrote a letter to New England, "remonstrating with their brethren, and entreating them to desist from such proceedings." We must be allowed, however, to demur to the construction put on this letter by Mr Orme, when he says, "It shows what were the sentiments of Dr Owen and his brethren respecting coercive measures;" for it does not contain one word respecting either the iniquity or the unlawfulness of such measures, but merely urges the inexpediency of them at a time when they themselves were suffering from similar treatment in the mother country.* On the question of the agreement or difference of sentiment between the Independents of Old and New England, respecting coercive measures in religion, we beg leave to refer Mr Orme to a passage in a book with which he is not altogether unacquainted,—"A Defence of Mr John Cotton

* Neal's New England, ii. 354, 356.

against Mr Dan. Cawdrey, written by himself," pp. 68–70. If the section now referred to had been duly pondered by Mr Orme, and if he had kept in mind that Dr Owen (who, he knows, published the book with a long preface of his own), has not hinted the least exception to its statements, we are inclined to think he would have saved both himself and us a good deal of trouble.

We have now done with this topic. Perhaps it may be thought we have devoted too many pages to its discussion. But if we entered on it at all, it was necessary, in order to do any justice to the subject, to go at some length into detail; and a desire to avoid prolixity has induced us, somewhat reluctantly, to exclude matter which we thought neither irrelevant nor unimportant. The importance which the author attaches to the point on which our remarks have mainly borne, the prominence which he has given to it in his performance, and the imposing confidence with which he has brought forward his statements, had, doubtless, some influence on our determination. But the truth is, neither one nor all of these reasons would have induced us to give ourselves so much trouble, had we not been convinced that there exists a predisposition in the minds of not a few, besides professed and thorough Independents, to receive our author's statements without exacting evidence of the strongest kind; and that, in many instances, he has only repeated and methodized those mistakes which are plentifully scattered in modern books and periodicals, and which are too often to be heard from persons respectable for their talents and general information, as well as from thoughtless theologues, and pert pretenders to reading, who have mistaken the froth and foam for the cream of learning. On these accounts, we were of opinion that the work required an antidote, and we were not sure it would be furnished from another quarter. Correct ideas of the opinions held, and of the line of conduct pursued, by religious parties in former times, and especially in our own country, are not to be despised as unnecessary or unimportant. Erroneous ideas of this kind ought certainly to be avoided or corrected,

of Leven's actions made not such noyse in the world as those of General Lesley." It argues more than conceit when a subaltern officer, who had hitherto distinguished himself chiefly in marauding expeditions, or by enlisting and training recruits, censures with such confidence and asperity the plans of a veteran, whose military talents and bravery had been long established. One example of this may suffice. In the beginning of 1644, Major Turner was sent by his lieutenant-general to represent the destitute state of their regiment to General Leslie, who was at that time endeavouring to pass the Tyne near Newcastle. The gallant major, thinking that a detachment, which guarded the workmen employed in constructing a bridge of boats, was in danger, provided the enemy should make a sally from the town, went to the general's tent, and advised him to cause false alarms of an assault to be made round the walls. "When I returned," says he, "I was ashamed to relate the answer of that old captane; which was, that he feared the brightness of the night (for it was moonshine) would discover the burning matches to those on the walls. I told him the moonshine was a prejudice to the designe, for it would hinder the matches to be seen; for the more lunts were seen, the better for a false alarm." This was, no doubt, a piece of information to the old captain. We think we could give almost the very words which Leven used on the occasion; but it would be too much; for it is worse than ridiculous to suppose for a moment that any man, not to say an experienced soldier, should feel an apprehension that the very thing by which he meant to create an alarm should be seen by the enemy. Sir James himself is, however, a reluctant witness to Leslie's generalship at the time referred to. "The Scots," says he, "got over the river afterward, and by peecemale made Newcastle's armies almost as strong as their own, and far better sojours, moulder away, and the relecks of it to take sanctuarie within the walls of Yorke. Such was the King's sad fate, and the infatuated stupidity of these under him." (P. 32.) This last expression is a common one with the writer of the Memoirs. Had it not been

that so we serve our master honnestlie, it is no matter what master we serve; so, without examination of the justice of the quarrell, or regard of my duetie to either prince or countrey, I resolved to goe with that ship I first rencountered. After tuo days necessarie stay at Gottenberg, I hired a boat and went away in the evening; we rowed all night, and haveing pasd tuo Suedish castles, about breake of day we came neere Millstrand. Understanding the wind blew faire for both ships, I was advisd to step out, and goe a foot straight thorough the toune to the shoare, it being the neerer cut, whill the boate went a greater way about with my servant and coffer. I did so, and came just there as the Englishman was hoyseing his sailes. I askd him if he wold give me passage to Hull (a place I have since beene too well acquainted with), who told me he wold with all his heart, provided I wold presentlie step in. I beseeched him to stay till my servant and coffer came, without whom I could not goe; bot no entreatie or prayer could prevaile with the inexorable skipper, for away he flew from me, as ane arrow from a bow. This onlie hinderd me to *present my endeavours* to serve the King against the Covenanters. I calld instantlie for the Dane who was bound for Scotland, resolving to serve either the one or the other without any reluctance of mind; so deeply was that base maxime rooted in my heart. The people pointed with their fingers to the ship, which had got a great way out from the shoare, and stayd there for a passenger whom the skipper had promised to carry to Edinburgh. He was ane old man, who at taking his farewell of his friends the night before, had drunke so much that he had sleepd his time. Immediately I clapd in fresh men in my boate, the others being overwearied with rowing, and so came to the ship; neither did the skipper make any scruple to ressave me, thogh at first he conceaved his old man was in my companie. To the neglect of this old man, nixt to all ruleing providence, may I attribute my goeing at that time to Scotland. On the sixth day after my embarking, we saw ourselvs not farre from Aberdeene. I was glad we were so farre north, *because I had heard the king's ships were in the firth*, bot I was mistaken, for they were gone; and no matter they had been gone sooner, for any good service they did the king there."

Sir James wrote this in his old age, after he had adopted high monarchical opinions; and, though he confesses his former want of principle, yet it is evident he wished the reader of his narrative to believe that even at that early period his inclinations were with the king, and that he would have been glad of an opportunity of joining his standard,—a supposition not easily reconcilable with his continuing to fight for the Parliament until the royal cause was ruined beyond recovery.

Repairing to Newcastle, where the Scottish army was

encamped under General Leslie, afterwards Earl of Leven, he obtained the only vacant place which was left, that of major in Lord Kircudbright's regiment, consisting of the men of Galloway,—" a place," says he, " and a people fatal to me." Sir James does not say what share he got of " the brotherlie present of £300,000 sterling," with which the Parliament of England sent the Scottish army home; but he is careful to preserve the following piece of information.

" All this while I did not take the Nationall Covenant, not because I refused to doe it, for I wold have made no bones to take, sueare and signe it, and observe it too; for I had then a principle, haveing not yet studied a better one, that I wrongd not my conscience in doeing any thing I was commanded to do by these whom I served. Bot the truth is, it was never offerd to me; everie one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge, unles I had taken the Covenant either in Scotland or England."

The Irish massacre having broken out in the end of 1641, the Parliament of Scotland sent an army of 10,000 men to assist in suppressing it; and among these Sir James went as major in Lord Sinclair's regiment. Nothing of importance occurs in this part of the Memoirs, if we except the accounts of the cruelties committed by the Irish, and the reprisals made upon them by the Protestant army, in which last the memorialist tells us he had no share, having confined himself to " bringing in store of cows, with the flesh and milke whereof," says he, " we much refreshed the decayed bodies and fainting spirits, not only of our sojours, but of many of our officers also." Having remained two years in Ireland, where he " got no more than what maintained " him, he came to Scotland, whence, after some stay, he repaired to Newcastle, and joined his countrymen, who, under command of Leslie, had gone to the assistance of the English Parliament against the King. In reading the account which Sir James has given of the proceedings of the Scottish army in Ireland and England, we were particularly struck with his repeated attempts to fasten the charge of incapacity on the general. Not content with his own reflections on particular measures, he inserts a saying which a deceased nobleman was reported to have employed, " that the Earle

part of the Memoirs is properly an apology or defence, and indeed the work generally partakes of this character. We may take an opportunity, before we have done, of making some remarks on the degree of success which has attended the author's attempt to set himself right with the public; for the Memoirs were evidently intended for publication, though his friends were discouraged from executing the purpose by the untoward event of the Revolution, and the great change of measures and principles to which it gave rise. In the meantime we may state, that the Editor, in his Preliminary Notice, has in substance expressed our opinion, when, speaking of the letters addressed to Sir James Turner, after his removal from military employment, he says, they "will be found to exhibit some amiable contrasts to those darker impressions of his character, which have been too deeply, and it is to be feared, too justly, stamped on the contemporary history of his age, ever to be effaced."

Sir James Turner was born in the year 1614, but in what part of Scotland he does not say; nor does he give us any information respecting his parentage. We only learn that he went through the usual course of philosophy at the College of Glasgow, where, though, by his own confession, he made small proficiency, it is probable he acquired that taste for letters which he retained during life. Being of a buoyant and roving disposition, he was averse to the labours of a sedentary employment, and chose the profession of arms. As Scotland was at that time in profound peace, he turned his eyes, like many of his adventurous countrymen, to the Continent, where Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was in the career of his victories, as the champion of the Protestant cause, and of the liberties of Germany. Having obtained the post of ensign in a regiment of Scots, raised by Colonel Lumsden, he set out with them for the Continent in the year 1632; but he never saw the Swedish hero, who had gone into the interior of Germany, and soon after fell in the battle of Lutzen. A better field for acquiring military skill, and a worse school for forming personal character, could not be found by a young man, that that in which

Turner was now placed. After the death of their magnanimous leader, whose clemency was as conspicuous as his valour, and of whom it has been said that he traversed Germany "with the sword in one hand and mercy in the other," the allied army began to imitate those cruelties which had excited such horror in the Imperialists; and the auxiliaries, including the Scots, being often employed in the most hazardous services, and ill paid, as they thought, by their employers, learnt to remunerate themselves by plundering and oppressing the peaceable inhabitants, with whom they felt no sympathy in language or manners. In the account which Turner has given us of the proficiency he made in this species of warfare, we can discover those early habits which subsequently influenced his conduct in his native country.

"The tuo companies (of Scots and English) were bot badlie used, tossed to and fro, in constant danger of ane enemie, and without pay. Bot I had learned so much cunning, and became so vigilant to lay hold on opportunities, that I wanted for nothing, horses, clothes, meate, nor moneys, and made so good use of what I had learned, that the whole time I servd in Germanie, I sufferd no such miserie as I had done the first yeare and a halfe that I came to it."

Having remained nearly eight years on the Continent, during which time he was more than once thrown out of employment, and on one occasion had projected a journey to Persia, Sir James returned home in 1640, to take part in the hostilities which had been renewed between Charles I. and Scotland. He was not altogether ignorant of the ground of the quarrel, having paid a visit to his native country in the preceding year, when every thing foreboded a breach between the sovereign and his ancient kingdom. But Turner was actuated neither by loyalty nor by love to religion and liberty: a mere soldier of fortune, it was immaterial to him on what side he drew his sword, and spilt his own blood, or that of others; and therefore he left the determination to accident.

"I had swallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxim, which militarie men there too much follow,—which was,

after long negotiation and mutual preparations, deliberately and formally proclaiming war against one another, and waging it for a course of years with dubious success; while the surrounding nations, as if awe-struck, stood at a distance, and remained passive spectators of the struggle. It is impossible to contemplate this scene with indifference, though we should not take into view the unexampled fermentation of opinion, in politics and religion, excited during the progress of this war of principle, which burst forth at last with such fury as to overturn the monarchy and the whole frame of the constitution, and to produce a Commonwealth, with a military Protector at its head, whose death paved the way for the restoration of the royal family, and the re-establishment of the ancient order of things. Earlier portions of English history borrow much of their interest from extrinsic causes. Events which happened ages after the humiliation of King John, emblazoned Magna Charta, and consecrated the plain of Runnemede. In spite of Cressy, and Poictiers, and Agincourt, the reigns of the Edwards, and Henries, and Richards, would have been read by comparatively few, had they not been immortalised by the pen of Shakespeare, from whose pages, rather than those of Rapin or Hume, we recollect the order of their succession, and of the principal events connected with their names. But the transactions during the reign of Charles I. and the Commonwealth, stand in need of no adventitious aids to render them memorable. They have been recorded by many historians, and they have also furnished materials for fictitious composition; but we do not detract from the splendid talents possessed by some of these authors, when we say, they have been indebted to their subject for the interest excited by their writings, more than their subject is indebted to them.

Such being the case, we need not wonder that the documents illustrative of this period should be numerous. Whether the history of it has yet been written in a manner worthy of its importance, we shall not presume here to determine; but sure we are, there is no lack of materials

for such a work. This is, no doubt, to be ascribed, in a great degree, to the anxiety felt by all the parties, political and religious, which grew out of the confusions of that time, to bring forward what they deemed favourable to their respective views. But even at present, when the violence of party spirit has subsided, and the parties themselves are nearly confounded and lost, additions are daily making to the mass which is already collected. It would be unreasonable to expect, that recent discoveries should supply facts entirely new, or furnish grounds for a representation of events substantially different from any which has already been given to the public. But nothing is unnecessary or superfluous which throws the least light on the incidents of so great an era, or tends either to corroborate or to invalidate statements which rest on doubtful and contested authority. On this ground, the publishers of the work now before us are entitled to our thanks.* We do not welcome it the less cordially, that the sentiments which the author expresses on the leading questions which he has occasion to touch, differ widely from our own; and we hasten to give our readers an idea of its contents, taking the liberty, as we proceed, to intersperse a few relative facts from other sources which are not accessible to many.

The author of these Memoirs served during the civil wars as an officer in all the three kingdoms; and accordingly writes, in many instances, of transactions which he saw, and in which he sustained a part. But a great portion of the work, and that which will probably attract the chief attention of most readers, relates to Scotland, and particularly to that transaction which gained for the author a notoriety not of the most enviable kind. We refer to the insurrection suppressed at Pentland in the year 1666. This

* Its publication is mainly, we believe we may safely say wholly, owing to the encouragement afforded to the undertaking by the BANNATYNE CLUB—100 copies of the work having been subscribed for by that Association. The public is farther indebted to the learned and accomplished Vice-President of the Club, for those editorial labours which have insured the fidelity and accuracy of the impression.

had wanted it during the commonwealth. In consequence of the various employments which he then unfortunately submitted to take upon him, he was under the necessity of composing hurriedly for the chair, the pulpit, and the press; and bad habits contracted in middle life are for the most part incurable, or at least not cured. On some other persons, the circumstance mentioned would have produced a different effect. They would have continued to write well, and have learned to think superficially; for if a person has talents for composition, it is not difficult for him to write with perspicuity and energy on the spur of the occasion, provided only he is not required to think coolly, and to go deep into his subject. Dr Owen's mind was cast in a different mould. Style and manner were with him of very small importance indeed, compared with the matter and thoughts; his mind was intensely and undividedly fixed on the latter; and, as the hour for speaking or publishing pressed on, he was obliged to bring out his ideas without due attention to that arrangement of them which conduces so much to perspicuity, and was in the habit of clothing them, not always with those expressions which were the best and fittest, but with those which were nearest at hand, or which occurred to him most readily at the moment.

But after dismissing other subjects, we must not detain our readers with reflections on a point of inferior consequence. We therefore take leave of Mr Orme in the way of repeating our former assurance, that it has not been our wish, in any thing we have been obliged to state, unnecessarily to hurt his feelings. We wish him well as a man and an author; and provided we had had any good reason for believing that our advice would be listened to, we would have given him a proof of this feeling, by suggesting, before concluding our review, certain retrenchments and alterations, which, we think, would improve his work in a second edition, and help to make it—what we are exceedingly desirous to see—a Life of Dr Owen, at once creditable to the author, and worthy of the distinguished individual whose memory it was intended to preserve.

REVIEW OF SIR JAMES TURNER'S LIFE AND TIMES.*

No period of the history of England is so deeply and so deservedly interesting as that which embraces the events of the Civil War during the 17th century, in which Scotland and Ireland were equally involved. In consequence of the rival claims of successive competitors for the crown, or the turbulence of powerful and ambitious vassals, the country had often before been the theatre of internal conflicts, the interest of which, how great soever at the time, gradually subsided and was forgotten. But there was something magnificent, though terrible, in the spectacle of the people of three kingdoms, who owned the authority of one prince, and resembled one another so closely in language and manners, rising in arms, and ranging themselves under opposite standards, not in sudden tumult, nor to decide whether this or the other individual or family should inherit the crown, but in a contest which involved, on the one side, the prerogatives of an ancient monarchy and a richly endowed clergy, and on the other, national rights, liberty, laws, and religion; one branch of the legislature in open hostility with the other two, and dividing between them the allegiance and affections of the subjects; a king and his parliament,

* Memoirs of his own Life and Times. 1632–70. By Sir James Turner. 4to. Edinburgh, 1829.

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dignity and worth of the person suffering, is a different thing. Dr Owen has stated this as clearly and fully as any other writer has done;* and there was no need for our author to travel to Holland, and quote the Synod of Dort, for the confirmation of this. But, *formally considered*, the death of Christ must, in our opinion, include design, purpose, or intention. All that Mr Orme thinks necessary, is to maintain, "the glorious *sufficiency* of the atonement," and "its applied *efficiency*;" but unless it secures this application, we do not see how we can "ascribe salvation to the death of Christ," according to the Scripture sense of that or similar expressions. In illustration of his remarks, Mr Orme refers us to "the masterly reasonings of Dr Williams." With all due deference to that acute writer, we must be allowed to express it as our opinion, that his work on "Equity and Sovereignty," so far as regards the main point which he labours to establish, and on which he differs from preceding Calvinistic divines, is a complete failure. And we entertain a similar opinion of some parts of his "Defence of Modern Calvinism."

But we owe an apology to our readers for introducing a subject of this nature into the corner of a review, where it is impossible to do it any thing like justice. For this reason, we shall pass over some other doctrinal disquisitions of Mr Orme. We must, however, enter our simple protest against his doctrine on the Sonship of Christ. (Pp. 411, 412.) Among the works which he has recommended to his inquisitive readers as containing "various views" of this subject, there is not one which exhibits the view generally entertained by the orthodox. As he has recommended "Roel de Generatione Filii," we would recommend him to read carefully "Judicium Eccles. quo opiniones Roell Synodice damnatæ sunt, laudatum, &c.," published by the Theological Faculty of the University of Leyden, in which the opinion of Roell (which we presume to be also Mr Orme's) is ably refuted, and its dangerous tendency exposed. He has recommended "M'Lean on the Sonship of Christ" as a "very able tract,"

* Death of Christ, p. 172–174.

but has taken no notice of an Essay which was published by Mr Fuller, in the Biblical Magazine, vol. i. p. 283, and republished among his Tracts. On this subject, he boldly arraigns Owen as guilty of "darkening counsel by words without knowledge." Indeed, we were particularly displeased with the whole of his censorial strictures on the treatise on the "Person of Christ," a work which, together with its continuation, the "Meditations on the Glory of Christ," of all the theological works published by individuals since the Reformation, next to "Calvin's Institutions," we would have deemed it our highest honour to have produced. Let our tasteful and improved divines flout or frown at us for this preference as they list.

The defects of Owen's style are well known. They doubtless detract very considerably from the pleasure which would otherwise be felt in the perusal of his writings; but they will not deter from this any person, however refined his taste, whose mind is thoroughly imbued with the love of evangelical truth, who desires to understand the mind of God in the Scriptures, and who takes delight in profound, penetrating, and elevated views of divine things. It is a mistake to suppose that the faults which perplex and disfigure his style, attach to all his works; and even in some of them which are most faulty, the reader will meet with beautiful and eloquent passages. It is justly observed by Mr Orme, that "the style of the 'Display' (of Arminianism) is simpler and less strongly marked with the peculiarities of the author, than some of his subsequent performances. He had, probably, more time to bestow in correcting and polishing it, than he afterwards could command." This remark might have been extended to others of his early works, particularly to that on the "Death of Christ," which we do not scruple to pronounce extremely well written as a book of polemical divinity. The reason which Mr Orme assigns for the difference in point of style between his earlier and later writings, is so far true; but it does not exactly account for the fact. The Doctor enjoyed abundance of leisure for study in the latter period of his life. But he

in correcting certain improprieties of language. But still, Sandomanianism is a system not only hurtful but destructive to experimental and practical piety; and we suspect that many of those who condemn its general spirit, have not discovered the core of the evil, and are not duly aware of the tendency of its generalized views of the Gospel testimony, and its refinements on the internal exercise of believers. We think we can observe evidence of this in some of Mr Orme's remarks on the "Practical Exposition of the 130th Psalm." (P. 317–321.) In concluding his account of the treatise on "Justification," he says, "Paul answers in one sentence, what the greater part of this thick quarto is engaged in ascertaining,—'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' This declaration, without note or comment, conveyed so distinct and satisfactory an idea to the mind of the anxious inquirer, that it at once allayed all his fears and perplexities, and filled him with unspeakable joy. We do not see why it should require more explanation to us than to the Philippian jailer; or, being received, why it should not produce the same effects." (P. 407.) Does Mr Orme really think that the jailer was converted by these few words, and that the apostle said no more to him on the occasion? And does he think, that whenever a conversion is mentioned in Scripture, the whole discourse by which it was brought about is recorded? If he thinks so, it is a proof of the utility of both "note and comment," not only to the people, but also to those who profess to be their teachers. The consideration just mentioned, and also the previous situation and attainments of many of those who are said in the Gospels and Acts to have believed, are overlooked by those who are always talking of the simple and easy method of the apostles. If Mr Orme meant what he said to be restricted to the nature of faith, he does injustice to his author; for, "the greater part of this thick quarto is" not "engaged in ascertaining" this point. The truth is, he writes a great deal too fast; and though this may be (as he says of Owen) "a saving of labour" to himself, he should remember that it causes an *expense* of labour to others.

Mr Orme is not altogether pleased with Owen's work "On the Death of Christ." There is too much minute reasoning (he tells us) on the debtor and creditor hypothesis. The atonement of Christ is a glorious expedient devised by infinite wisdom and mercy, to remedy the disorders that have taken place in God's moral government, and to justify his ways to men,—to open the channel of mercy, and to maintain the honours of justice,—to magnify the Lawgiver, and to glorify the Saviour. (P. 80.) We know that this is the fashionable modern way of speaking, but we are not quite so sure that it is equally agreeable to Scripture as the old-fashioned method of representing the matter. No doubt, any allusion to the transactions of men for illustrating the matters of God may be pursued too far; but this, we think, must be allowed, at least, that "the debtor and creditor hypothesis" can plead the letter of Scripture in its support, which "the expedient" hypothesis cannot plead. We do not mean to insinuate that the friends of the latter are not attached to the doctrine of the atonement; but we think we could show (if this were the place for the discussion) that their view of the doctrine is defective, and lies very open to abuse. We confess we do not understand what Mr Orme means by his distinction between "the sacrifice of Christ" in "its nature," and in its "design,"—that is to say, we do not know what use it is of for clearing up the question relating to the extent of the death of Christ. Nobody doubts that there is a difference between the general nature of a thing, and the particular objects to which it may be applied, *hic et nunc;* but the question is, Can we conceive of a sacrifice being offered, an atonement made, or redemption procured, without conceiving of persons in whose stead it was offered, for whose sins it was made, and for whose deliverance the ransom was paid? And does the Scripture ever represent or warrant us to view the matter in another light, when it speaks of the sacrifice of Christ? The death of Christ, *if vicarious at all*, must be considered as in the room either of all mankind, or of the elect only. Its glorious sufficiency, *intrinsically considered*, as arising from the infinite

sentiments and his own on the subject of Independency, while he makes no scruple, but is rather ambitious, to express a dissent from his views on various doctrines of the Gospel. This is a phenomenon of the human mind (for we by no means think it peculiar to our author) which merits consideration. But we shall wave all reference to the Doctor's works on church government, except by quoting from one of them a passage, which, so far as we observed, his biographer has made no allusion to throughout his book, and which we think he ought to have noticed, as ascertaining the matured judgment of Owen on a point of no trivial importance. The passage is in his "Inquiry into the Original, &c., of Evangelical Churches," p. 347, published in the year 1681, only two years before his death; and it runs thus:—

"*Had the Presbyterian government been settled at the king's restoration*, by the encouragement and protection of the practice of it, without a rigorous imposition of every thing supposed by any to belong thereunto, or a mixture of human constitutions, *if there had any appearance of a schism or separation continued between the parties, I do judge they would have been both to blame.* For as it cannot be expected that all churches, and all persons in them, should agree in all principles and practices belonging unto church order,—nor was it so in the days of the apostles, nor ever since, among any true churches of Christ,—so all the fundamental principles of church communion would have been so fixed and agreed upon between them, and all offences in worship so removed, as that it could have been a matter of no great art absolutely to unite them, or to maintain a firm communion among them, no more than in the days of the apostles and the primitive times, in reference to the differences that were among churches in those days. For they allowed distinct communion upon distinct apprehensions of things belonging unto church order or worship, all 'keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' If it shall be asked, then, why they did not formerly agree in the Assembly? I answer, (1.) I was none of them, and cannot tell. (2.) They

did agree, in my judgment, well enough, if they could have thought so; and farther, I am not concerned in the difference."

After the censures which we have been obliged to pronounce on Mr Orme's work, we feel sincere pleasure in expressing our approbation of the general merits of that portion of it on which we have now entered. It is impossible to read it without perceiving that the author has been at great pains to furnish himself with accurate information. Had he given us no more but the full and correct list of Owen's writings, with the dates of their first publication, which closes the Appendix, he would have been entitled to our thanks. We were gratified with the information which he has communicated as to the occasions of writing several of them, the controversies to which they led, and the individuals who came forward on both sides, and took part in the contest. The account of the contents of the different publications is also satisfactory, and, in general, is judiciously proportioned in length to the importance of the subjects. The remarks made on the several works are of a mixed character. Many of them are creditable to the author's judgment, and the better feelings of his heart. With others we were not so well pleased. As critics are supposed, from the nature of their employment, to have contracted a habit of dilating less upon what they commend, than on what they condemn; and as the habit, though not a very amiable one, is upon the whole useful, we must avail ourselves of the privilege ordinarily conceded to those of our craft, to add a few things of the latter description. In justice to Mr Orme, however, we may state that the strictures we are about to make do not apply exclusively to him, but are equally applicable to some modern writers of considerable note, who usually go by the name of Evangelical, and even Calvinistic.

Some of his remarks, then, savour too much of *Sandemanianism* for our taste. We are not disposed to vindicate all the expressions used by those against whom Sandeman has inveighed so bitterly under the name of the *popular divines*; nor will we deny that his animadversions have been of use

as well as those which relate to general and abstract topics; and we apprehend it will be found that they often exert an influence over our modes of thinking and acting, to an extent which is not easily conceivable by persons whose attention has not been particularly directed to the subject.*

It remains that we make a few remarks on the account given of Owen's writings. In the course of reading the work, we observed various instances in which Mr Orme's general preconceptions gave an evident colouring to his comments on the Doctor's writings on church government, and in which he appeared to us to do violence to his text, and to impose a meaning on it utterly irreconcilable with that of the author, as ascertained by the context. We had noted some of these, including the passage concerning ruling elders (p. 428–433); but we are unwilling to have any more controversy on such points. It is a curious fact, that Mr Orme will not allow, without the greatest reluctance, that there is a shade of difference between Owen's

* We cannot overtake an examination of the unfavourable picture which Mr Orme has drawn of the state of religion in Scotland about the year 1650. (P. 127–130.) Suffice it to say, that it is partly borrowed from the railings of fanatical soldiers, the recriminations of parties during the heat of contention, and a spurious *Testimony;* and that that part of it which rests on better evidence, is akin to the attempts of Popish writers to prove the *Reformation* a *Deformation,* by culling quotations from the sermons of such Protestant preachers as inveighed most freely against prevailing vices. The Independents had a most convenient device for escaping all responsibility on this head. They were, indeed, "in the practice of accepting *the livings,* occupied the parochial edifices, and received a portion of the tythes for their maintenance;" but then, "they did not view themselves as parish ministers, and bound to administer all the ordinances of religion to the parish population." (P. 136.) Most equitable! they received only a portion of the tithes, and why should they do more than a portion of the duty? Mr. Orme can scarcely be ignorant, that, according to Presbyterian principles, the sacraments are not to be administered to the irreligious and immoral; and he might have known, that, if there were ministers at that time in Scotland who acted a contrary part (which is not denied), their ejectment had been suspended by the public confusions attendant on the assistance given by the Scots to their brethren of England, who requited this kindness with infinite gratitude, and in a way which evinced the very superior and flourishing state of religion among them.

for the fates and the stupidity of his servants, the king would have been uniformly successful and victorious.

There is a fact mentioned near the beginning of the Memoirs, which may perhaps account for Sir James's feelings towards Leven: he had a quarrel with his brother in Germany, on which ground he supposes the general to have been afterwards unfavourable to him. But we suspect there was another reason for the general's coolness to Turner, and for that prejudice against him on the part of the Parliamentary Commissioners who attended the army, which he imputes to their suspicions of his political leanings. We refer to the violence of his temper, and those irregularities of conduct inconsistent with military discipline, and peculiarly offensive to his superiors at that time, in which he was apt to indulge. Bishop Burnet, who was intimate with him in his later days, says, "Sir James Turner was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk; and that was very often. I knew him well afterwards, when he came to himself, being out of employment. He was a learned man, but had been always in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me he had no regard to any law, but acted as he was commanded in a military way." The truth of this description is confirmed by a testimony above all exception. When speaking of his wish to retire from the Parliamentary army, at a time when "the committee and general entertained very ill thoughts" of him, Sir James relates the following incident:—

"Haveing drunke at one time too much at parting with a great person, rideing home I met one Colonell Wren, betueene whom and me there was some animositie. He was a foot, and I lighted from my horse; drinke prevailing over my reason, I forced him to draw his suord, which was tuo great handfulls longer than mine. This I perceiving, gripd his suord with my left hand, and thrust at him with my right; bot he stepping backe avoyded it, and drew his suord away, which left so deepe a wound betueene my thumbe and formost finger, that I had almost losd the use of both, unles I had beene well cured. Ane other hurt I got in my left arme. The passengers parted us; bot I could never find him out after, to be revengd on him, though I sought him farre and neere. This was ane effect of drinking, which I confesse, beside the sinne against God, hath brought me in many inconveniences. This was the first

time ever my blood was draune, though I have hazarded it and my life very often, not onlie in battells, skirmishes, rencounters, sieges, sallies, and other publick duties of service, bot also in several private duells."

It would appear also that the regiment to which Turner belonged, was noted for the immoral conduct of their officers. For Colonel Arthur Erskine, in an original letter now before us, interceding with Mr Robert Douglas for an officer who had been cashiered for profaneness, says,—"It is true, indeed, he was in my Lord Sinclair's regiment in Ireland; and I do believe, with many others of that regiment, was insolent and scandalous all that time; but I dare boldly say he is not that now."

On recovering from the wounds which he had received in the drunken fray, Sir James was married at Hexham to a lady, of whom he had become enamoured during his Irish campaign. She appears to have been a woman of excellent character, who gave many proofs of spirit and attachment to her husband during his imprisonment and exile; and the affectionate tributes paid to her worth, in the course of his Memoirs, exhibit one of the most amiable traits in the character of Sir James Turner. The following is his account of their first becoming acquainted in Ireland:—

"Yet I had a purchase in it of that I value more than any worldlie riches, that was of my dear wife, Mary White, with whom I was first acquainted, and then enamoured at the Neurie. She was comd. of very good parents; her father being the second sonne of a knight, and her mother of ane other good familie of the Whites. She was thought by others, much more by me, to be of a good beautie. For the qualities of her mind, I have had such experience of them as they have renderd me happie amidst all the afflictions hath befallen me since. I did not then marry her, because at that time she was tenacious of the Roman Catholic persuasion, which was verie hatefull to our leading men of Scotland; neither, indeed, in the condition wherein I was then, could I maintaine her in any good fashion."

We must not omit Sir James's statement of his change of views as to the quarrel (for we cannot call it *cause*) in which he had fought. This he places in the year 1644.

"I had then lookd a litle more narroulie in the justice of the cause wherin I servd then formerly I used to do, and found I had

done well enough in my engadgement against the bloodie rebells in Ireland: Bot the new Solemne League and Covenant (to which the Committee of Estates requird an absolute submission) summond all my thoughts to a serious consultation; the result wherof was, that it was nothing bot a treacherous and disloyall combination against laufull authoritie. Some captaines of my Lord Lothians (who were well enough principld, and had got good information of the designes of the prime Covenanters from the late Lord Chancellor, E. of Glencairne) and I communicated our thoughts one to another, and then I broke the matter first to my lieutenant-colonell, and then to my Lord Sinclare. All of us thought it our duetie to doe the king all the service we could against his ungracious subjects; and therefore resolvd not to take the Covenant, but to joyne with the Marques of Montrosse, who had the king's commission. In the meane tyme, we made faire weather with the Committee of Estates, till we got one thousand pound, and tuo hundreth sterline money for each regiment, and a sute of cloths for everie sojour. The committee pressd much the signing of the Covenant, with many letters, messages, and messengers. We wavd it with many specious pretences; especialle we desired sixe weeks time to advice with our consciences, a thing they had granted to all other subjectes; hopeing before the end of that time to be in a capacitie to speake plainer language."

Now we shall not call in question the sincerity of this conversion, nor shall we examine the validity of its grounds; but we must be allowed to express our doubts whether the change undergone was to the better. The worthy major formerly reckoned it his duty, without examination, to do whatever he was commanded by his superiors, that is, his employers; now, after being convinced that their commands are unjust, he still obeys them, only it is with the intention of turning their money and arms against themselves, that is, of betraying them. And what benefit did the king derive from his consultations with so many "very loyal persons?" O, had it not been for the perfidy of Callendar ("who, with the deepest oathes, even asking the Supper of our Lord to turne to his damnation, which he was to take next Sunday, if ever he sould engage under these, or with these Covenanters"), and for the neglect of Montrose, the latter might have "joind with our two regiments; and he wold, with the assistance of Huntley in the north, and *those Irish who soon after came over from Antrim*, have reduced Scotland, *without bloodshed*, to their duty and obedience.

But the unauspicious fate and disastrous destiny of the incomparable good king would not have it to be so." (P. 36.) Callendar accepted the command of the new Parliamentary levy; and Turner, trusting, forsooth, to his broken vows, and knowing that he himself "was vehemently suspected by the Committee of Estates, and ran the risk of imprisonment, if not worse," agreed to act under him.

"Upon these grounds my Lord Sinclars regiment marched into England, and I with them, and made a fashion (for indeed it was no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters; a thing (thogh too much practisd in a corrupt world) yet in itselfe dishonest, sinfull, and disavoueable; for it is certaine that no evill sould be done that good may come of it."

In this manner he continued to act, not for months, but for years. Leaving "the incomparable good king" to his "disastrous destiny," or rather helping it forward, Sir James continued to fight under the Parliamentary banners. We do not forget, that at Nottingham, he drew up a petition to the king, "according to the laudable custom of both the first and second Covenanters," before entering on any active hostility against him. But this was the only service which he performed for Charles. He was present at the siege of Newcastle, led the division which first entered the town when it was stormed, "gave very good quarter," but "had not a pennyworth of the plunder." While "Montrose did those feats which hath rendered his name immortal," instead of repairing to his standard, our author was marching southward into Gloucestershire, investing Hereford, and besieging Newark-upon-Trent; and he was actually employed in bombarding the last of these cities, when the king, being hemmed in on all sides, threw himself into the Scottish army, and when "E. Lothian, as president of the committee, *to his eternal reproach*," required his majesty to command the governor, Lord Bellasis, to deliver it up to the Parliament's forces. Nay, at a subsequent period (in 1647), he was "easily persuaded" to accept the place of adjutant-general under Lieutenant-General Leslie, and to assist in cutting off that "graceless and disobedient crew of desperadoes"

from Ireland, by whose assistance, under Montrose, he had formerly boasted, that he would "reduce Scotland without bloodshed to their duty." The "fanatics" could, at least, plead conscience for fighting against the king, and we have no doubt that some of them acted conscientiously when they brought him to the block; but what shall we say for such sober-minded loyalists as Sir James Turner?

The Scots have been accused of harsh treatment of Charles when he came to their army; and it has been repeatedly asserted, that they sold their king to the English for a sum of money. Our author broadly makes the first of these charges, but barely insinuates the second. Both of them are unfounded. The king received all the marks of respect which he could expect. The sum which the Scots received was due as arrears of pay to their army, and had been fixed by the Parliament of England nearly four months before the king's person was intrusted to the English commissioners. Having come into England to assist the Parliament, and at its expense, it is doubtful if the Scots could have retained the king without breach of honour; they certainly could not have done it without bringing on a war between the two kingdoms. The commissioners of the two Parliaments presented to the king their propositions for putting an end to the differences which had arisen between them, and restoring him to the exercise of the royal authority. Some of the conditions might be hard, though not more so than were to be expected from conquerors, who had too much ground to suspect his sincerity; but Charles obstinately rejected them, and resisted all the entreaties of the commissioners, particularly those of Scotland, who, on their knees, besought him to consider the danger to which both he and they were exposed from the daily increasing power of the sectaries and enemies to monarchy. These representations only served to inspire the infatuated monarch with the hope, that he would obtain better terms by carrying on secret intrigues with the leaders of the Presbyterians and Independents. In vain did his best and wisest friends, who had risked their lives and fortunes in his cause, remon-

strate with him on the folly of this conduct. He persevered in urging his scruples of conscience against consenting to the abolition of Episcopacy; and yet, when these scruples were examined, it was found that they resolved themselves chiefly into this,—that Episcopacy was more friendly than Presbytery to monarchy, that is, to arbitrary government. If any person doubts that we have assigned the true cause of the ruin of Charles at this time, we think the following extracts from his confidential correspondence will produce conviction. Writing to his counsellors, Lords Jermyn and Culpepper, and Mr Ashburnham, he says, "Shew me any president wher ever Presbiteriall government and Regall was together, without perpetuall rebellions; which was the cause that necessitated the king, my father, to change that government in Scotland. And even in France, wher they are but upon tolerance (which, in likelihood, should cause moderation), did they ever sit still so long as they had power to rebell? And it cannot be otherwais, for the ground of their doctrine is antimonarchical. Indeed, to prove that cleerly, would require more tyme, and a better pen, than I have.—I will say, without hiperboly, that ther was not a wyser man since Salomon, than he who said, No bishop, no king."* The reply which the persons above named made to his majesty, proves, that he did not perish for want of sound counsel. "If by conscience your meaning is, that you are obliged to doe all that is in your power to support and maintaine that function of bishops, as that which is the most ancient, reverent, and pious government of the Church, we fully and hartaly concur with you therin. But if by conscience is intended to assert, that Episcopacy is *jure divino* exclusive, wherby no Protestant (or rather Christian) Church can be acknowledged for such without a bishop, we must therin crave leave wholy to differ. And if we be in an errour, we are

* Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 260, 274. When Mr Robert Blair was officiating as chaplain at Newcastle, the king found fault with him for determining a controversy in prayer, because he had called the Pope antichrist. Mr Blair replied, he was sure that was no controversy to his majesty's father. "This silenced the king, for he was a great defender of his father's opinions."—*Blair's Memoirs*, p. 104.

in good company, ther not being (as we have cause to believe) six persons of the Protestant religion of the other opinion. Thus much we can add, that, at the treaty of Uxbridge, none of your divines then present (though much provoked thereunto) would maintaine that (we might say, uncharitable) opinion; no, not privately among your commissioners. The question, in short, is, whether you will choose to be a king of Presbitery, or no king."* The same arguments, substantially, were used by Henderson, Blair, and the other Presbyterian ministers who had access to his majesty at Newcastle; for they were cordially attached to royalty and the reigning family. But what security could they have for the existing ecclesiastical establishment in Scotland, from a king who persevered in declaring, that Presbytery was essentially antimonarchical and rebellious, and not entitled even to "tolerance?"

The observations we have made may be considered as determining the question as to the war which the Scottish Parliament entered into with England in 1648, with the view of rescuing the king; and which is commonly called Duke Hamilton's Engagement. Such readers as wish information respecting the military operations in this disastrous expedition, will find it in Sir James Turner's narrative; but we look in vain into it for any thing like a defence of the war on sound political principles. Indeed, we have often been confounded at the way in which writers of great ability have treated this portion of our history. They content themselves either with railing against the opposition made by the church, or with censuring the military conduct of Hamilton. Now, we must be excused for saying, that this argues a very shallow understanding of the subject. To call the expedition unfortunate, is an abuse of terms; it was mad. To say it was ill conducted, is to say nothing; the evil lay in its very conception. It palpably led to the execution of the king, the subversion of the monarchy, and the subjugation of Scotland; for subjugated it was, though not so abased and trampled upon as it was

* Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 202.

after the Restoration. Hamilton was not a better politician than he was a general. The party which protested against the war, and of which Argyle was the head, pointed out what was unquestionably the true line of policy. What was their plan? Simply this, that the army should be kept up; and that the kingdom, without declaring war, should remain united in adherence to the public interest which the two Parliaments were solemnly pledged to support. Thus Scotland would preserve a commanding attitude, both morally and physically, which could not fail to give weight to her representations. This would encourage the English Parliament to resist the arrogant and unconstitutional demands of their army; and it would deter any party from doing violence to the person of the king, while it allowed him time to be undeceived, and to consult his true interest. To accomplish this object, and at the same time to ease the country, the officers had agreed to relinquish a third part of their pay,—an act of disinterested patriotism at which our author is pleased to sneer. (P. 50.) These wise measures were defeated by the rash vote of the Parliament to send an army immediately into England, in consequence of a secret negotiation which the Earl of Lanerk, brother to the Duke of Hamilton, had carried on with the king; upon which many of the old officers resigned, and their places were filled up with persons who possessed neither their military talents nor their principles. Though Scotland had been united, it is more than probable that the invasion of England at that time would have been unsuccessful; but when the vote to engage in hostilities was carried in opposition to a most respectable minority in Parliament, and to the declared opinion of the ministers of the Church, who, besides the influence which they possessed over the public mind, had a deep interest at stake in the quarrel, it was worse than infatuation to make the attempt. The issue is well known. The Scottish army was totally routed; and, soon after, the king was arraigned, condemned, and, in spite of remonstrances from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Scotland, and from various parts of England, was brought

to the block. Sir James Turner refers to a conversation, "in the Lady Hume's house in the Cannongate," between Cromwell and some of the leading Presbyterians, at which the latter agreed, "that there was a necessitie to take away the king's life." (P. 69.) Now, we could produce good authority to show, that, instead of this, the conversation referred to infused into the minds of the Presbyterians a strong distrust of Cromwell; but we reckon it sufficient to appeal to the testimony of Sir George Mackenzie, as stout a cavalier as Sir James, and much better acquainted with the discoveries made after the Restoration, who says, "After several trials, it was found no Scottisman was in accession to the murder of that incomparable prince."*

Had the expedition under the Duke of Hamilton been successful, there can be little doubt that the reform in church and state, for which the Parliament had been contending, would have been abandoned and lost. Our author, indeed, would have us believe, that the opposition to the engagement was grounded chiefly on the circumstance, that the command of the army was given to Hamilton, instead of Leven. No person who is acquainted with the facts of that period can accede to this supposition. It is true, that strong, and not unreasonable suspicions, were excited by the appointment to military posts, of men who had been cold or disaffected to the cause hitherto maintained by the Parliament. On this head, a very judicious person, Mr Patrick Sympson, minister of Renfrew, before the Restoration, and after the Revolution, has the following remark:—"The Montrosians might as well, for any thing I know, have been taken upon the engagement as some others. For I have ground to think Montrose himself died a Presbyterian; for I myself heard him, the day before he died (being in conference with some ministers), say, Bishops, he cared not for them, and never intended to advance their interest; that he adhered to the National Covenant, which he took, but was against the League and Covenant, for the reasons he then gave; that he would gladly have been reconciled to the

* History of Scotland, pp. 51, 52.

Church of Scotland, and relaxed from their sentence, but could not take with those things charged on him as sin which he judged his duty." It is also true, that the Parliament, to gain their object, especially after the Church had declared against it, agreed to rest the engagement on nearly the same grounds on which the late war had been carried on; and Turner, in a paper which he wrote at a late period of his life, affirms, that "Duke Hamilton, in 1648, really intended the performance of what was promised to the Church." But Sympson, already referred to, has justly remarked, that this affirmation is flatly contradicted by the authentic documents published in Bishop Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, which Sir James had an opportunity of perusing before, as well as after their publication. In the year 1661, when the Act Rescissory was under consideration, it was proposed by some members, that the Parliament held in 1648 should be excepted from its operation; to which the Earl of Middleton, Lord High Commissioner, replied, "We were designing then the same thing which we are doing now, though we professed the quite contrary. We went into England like a number of hypocrites, and were driven out of it like a company of sheep. Let that Parliament go with the rest." *

It may be proper to notice a service in which Major, now Colonel Turner, was employed by the managers of the engagement, as it throws light on his subsequent military operations in Scotland. The nation being divided in opinion as to the lawfulness of the war, and the clergy decidedly averse to it, the recruiting of the army went on slowly, and was in some places resisted. To remove these obstructions, Turner was sent to Glasgow with his regiment, and three troops of horse.

"At my comeing there I found my worke not very difficill; for I shortlie learnd to know, that the quartering tuo or three troopers and half a dozen musketeers, was ane argument strong enough, in two

* Mr Andrew Sempill, town-clerk in Renfrew, and commissioner from that burgh to the Parliament 1661, related this anecdote to his minister, Mr Patrick Sympson.

or three nights time to make the hardest headed Covenanter in the toune to forsake the Kirk, and side with the Parliament.

"This was that great and well neere inexpiable sinne which I committed against the sacred soveraigntie of the kirk; for which all members were so implacable and irreconcileable enemies to me afterward. Finding my Glasgow men groune prettie tame, I tendered them a short paper, which whoever signed I promised would be presentlie easd of all quartering. It was nothing bot a submission to all orders of Parliament, agreeable to the Covenant. This paper was afterward by some merrie men christend Turner's Covenant."

All this appears to have been a very simple and easy process; but take the particulars as given by one who was present. "On some 10, on some 20, on others 30 soldiers and more, did quarter, who, beside meat and drink, wine and good cheer, and whatever they called for, did exact cruelly their daily pay, and much more. In ten days they cost a few honest, but mean people, 40,000 lb., besides plundering of those whom necessity forced to flee from their houses." * The depredations of the soldiers on that occasion gave rise to the saying, "that Turner's lambs were worse than Montrose's wolves."

Turner, who had been taken prisoner after the rout at Preston, contrived to procure his release, and repaired to the Continent, whence he came to Scotland subsequently to the coronation of Charles II. at Scoon. The Parliament, in 1649, had excluded those who took part in the engagement from civil and military posts; but after the defeat at Dunbar, a resolution was passed, with the consent of the Commission of the General Assembly, to readmit them, on their professing their repentance. This gave rise to a division among the Presbyterians, into Resolutioners and Protesters. The latter affirmed, that the professions were feigned, and that the pretended penitents intended to use the powers which they acquired, to overturn the established religion, and lately acquired liberties of the nation. This was denied by the other party, in support of whose views Sharpe (afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews) delivered a laboured harangue before the Protector and his council

* Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 294.

at Whitehall. Let us hear what our author says on the subject.

"*Behold a fearfull sinne!* The Ministers of the Gospell ressavd all our repentances as unfained, thogh they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit; and we, on the other hand, made no scruple to declare that engadgment to be unlaufull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our oune consciences and judgments. If this was not to mocke the allknoweing and allseeing God to his face, then I declare myselfe not to know what a fearfull sinne hypocrisie is."

Turner was taken prisoner, for the second time, at the battle of Worcester, effected his escape from confinement, and entering into the service of Denmark, was employed in levying soldiers for it against his old masters, the Swedes. On his return to Scotland at the Restoration, he complained, like many others, that his exertions and sufferings in the royal cause were unrewarded. This he imputes to an umbrage conceived against him by the Earl of Middleton, over whose fall he moralizes in the following distich, translated by him from Tasso:—

"Sudden and hie advancements, frequentlie
By precipiteous downfalls follow'd be."

Charles, however, conferred on him the honour of knighthood. His Majesty would have done him a greater service, had he touched him for the *King's Evil*, and cured him of his slavish disposition to execute every command which issued from those in power. By the way, Sir James appears to have been a sincere believer in the miraculous gift alluded to; and, in one of his unpublished essays, has shown that it is confined to legitimate sovereigns, and never varies from the just line of hereditary succession. Having traced it in the royal lines of France and England, he continues thus:—

"By what means those two kings workes that cure, others may inquire; once certain it is they doe it frequentlie, but not always. The cure, no doubt, is wrought by the Allmighte phisician of bodies and soule. The king toucheth, after devout prayers, and reading some parcells of holy scripture. It is to be observed, that if any usurpe the crowne of France or England, though they be fullie in-

vested with the soveraignţie thèrof, yet because they are not the lawfull successors, they cannot heale that evil, and therfor Cromwell did well never to attempt it. Neither doth exile, banishment, or absence from France or England of either of the kings hinder the cure. I saw the king now raigning touch severall hundreths both in the Spanish Netherlands, and in those belonging to the Generall Estates, who were (for any thing I know) all cured, and that many of them were, I had it related to me from severalls of their friends."

In 1661, the Restoration Parliament having, in a frenzy of loyalty, or rather a fit of drunkenness, declared all the Parliaments held since 1633 to be illegal, Middleton, to please the king and the Earl of Clarendon, procured the re-establishment of Episcopacy. The king, in a letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, had, during the former year, promised to preserve the government of the Church as settled by law; and, with the view of covering the breach of the royal word, recourse was now had to the wretched sophism, that the laws establishing Presbyterianism being annulled by Parliament, Episcopacy was the legal government of the Church. With very few exceptions, the nation was decidedly hostile to Prelacy; but the managers of that time having neither conscience nor principle themselves, thought that others were equally destitute of them, and determined to enforce not only a passive submission, but an active conformity to the arbitrary will of the court, even in matters of religion. By a single act of Privy Council, two hundred ministers were ejected from their parishes,—a number which was soon nearly doubled; and their places were filled by low, uneducated, graceless, and, in many instances, immoral men, whom the people, by a name more odious than accurate, called curates. Proclamation after proclamation was directed against the ousted ministers, who were at last ordered, under the pains of sedition, to remove themselves and their families twenty miles from their own parishes, six miles from every cathedral, and three miles from every royal burgh, while two of them were not allowed to reside in the same parish,—one of the most wanton pieces of absurdity which the history of legislation furnishes; for, in the first place, it subjected persons to punishment, perhaps death, for

a blunder in geography; and, in the second place, we do not believe the most ingenious geographer could find out so many spots in Scotland situated at the distances marked out in the proclamation. Warmly attached to their own ministers, and detesting those who were intruded into their places, the people, especially in the south and west of Scotland, deserted their parish churches in great numbers, and sought their spiritual food either in the neighbouring parishes, or from the ejected ministers, who performed divine service in private houses, and a few of them in the fields. To correct these irregularities, fines were imposed by the Council on those who received the silenced ministers into their houses, or attended their sermons, or absented themselves from their own parish churches, or whose wives, children, servants, or tenants, were guilty of these offences; and a military force was employed to collect the fines.

Sir James Turner was judged a fit person for carrying these odious and oppressive measures into execution; and although he could not but feel himself degraded, he made no scruple of undertaking the task. According to his own account, he was engaged in expeditions of this kind during the years 1663, 1664, and 1665, in Ayrshire, and in the counties of Kirkcudbright and Galloway; "It being my fate," says he, "that nothing was intended to be done that was displeasing in that country, but wherin I was made instrumentall." He tells us, he had the thanks of the Privy Council given him for his services, and he was made a member of the High Commission Court,—an honour of which he takes no notice. In 1666 he made his last and most noted expedition,—being sent into Galloway and Dumfriesshire, with 120 foot and 30 horse.

"I was sufficientlie impouerd, with orders and instructions from my Lord Commissioner, for cessing, quartering on, and fineing persons disobedient to church ordinances; neither had I at all any order to cite or processe formallie the contemners and disfrequenters of churches, and these who married and baptised with outed ministers; all which persons could not be dilated to me by the conforme ministers, for they knew lesse than I which of their parishioners frequented conventicles. They might indeed misse them out of their

churches, bot could not tell where they were. I was commanded to make inquirie after such, and to bestow liberallie upon intelligence, both to find them out, and the fugitive ministers (whom I had order to apprehend), and to find out such who harboured them, and to quarter on them, and fine them. And by this meanes, I was more able to informe the bishop and ministers of these disorderlie meetings, and who were at them, than they could informe me."

What madmen must the rulers of that time have been, to imagine that the peace of the country could be preserved in such circumstances! Had not the people been better men and Christians than their superiors, they would have risen in a mass, and cut off the scattered soldiers, with their leader, who preyed on them in this lawless manner. They did at last rise; but the manner in which they conducted themselves, so far as relates to humanity at least, was such as to entitle them to praise, and from none more than the author of these Memoirs. They disarmed the soldiers, made Sir James Turner a prisoner, and called upon the Government to redress their grievances, and upon their countrymen to support them in seeking that redress. The history of this insurrection, which was suppressed by the king's forces, under General Dalziel, at Pentland, is already well known. A narrative of it, written by Colonel Wallace, who commanded the insurgents, was lately published;* and in the Memoirs before us, we have a similar narrative by one who accompanied them as a prisoner until their dispersion. The two narratives agree in all the material facts; and we have only a very few remarks to offer on that of Sir James Turner, and on the defence of himself, which he has subjoined to it.

Sir James states, that, at the scuffle which led to the insurrection, one of his soldiers was wounded, "because he refused to signe the Covenant," and another killed next day, "because he would neither take the Covenant, or cared for their quarter." (Pp. 148, 151.) Now, this, to say the least, is a proof of great credulity; for, so far from having copies of the Covenant for signature, the insurgents had not then resolved to take that oath themselves. Who would

* Memoirs of Mr William Veitch, &c., p. 388–432. Edinburgh, 1825.

have expected that Sir James Turner would bring it as a charge against "the fanatics," that, while he was in their army, he never heard their ministers "either pray, preach, or sing psalms;" and that he never could learn that they practised it publicly more than three times! (P. 169.) Of the same kind are his censures of them for violating the Sabbath by "exercising in a military way." In the same strain does he accuse them of "plundering" horses and arms, and "stealing a silver-spoone and a night-gowne;" adding, with great gravity, "I have heard many poore people curse them *for taking free quarter!*" (Pp. 167, 169.)* From the pleasure with which Sir James recurs to this topic, it is evident that he would have been gratified at finding the insurgents oftener employed in a trade with which he had himself been so familiar. He even waxes witty on this theme. "Not a few," says he, "I saw go into Fulford, not to plunder (for that was an odieous word in the eares of the saints), bot only to inquire how Sir William Purves his cellars were provided. His servants can tell if these pieous people did offer any drinke money for what they ate, dranke, or tooke." (P. 180.) The sober truth, however, is, that their moderation and respect to private property, during their march, were such as to extort the approbation of their adversaries.* Sir James himself may be produced as a witness on this head.

"At this place, I neither heard prayers, psalmes, or preaching; yet one of their ministers (and they said it was either one Guthrie, or one Oglebie) made a speech to them, which, if his cause had beene good, had not been evill. He desird them to remember that covenant and oath of God which they had suorne the day before, and that they were obliged to cary themselves not onlie pieouslie to God, bot civillie and discreetlie to man.—'Bot,' said he, 'you must not stop there, for to be civill to those who are good to you, deserves neither thankes nor reward.' 'Bot I intreate you,' said he, 'to use all imaginable discretion to those who are not of your persuasion; endeavour to gaine them with love, and by your good

* "They were a poor, harmless company of men, become mad by oppression; and they had taken nothing during all the time they had been together, but what had been freely given them by the country people." —*Burnet's Own Times, anno* 1666. *Comp. Naphtali*, p. 218. *Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 47.

carrieage, stop the mouths of your adversaries.' This speech, though it was not unworthie a Christian, thogh a rebell," &c.

He acknowledges the civility and respect with which he was treated by the officers generally, and by Colonel Wallace in particular. (Pp. 162, 163, 177, 181.) The following is his account of the discipline of their army, which he says never exceeded 1100 men, including horse and foot.

"I doe confess, I never saw lustier fellows than these foot were, or better marchers; for thogh I was appointed to stay in the reare, and notwithstanding these inconveniences, yet I saw few or none of them stragle.

"There I saw tuo of their troopes skirmish against other tuo (for in foure troopes their cavallerie was divided), which, I confesse, they did handsomlie, to my great admiration. I wonderd at the agilitie of both horse and rider, and to see them keepe troope so well, and how they had comd to that perfection in so short a time."

In defence of his conduct before the insurrection, Sir James pleads, that he was exonerated by the Privy Council, —that the acts of oppression of which he was accused were exaggerated, and unsupported by evidence,—and that he was warranted in all that he did by his Instructions. With respect to the first plea, not to insist that his judges were implicated in his deeds, the exoneration by the council is expressly declared to proceed upon this ground, that "they conceave there would be a difficultie to prove *legallie* the charge given in against him by the countrey." In fact, they acceded to the modest proposal which Sir James had made to them at the beginning; for, says he, "I freelie told them, the shortest way wold be to take my own relation, which I promisd sould be a faithfull one." And he knew they would be obliged to yield to this; for he pleaded that all those from whom he had exacted cess or fines were "parties," and that "no witnesses could be led against him bot those who were *socii criminis*," *i. e.*, his own soldiers. (Pp. 202, 204.) In short, the whole was a farce, got up to quiet the public outcry, and to save the credit of government. The sum acknowledged by Turner does not include "what was exacted from any of those who rose in rebellion;" as to which he says, "it was bot litle." *Credat Judæus Apella.*

In illustration of his second topic of defence, he calls upon his "nameles libeller and shameless Naphtali" to appear openly against him. A very safe challenge, truly! He alleges also, that he often exacted only the half of the fines, and that none of the rebels at their execution "blamed him for oppression, or directlie or indirectlie insinuated that he had occasioned the insurrection;" for the truth of which he appeals to the work called Naphtali. This is passing strange, when Sir James had staring him in the face the joint testimony of ten of the sufferers, including Major Macculloch and Captain Arnot, subscribed on the day of their execution, and printed in the book to which he refers.* In addition to the overwhelming mass of evidence already published, we have before us documents which convict Sir James of gross oppression. For example, Major Macculloch had soldiers quartered on him for thirty days, and paid £100 for church fines, besides 1200 merks for fines by Middleton, and 300 merks for riding money. William Maclellan of Barmagechan, in a declaration made on his death-bed, written by his son, and attested by James Monteith, minister of Borg, states, "that a party of soldiers being sent by Sir James Turner to quarter in his house, destroyed ane part of his furniture, and carried off another, upon which he went to Sir James to seek an order to remove them; but, instead of getting a removal, Sir James caused apprehend his person, and put him in his court of guard, until he should pay the fine, and also pay cess-money to the soldiers." Afterward a party of horsemen was sent, and he was obliged to pay 600 merks Scots of fine, and 2s. sterling a-day to each soldier. "So (continues the declaration), because of such cruel oppressions used upon him and many others, he and others did rise in defence of their lives and liberties." Sir James does not deny that persons who came to complain of the insolencies of his soldiers,

* Naphtali, p. 307. "We, with others, for our simple forbearance, being fined, confined, imprisoned, exiled, scourged, stigmatized, beaten, bound as beasts, and driven into the mountains for our lives—and all this either arbitrarily, and without any law," &c.

were refused access to him; but then on such occasions he was always "taking phisicke," or "letting blood."

We reject at once Sir James's last plea, that he was borne out in all that he did by his Instructions,—meaning those which he received from Rothes, the commissioner, and the two archbishops. No commission can authorise or justify an immoral, oppressive, or barbarous deed. The person who performs it, if he cannot be made legally, must be held morally responsible. If tyrants did not find instruments to execute their arbitrary and unjust orders, tyranny would cease. But Sir James was aware, that the orders under which he acted were illegal; and he assigns this as the reason why he did not produce his commission,—that it would have injured his employers, without being of benefit to himself. (P. 205.) It may be more difficult to find a reason why he did not insert it among his papers for his future justification. We happen, however, to have before us a copy of these Instructions, the genuineness of which there is no reason to doubt. They appear to have been those which were given by Rothes, on the 6th of March 1666; and we insert them without comment, as characteristic of the men and measures of that time.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SIR JAMES TURNER.

"Beeinge suficiently informed, that in Galloway and severall other shyres of this kingdome, there are Conventicles keeped, contrare to the established lawes of church and state,—1. You shall therfor march with ane hundereth foote out of thos companies in Glasgow to Galloway, and quarter on the houses of thos that recepts the Conventicles, or keepes disorderly ministers, or on the houses of thos that frequent thos unlawfull meetings, till aplication be maid to me, and you receave further order theranent.

"2. You shall apprehend all ministers that keeps thos Conventicles wher ever you can find them, thought ye know not ther names; and if need bees, require the assistance of the civill magistrat for that effect.

"3. You shall also apprehend all personnes carying arms, seeinge some disorderly ministers disguisses themselves under that collour; and after tryall, if you have not your end, no gentillman will take it ill that you doe your duetie accordeinge to your order.

"4. You shall punctualy observe, and give obedience to the bishop of the diocesse, or any minister appointed be him, who shall give in to you a subscribed list of the disorderly withdraweres from

ordinances, and exact the penalties, without noticinge the mediation of any minister, or others that shall interceed for them.

" 5. You shall, when you find any of thos disorderly persons that shall pretend povertie as to the payment of the penalties, quarter upon them till they give satisfaction, that others may be terrified.

" 6. You shall, if you find any pepole in armes, either goeing to Conventicles or comeing from them, aprehend them and sease upon them; and if they ofer any resistance, that you deal with them as ane publick enimie, in arms against his Matie, and the lawes and government of this kingdoome.

" 7. You shall not faill to give me ane accompt, once in ten or twelfve dayes, of what you discover, and of your wholl proceedure, that so I may renewe your instructions, as shall be found fitteing and convenient for the humour of the people you are amonge."

" O that mine adversary had written a book ! " exclaimed an ancient sufferer. This gratification the shades of the Covenanters have obtained. The book has been written and printed; and few of its readers, we apprehend, will be disposed to form a worse estimate of their character, or a more favourable opinion of their oppressors. The greatest criminal ever brought to the bar must be better acquainted with the facts of his case, than the public prosecutor, or any of the witnesses called to depose against him, and thus may be able to point out inaccuracies in the indictment or the evidence; but if he shall rashly commit himself by making declarations, or by giving a detailed narrative of his conduct, it is almost certain that he will be betrayed into confessions, which, though they may not form a complete ground for legal conviction, will leave no doubt on the mind as to the reality of his guilt.

Since the above was written, we have met with direct evidence of the truth of our assertion, respecting Turner's trial before the Privy Council, as reported by himself,—that it was a farce. From the confidential correspondence of the agents of government, it appears they were satisfied that Sir James had grossly abused his powers, and must have been convicted, had they deemed it prudent to prosecute him legally. The following is an extract of a letter from the Earl of Tweeddale to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated February 18, 1668; and we give the first part of it, because it furnishes information respecting the insurgents

dispersed at Pentland, which we do not recollect to have met with elsewhere.

"Of the rebels we have comed to this count; 218 have taken the benefit of his Mat^ie^ gratious pardon; 309 have neglected it; about 80 wer kild in the fild; 40 execut; 31 dead in the Stewartry and Dumfriseshyr, we know not what in the rest; 30 are fugitive, and 20 forfawlted; the rest ar fled out of the country, or had noe constant residence, belonging to other shyrs, and ar still vagabonds. Now most conclud, ther wer not 1000 at the fight; and this account is of about 700.

"Yesterday afternoune the tryal of Sir James Turner was brought to a conclusione by the Committee, and will be reported in Councel on Thursday, and possibly transmitted that night. He has acknoldged mor then may doe his turne as to imployment, and if prosecut the length of a proces might draw deep; and this morning he wrott to M. R.* a very hansom letter, at reading wherof wee could not chos bot say, he was a better secretar then sojer, and should mak use of his pen, bot never of a sword mor. He confesses 30,000 lb. Scots lifted in that country; much has also been lifted by others. The councel most ask the king's pleasur, how what is recoverable should be disposed of. * * * * * Sir Wil. Balendean wald fayn putt of counting till June; bot he shal find cawtione for count and payment befor he goe; and treuth is, all the accounts we meet with of the rebels estaits rune thus; the half of what is lifted is spent in the lifting by the parties, notwithstanding they have free quarter in the country, and the King's pay; that is to be thrys payd. Bot half I supose went to the officers, and a great part of the other half is given upon precept at pleasure of the Comiss^ar^, or General persons, or for ther use; as we find 1000 lb. given for the charg of cornet and trumpets, and ther caparisone, to the General Dyel's troup. The treuth is, it is a shame to see what spul of the country and prey of the king's revenue hes bein mead."

Sir James Turner acknowledges that he "had strong obligations to Tweddail," who was President of the Committee appointed to investigate his conduct, and to Sir Robert Murray, "for their kindness in the report." Rothes, who was Chancellor as well as High Commissioner, felt hurt at the manner in which he was implicated by Turner's statements; and the method adopted for his exoneration will appear from the following extract of a letter from Tweeddale to Lauderdale, dated March 10, 1668.

"Yours of the 5 received Sunday at noone. I went after sermon to my Lord Chancelour with the king's letter to the councel, which I said I supposed was soe directed and sent least he should not have been arrived. He asked what I knew of the subject. I told that

* Sir Robert Murray.

you wrott to me it was ane ans. to the councels concerning Sir J. Turner, and that the king had commanded his comissione to be called for; that Kelly was to have the company, and Hury to be major. He said he had heird of that report, and that strang things wer mead out aganis him, that he had wronged him in aleadging his commissione for his warrand. I told him how far we had pushed that, and at lenght had bid him aleadg nothing upon what he could not produce. Then the Ch. said, will not it be time enought in Aprile councel day. I represented how unfit it wer a letter of the kings should lay soe long, and soe many in toune. If, said he, that my aprobatione can be ready past the seals to read in councel, we shall meet on Tuesday morning. * * * This morning wee met in councel, and Sr James Turner waited on, I having sent him word that the King's ans. in his business was come. The Ch. Exoneratione was first read, then the letter, and Sr James was called in and told the King's pleasur, to which he spoke both hansomly and submissively, and delayvered up his comissions."

In his Memoirs, Sir James has repeatedly referred, with evident marks of sore feeling, to the "nameless libeller," the author of a statement of the oppressions suffered in Galloway and Nithsdale, which was extensively circulated in manuscript after the insurrection was suppressed, and by the impression which it made on the public mind, led to the investigation of which we have spoken.* Sir James drew up an answer to this statement, addressed to the Lords of the Committee, which is now before us. It consists generally of a simple denial of the charges; but when he enters into a particular defence of himself, he more than once makes admissions which "draw deep." The following is one instance of oppression complained of in the libel:—

"10. In the same paroch (Balmaclellan), ane ould deaf man was soe tossed, what by being drawine before the hie Commissione, what by ruide useadge at home, that he took sickness and dyed, and having first payed 52 rix dollars, and then givene bond for 350 lbs. Scots. And notwithstanding, the poor widow, since his death, hath paid 120 lbs., being quartered upon manie dayes, till she was forst to leave her hous; and now, through coald and double grieff hath contracted seiknes, and is at the poynt of death."

To this charge Sir James replies as follows:—

"The old deaff man he meant in his 10 instance, never payed

* Copies of this statement are still preserved in manuscript; and the substance of it is to be found printed in Naphtali, p. 266-274.

more than a 100 lbs. Scots, and his penalty extendit to 600 lbs. He was a most malicious fellow, and I pray your lordships observe how the lybeller useth the Commissione for church affaires. That fellow left a legacy to his familie to pay their penalties with for not goeing to church, and his curses to all them if they did goe. It's true I caused his wyff pay 120 lb. Scots in the latter end of the last May, a tyme when people ordinarly doe not catch cold."

Before concluding the article, we may shortly advert to Sir James Turner's conduct after he was deprived of his military commission. Whether he succeeded in his humble supplication to his Majesty for a "gratuity," in consideration of services performed to him and his royal father, we do not know. It is probable he was unsuccessful; for it appears, from the letters appended to his Memoirs, that he attached himself to the Duke of Hamilton, who was in opposition to the ministry. From 1668 to 1680 he resided privately in Glasgow; and Bishop Burnet, who knew him at that period, says, he had then "come to himself," and confessed, that "it went often against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company as the clergy generally were." But the restless knight came to himself again, and once more resumed active measures against his old friends, the fanatics. On the fall of Lauderdale, the Duke of Hamilton was received into favour, and Turner obtained the double appointment of commander of a company of dragoons, and commissioner, with justiciary powers to try the rebels within the shires of Lanerk and Dumbarton. In the exercise of his powers in the latter capacity, which were no less illegal than those under which he had formerly acted, he was concerned in proceedings of a most unjustifiable character.* As a military officer, he was employed in hunting out and seizing those who were to be brought before him as a criminal judge. In the correspondence which he carried on at this period, and which is printed at the end of his Memoirs, we find frequent mention of the noted troopers (so frightful to the country), Inglis, Kennoway, and Creighton; and the same documents give us a glimpse of the shameful arts employed, by persons high in rank and command,

* Wodrow, ii. 338, 348, 372.

to screen from punishment such of their subordinate officers and men as had been guilty of illegal and oppressive acts.*

Sir James being again allowed to handle "a sword," was determined also to "make use of his pen," at which the privy councillors had pronounced him so dexterous. In 1680, the Cameronians (who have been erroneously identified with the main body of Presbyterians, or Covenanters), inflamed by persecution, put forth the "Sanquhar Declaration," in which they disowned the king, and advanced some sentiments of a dangerous description. Soon after, there appeared a paper, entitled, "Hackston's Ghost," professing to come from one of these ultra-Covenanters, and asserting, that the principles of the Sanquhar Declaration were those held by Presbyterians in general during the late civil war, and especially in the years 1648 and 1649. This squib was ascribed at the time to Bishop Paterson; but we have no doubt that it proceeded from the pen of Sir James Turner. It is certain that he followed it up by different controversial pieces—whether printed or not we cannot say, but extensively circulated—in which he carried the attack much farther than had been done by the "Ghost,"—charging Knox, Buchanan, and their coadjutors, with antimonarchical principles, and representing the whole procedure in the Scottish Reformation as a course of rebellion against lawful authority. We mention this fact, because it presents us with the prototype of those tirades, which, in the form of satire or history, proceeded from the Jacobites after the Revolution, and betrayed a spirit and sentiments not previously evinced by Episcopalians, either in Scotland or England.

We have occasionally looked into Sir James's literary effusions, of which a list is given at the beginning of the

* See particularly two letters from Lord Ross to Turner, pp. 292, 293. The correspondence, too, between the Earl of Arran and Sir James, relative to a regiment which his lordship was raising for the Dutch service, discloses some very dishonourable transactions, to which noblemen at that time were not ashamed to be accessory, by kidnapping men, or throwing them into prison as rebels, and then shipping them off to Holland as recruits.

Memoirs,—comprehending disquisitions on history, morals, religion, &c., in prose and verse. These the editor has wisely allowed to remain in manuscript. The poetry is wretched, the prose passable as to style, the sentiments common-place; always excepting his doctrine as to the duty of subjects, to which we do not know well what name to give. As held by others, it has been called *passive obedience;* but, as pleaded for and practised by Sir James Turner, it is entitled to the more intelligible name of *active obedience;* nor is the reader perplexed with those nice casuistical distinctions between legal and illegal, constitutional and unconstitutional, just and unjust, with which other writers have thought it necessary to guard their doctrine on this head. Murder and assassination became innocent, and even glorious deeds, when sanctioned by the authority of a crowned head. Speaking of General Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, and his assassination, during a feast, by Gordon, Leslie, and Devereux, agents of the Emperor of Germany, Sir James says,—"This act of theirs was, in my opinion, noble and generous, though many have bene pleasd to give it the contrarie character." And having occasion to speak of the person who murdered the patriotic William, Prince of Orange, he expresses himself in the following terms:—"I am farre from reckoning him among martirs, for all his patience; neither can I call him an assassin, since he had a public warrand from his soveraigne, the King of Spane, for dispatching that revolted prince."

PAMPHLETS.

"MANY will remember the deep sensation produced on the public mind by the death of the Princess Charlotte. Calculating on this, the court papers announced that on the day of the funeral, Wednesday, November 19, 1817, the churches through the whole country were to be opened for the performance of divine service; and the magistrates of Edinburgh, with the concurrence of some of the clergy, issued a proclamation to this effect on the preceding Monday. With very few exceptions, this order was obeyed by all the Established and Dissenting Churches in the city. St George's, however, was shut, Dr Thomson having positively refused to perform divine service on the funeral day. A keen discussion ensued, in the course of which Dr Thomson's character was very roughly handled, and his motives grossly misrepresented. After several pamphlets had appeared on both sides, our author came forward in defence of his friend, in a piece entitled, "Free Thoughts on the late religious celebration of the funeral of her Royal Highness, the Princess Charlotte of Wales; and on the discussion to which it has given rise in Edinburgh. By Scoto Britannus." In this publication, he embraces the opportunity of showing that the burial service of the Church of England,—of which the Edinburgh solemnity is described as having been "a clumsy imitation,"—was repugnant both to the letter and spirit of our ecclesiastical constitution. He reprobates the manner in which it had been got up, and the attempt made to prescribe to the Scottish Church in matters of divine worship; and points out the danger of adopting, even partially, such Episcopalian usages, which, introduced irregularly, and during a period of public excitement, might become a precedent for justifying farther innovations. These reasonings were considered so conclusive in vindication of Dr Thomson, that the voice of censure was hushed, and nothing more was heard on the subject."—*Life of Dr M'Crie*, p. 230.

FREE THOUGHTS

ON THE

RELIGIOUS CELEBRATION OF THE FUNERAL OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

THE late sudden demise of the Princess CHARLOTTE OF WALES was calculated to make a deep impression on the national feelings. It was one of those events which, to the sober reflection of the dispassionate, will justify all the concern and apprehension which were at first felt by the multitude, and which are ordinarily as transient in their influence as they are superficial in the causes which produce them. When we consider the promising character of the deceased Princess—her public spirit, and her domestic virtues—her exalted rank, great youth, and interesting situation—the hopes which were formed from her, and the flattering prospect which there was of their being gratified—the blessings which the empire might have enjoyed if her life had been prolonged, and the evils which her death may entail upon it,—it is impossible not to regard the event as ominous, and a heavy national calamity.

On these grounds, there perhaps never was an occasion on which the nation more sincerely or more generally lamented the loss of any of its Princes, or felt more disposed to participate in the sorrows of the Royal Family—to give every requisite testimony of regret for those who had departed, and of sympathy for those who were left behind. And

never was there less reason to complain of a defect in the due expression of these feelings. Persons of all political parties, and of every religious persuasion, were equally forward and zealous. Nor was Scotland in any degree behind the sister kingdom in the performance of this duty. No sooner did the melancholy tidings arrive, than our churches were clothed in the garb of mourning; and several of those congregations which were left to their own choice, evinced a disposition to exceed, in this external badge of sorrow, what the discretion or economy of our magistrates thought proper to allot to our established churches. Our pulpits, with one voice, and without the slightest suspicion of insincerity or reluctance, deplored the common loss, and besought that blessing, which alone could dispose all ranks to a wise and becoming improvement of the afflicting dispensation.

If, besides all this, there remained any other duty to discharge, if there were any external marks of *civil* respect to be shown on the day appointed for the funeral, we were prepared to show them, in that way which is of all others the most becoming and appropriate—after the usual manner of our country, when we "mourn for an only son, and are in bitterness for a first-born."

One would have thought that all this was enough, and that nothing farther could or would have been demanded. Such was our opinion; but we have been mistaken. There are persons, it seems, who, like the grave, cannot say of mourning, "It is enough." There are persons who must be as wayward, imperious, and extravagant in their moods of grief, as in their fits of rejoicing; who display a "madness and folly" in both; and who are of the temper of the children in the market-place, who peevishly complained to their fellows, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented." To satisfy these persons, the people of Scotland must lay aside their native mode of mourning for the dead, and adopt fashions which are foreign, and customs which are altogether strange to them They must not only on a sudden change

their ordinary habits, but also divest themselves of their religious principles, at least for one day, and testify their sympathy for royal affliction, by worshipping according to the rites of the Church of England. Though the laws of their Church admit of no burial service, and though they have never practised any thing of the kind for two centuries and a half, no, not for the most favoured of their monarchs, or the most revered of their worthies and patriots, they must on this occasion assemble themselves in their various churches, to symbolize with, and as far as practicable, join in the worship performed over the grave of the dead at Windsor.

Such was the modest and reasonable proposal for a religious celebration of the funeral of the Princess throughout the United Kingdom! Loud as they were in their demand, and confident in the language which they held, we can scarcely think, that those with whom the proposal originated seriously believed that it would be favourably received in Scotland. Yet, strange to tell, it has been generally complied with both by clergy and laity; and those who refused to "follow the multitude" have been loaded with reproach and obloquy, derided as fools, and traduced as hypocrites and traitors!

Some may be ready to ask, "How was all this brought about?" and, "By what secret magic was this change so suddenly effected?" Those who received the impulse most strongly, and contributed to impart it to others, will be among the first to pronounce it unaccountable, after it has subsided. But sensible men will feel at no great loss in assigning it to its legitimate causes. They know how easy it is to give any direction to popular feeling when it is once excited. They know the power that novelty and the passion for show and bustle exert over the many. They know, that though "the *heart* of the wise is in the house of mourning, and the *heart* of fools in the house of mirth," yet the former often stand aloof, while the latter are seen rushing to the spectacle of a funeral procession. They know, that every thing that assumes the garb is not entitled to the name of

religion, or loyalty, or grief; and that, at any rate, however strong these emotions may be, they would not, if left to their own operation, express themselves in a way different from, or opposite to, the principles and habits of the people by whom they are felt.

"Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth!" The religious movement which lately took place may be traced to a paragraph in a newspaper. Here the plan of a national solemnity, on the day of the funeral, was first suggested; and from the same respectable and most competent authority, issued daily enforcements of the proposal, or rather prophetic anticipations of its adoption, which had the most powerful influence in securing their own accomplishment. Its extensive circulation, and the circumstance of its being understood to be the organ of the court, gave it the greatest advantages in propagating its views. *

* The following quotations from the London *Courier* will illustrate what has been said in the text respecting the origin of the late solemnity. Those who are in the habit of reading that Journal, will at once perceive the art with which it is insinuated that the proposal came from others, and did not originate with the editors:—

"*Monday, November* 10.—In the great number of country papers we have received this morning, there is the same tone of grief. In every town all amusements have been suspended, all public meetings postponed, except for the celebration of divine worship. We have inserted several accounts from different parts of the country. IT IS PROPOSED to have divine service performed in all of them on the day of the funeral."

"*Tuesday, November* 11.—*It is said,* that in every church and chapel throughout the empire divine service will be performed, and that awful and sublime part which constitutes the funeral service be read."

"*Wednesday, November* 12.—Some surprise has been expressed that no notice has been given by Government of the intention of keeping the day, which is to consign to the earth the remains of the lovely and beloved being we all lament, with religious ceremony. Such surprise can only arise from a mistaken view of the subject. The Government only interferes in such circumstances, in conformity to established precedents and usages; when, therefore, it provides for the present melancholy occasion, the same "outward form of woe" which accompanied former occasions, it has done all that it could or ought to do. *We would not have it otherwise.* We wish, indeed, that day to be one of general grief and devout humiliation, but we also wish that it may be the expression of the people's unbidden sentiments. Let the establishments of all kinds in

We shall afterwards have occasion to advert to the principles held by that Journal, with relation to the recent solemnity and collateral subjects. In the meantime, it is of importance that the reader keep the undeniable fact just mentioned distinctly and constantly in view; for every public measure must take its character from those who have devised and promoted it, and not from the individuals who may be induced, by various and discordant motives, to act a subordinate part in carrying it into execution.

The quarter in which the measure under consideration originated, might have excited the suspicions of the people of Scotland. What could we expect, but that it should be entirely accordant to the principles of the Church of England, which regards sepulture as a religious ordinance, and in its ritual has a particular service appropriated to it? That this service would be performed over the grave of the deceased Princess, as a member of that Church, with all its solemnities, added to the marks of civil respect due to her exalted rank, was naturally looked for. What was proposed on this occasion proceeded upon the same views. It was, in fact, nothing else than an extension of the service—a celebration of the funeral obsequies throughout the whole kingdom, as far as this was practicable, and in such a manner as to leave the particular forms of that celebration free.

Even with respect to England, this was a novel service.

which our worldly business is transacted be shut, and let the churches be opened.—THE FUNERAL IS FIXED FOR TUESDAY NEXT. Every town, however remote, in the United Kingdom, will be apprized of the intention of the Capital."

"*Thursday, November* 13.—The funeral is deferred till Wednesday, at the special desire of Prince Leopold. On that day (the 19th) all the churches are to be opened for the performance of divine service, and shops shut."

"*Friday, November* 14.—We repeat, that all shops will be shut, and all places of divine worship will be opened, on Wednesday next, the day of the funeral."

"*Saturday, November* 15.—There is no doubt that on Wednesday next, the day of the funeral, all business will be suspended; and that the empire will afford the awful and appropriate spectacle of a whole people spontaneously engaged in religious exercise and devotion."

It has been said, and there is reason to believe that the statement is perfectly correct, that such a solemnity is altogether unprecedented in that country. Considering it as adopted without that deliberation which so important a matter required, as sanctioned by no proper authority, and as forming a precedent which may hereafter be grossly abused, the measure, even upon English principles, was open to very strong objections. In no regular organized church is religious worship left to be performed in this disorderly and unauthorised manner. If such practices are countenanced, the worst consequences must result from them. If religious assemblies shall be called in compliance with the irregular impulse of popular feeling, or at the dictation of political, perhaps hireling journals; if the worship of God must be celebrated at the cry of a mob; if every anonymous scribbler in a newspaper, and every forward demagogue in an assembly, shall assume a right to call for a preacher and religious service, as he would call for an actor or a song at a theatre (as was notoriously done on the late occasion), must not divine ordinances be profaned, and the Majesty of Heaven grossly insulted, under the pretence of honouring him? Those individuals in public office, whether clergymen or magistrates, who suffer themselves to be impelled and carried away by such sudden and treacherous gusts of public opinion, bring themselves under a heavy responsibility, and may in the issue find reason for repenting of their unwise and hazardous compliances. Accordingly, there appear to have been not a few in England who scrupled at the observance of the late national solemnity, while it was vigorously resisted by others of distinguished rank and authority.

But in Scotland the practice was objectionable on other and stronger grounds. Within the pale of the Church of England, there could be at least no objection to a burial service. In Scotland it is quite otherwise. The solemnity was a violation of our laws—of the principles of our Church, sanctioned by her highest authority, and confirmed by long and uniform practice. That this should have been forgotten, is strange; that it should be denied, is a proof of the

lamentable ignorance that prevails on the subject among both clergy and laity.

None surely will be so unreasonable or so disingenuous, as to deny that the late solemnity was of the nature of a burial service. If it was not, what was it? Why did they meet for divine service on the 19th of November? Was it not because it was the day of the funeral of the Princess Charlotte of Wales? Was it not on this account, and no other? And certainly to meet for divine service on a funeral day, and because it was such a day, was just to meet for a funeral service. If any should pretend to condemn religious exercises at the place of interment, and yet maintain the propriety and expediency of their being performed with a view to it, at the distance of three hundred miles from the place, we really do not deem it necessary to enter into reasoning with such persons. The truth is, the design of assembling for worship on that day was publicly avowed and universally understood; and whatever private reasons individuals may allege for their compliance, they must be judged on such occasions, not by these, but by the native and obvious import of their external conduct. Such being the true state of the case, it will not be difficult to show, that those who assembled for worship on that day transgressed the laws and violated the principles of our Church.

From the beginning of the Reformation, the celebration of funerals by religious service was condemned and prohibited by the Church of Scotland. The laws prohibiting it have been renewed and repeated at different periods. They stand in full force at this day, and they have been confirmed by a chain of invariable practice.

The First Book of Discipline pronounces "prayers *over*," as well as "*for* the dead," "superstitious and vaine." It directs, "that the dead be conveyed to the place of buriall, with some honest company of the kirk, *without either singing or reading, yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore used*, other than that the dead be committed to the grave with such gravity and sobriety, as those that be present may seeme to feare the judgments of God, and to hate sinne,

which is the cause of death." And whereas "some require *a sermon* at the burial, or else *some place of Scripture* to be read, to put the living in minde that they are mortall, and that likewise they must die;" it adds, in answer to this plea, "let these men understand, that the sermons that be daily made serve for that use, which if men despise, *the funeral sermons shall rather nourish superstition*, and a false opinion, as before is said, than that they shall bring such persons to a godly consideration of their own estate."

The First Book of Discipline was not only approved by different General Assemblies, but the rules which it lays down with respect to the burial of the dead are to be considered as still in force. *

During the establishment of Episcopacy in the former part of the 17th century, the only innovation made with

* We appeal to the First Book of Discipline as a proof that the Church of Scotland was, from the beginning, decidedly hostile to a burial service. But this is not all; for although the "Directory" is now the authorised rule for conducting public worship, it did not set aside but ratified the authority of the Book of Discipline on this and other heads. This appears from the following clause of the Act of the General Assembly (1645) approving and establishing the Directory. "It is also provided, that this shall be no prejudice to the order and practice of this Kirk in such particulars as are appointed by the Books of Discipline, and Acts of General Assemblies, and are *not otherways ordered and appointed* in the Directory." The truth is, that there is the utmost harmony and uniformity in the enactments which the Church has at different times made on this subject. Respecting the order in which the different parts of divine service should be performed, and other circumstances of a similar description, what was thought most proper and convenient at one time, was judged less so at another; and, accordingly, changes have been made in such matters by express acts or by gradual usage. But on the burial of the dead, the Book of Discipline, the Directory, and the particular Acts of the General Assembly, hold the same unvaried language, and have been supported by uniform practice.

Those who satisfy themselves with looking into "Pardovan's Collections," will be in danger of being misled. The compiler of that work gives a very defective view of the law of the Church concerning the burial of the dead, and what he does state is not correct. He says, "By the old Book of Discipline in Mr Knox's time, annexed to the old paraphrase of the Psalms, after burial, the minister, if present and desired, goeth to the church, if it be not far off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to

regard to the burial of the dead, was the introduction, in some instances, of funeral sermons. But, upon the fall of the hierarchy, the General Assembly in 1638, agreeably to an overture by their committee, "to discharge funeral sermons, as savouring of superstition," did *discharge all funeral sermons* accordingly.*

In the "Directory for the Public Worship," ratified by the General Assembly in 1645, the provisions of the First Book of Discipline are renewed. The dead body is appointed to be interred "without any ceremony," and because "praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside." At the same time it is expressly stated, "that this shall not extend to deny any *civil* respects or deferences, at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased, whiles he was living." The directions given respecting the meditations and conferences suitable to the occasion, and the part which the minister, if present, is to take in these, are of such a kind as to guard carefully against a burial service or funeral sermon.

the people touching death and the resurrection. But by the Act of Assembly 1638, sess. 23, 24, art. 22, all funeral sermons are discharged."—*Collections and Observations*, p. 157.

Now, 1*st*, Not only is there nothing of the kind here alleged in the Old or "First Book of Discipline," but that book, as stated in the text, orders the matter in a different way. Pardovan must refer to the "Book of Common Order," drawn up by the English at Geneva, and used for some time in Scotland. 2*d*, The Book of Common Order does not suppose that there shall be any religious service or worship at funerals. It says, "The corpse is reverently brought to the grave, accompanied with the congregation, *without any farther ceremonies.*" And it does not say that the minister joins in worship with the congregation, or company assembled, after the burial; but merely that he maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people. 3*d*, Even this exhortation was superseded, the first year after the establishment of the Reformation, by the Book of Discipline, which referred the people for suitable instruction and comfort, "to the sermons which be daily made." 4*th*, Funeral sermons were discharged as early as 1561; and the Act of Assembly 1638 was only the renewal of an old law.

* Acts of Assembly, 1638, sess. 23, [illegible]

It is carefully to be adverted to by the reader, that the Books of Discipline, and the Directory for Public Worship, are not to be viewed in the light of ordinary acts. They are standard books, embodying the fundamental laws of the Church, recognised in the whole strain of our ecclesiastical enactments, and therefore to be appealed to as the most competent and decisive authority, on all questions respecting worship and discipline.

These principles are very clearly stated in the "*Platform* of the Presbyterian government and worship of the Church of Scotland, published by authority in 1644." It states, that burial is to take place "*without singing or reading*, which the superstitious doe conceive to be profitable for the dead;—*without funeral sermons, which do beget superstition*, and tend to flattery, make the gospel to be preached with respect of persons, and *are most pressed by such as doe least regard sermons at other times;* and without feasting, with affectate shewes of mourning, and any further pomp or ceremony, than civil differences and respects do require."

Such being the law of the Church, let us now attend to the care which she has manifested as to its observance. In 1705, the General Assembly, by an express act, recommended to all ministers and others within the national Church, "the due observation of the Directory for the public worship of God, approven by the General Assembly held in the year 1645." In 1707, the "Act against Innovations in the worship of God" was passed, in consequence of the general erection of the Episcopal worship at that time. After declaring, "that the purity of religion, *and particularly of the worship of God, and uniformity therein*, is a signal blessing, —that any attempts made for the introduction of innovations in the worship of God in this Church have been of fatal and dangerous consequence,—and that innovations, particularly in the worship of God, have been of late set up in some places: The General Assembly, being moved with zeal for the glory of God, and the purity and uniformity of his worship, doth hereby *discharge the practice of all such innovations of Divine worship within this Church*, and does

require and obtest all the ministers of this Church, especially those in whose bounds any such innovations may be, to represent to their people the evil thereof," &c. By the formula of questions prescribed by the General Assembly 1711, and still in use, every minister at his ordination must promise, "*notwithstanding whatsoever trouble or persecution may arise,*" that he "shall follow *no divisive course* from the present established *worship* of this Church." And all such as shall pass trials in order to be licensed, and that shall be ordained ministers, or admitted to parishes, are bound to subscribe a declaration containing the following clauses, *inter alia:* "I do own the purity of worship presently authorised and practised in this Church;—which worship, &c., I am persuaded are founded upon the Word of God, and agreeable thereto; and I promise that, through the grace of God, I shall firmly and constantly adhere to the same, and *to the utmost of my power shall in my station assert, maintain, and defend the said—worship—of this Church;* and that I shall, in my practice, conform myself to the said worship, and never endeavour, *directly nor indirectly, the prejudice* or subversion of the same;—renouncing all doctrines, tenets, and opinions whatsoever, contrary to, or inconsistent with, the said—worship—of this Church."

These are solemn and express stipulations; and however light some may make of them, it surely becomes all who have given such pledges, and especially the ministers of this Church, seriously to consider how they have redeemed them, and "paid their vows unto the Lord in the presence of all his people."

It may be added, that by the incorporating Union of Scotland and England, it is declared that "the form and purity of worship presently in use within this Church shall *remain and continue unalterable;*" so that it is illegal for any magistrates, supreme or subordinate, to endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice of the same; and instead of discouraging, it is their bounden duty to support all who exert themselves to maintain it.

The principles of the Church of Scotland, on this head,

are unequivocally expressed, not only in her standard books and acts of Assembly, but also by uniform and invariable practice. This is deserving of particular attention, as it renders the evidence completely irresistible, and excludes every possibility of cavil or quibbling. The case is as widely different from that of obsolete or antiquated statutes, as it is possible to conceive. The authority of the law has been preserved and conveyed, down to the present time, by a continued and unbroken chain of usage. Not a single precedent to the contrary has ever been produced, and we are satisfied that it cannot be produced. During the whole period of Presbytery, there is no instance of a departure from the law by the celebration of a burial service, even on occasions when the national feelings were most strongly excited. And when, during the intrusion of Episcopacy, the practice was partially introduced, no sooner did Presbytery resume her rightful place, than every the least vestige of it was removed, along with other superstitious observances. The enactments on this subject are not to be viewed in the light of temporary regulations, nor are they mere arrangements of matters indifferent, for the sake of order and uniformity. They are avowedly and explicitly made to rest upon principle. Conscientious reasons are assigned for them, and reasons applicable to the present as well as to former times.

We may, therefore, challenge any person to produce a single article relating to the worship of our Church, as to which the law and the usage are more clear and determinate, than that under consideration. As far as these are concerned, holidays, confirmation, the sign of the cross, kneeling at the communion, absolution at the point of death, and extreme unction itself, might be introduced among us with equal reason as a burial service. To elude the charge of transgressing statutes so precise, and usages so palpable, persons must have recourse to chicane and quirk, which would disgrace the bar, and would not be listened to by the bench, of any civil court whatever.

The only thing, as far as we know, that can be objected,

with any degree of feasibility, to the argument from usage, is, that it has been a common practice among us to preach funeral sermons, notwithstanding the acts of the Church to the contrary. To this we reply by denying the statement. A funeral sermon, in the strict and proper acceptation of the expression, is a sermon preached at a funeral, on the day of the funeral, or so connected with it as to form a part of the funeral service. In a loose sense, indeed, that is often called a funeral sermon, in which the preacher, in the usual course of his ministry, alludes to the death of any individual, and endeavours to impress upon his audience the lessons which it naturally suggests. The former, and not the latter, are the sermons condemned by the laws which we have produced. It never was the design of our Church to condemn the practice of a minister adverting to the instances of death which occur, according to their notoriety, and endeavouring to lead his congregation to the due improvement of such melancholy and deeply interesting events. This belongs to the course of his ministerial duty. We would not deny that such discourses have been abused, and that several of the very abuses which the principles of our Church condemn may be grafted upon them, such as undue respect of persons, and false or fulsome adulation of the dead or the living. But every part of the pastoral function is apt to be abused in this way; and the abuse being committed in the ordinary discharge of pastoral duty, and being committed in different degrees, it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to apply the remedy. Every person, however, may perceive the distinction between these and such services as have in themselves a tendency to abuse; and which, on this account, as well as because they are unnecessary, become the legitimate object of prohibitory statutes.

The chief design of these pages was to state the ecclesiastical law of Scotland on this subject, and to set it before those who appeared to have forgotten, if indeed they ever knew it. It is not therefore necessary to enter here into any laboured defence, or lengthened statement, of the grounds

upon which that law was framed. A few general reflections upon these may, however, be proper.

The reason why the Church of Scotland, in common with other Reformed Churches, has discharged all funeral service, is not simply that it was grossly abused in some former or distant period, or that it is still abused by multitudes; but also that it *tends* to abuse, either in itself, or from the unavoidable bias of human nature in its present frail and vitiated state. How prone the mind of man is to superstition, the history of all ages and of every people has abundantly demonstrated. Vain speculations as to the state of the dead have been one of the most fruitful sources of superstitious hopes and fears; and nothing has tended more to beget and to nourish these, than the religious rites and ceremonies performed at death and at sepulture. False religion, in the various shapes which it has assumed among mankind, has invariably increased this moral malady: it is one great and salutary object of true religion to correct it, and to prevent its recurrence.

In the Jewish religion there were no sacred rites appointed for the dead, or performed at sepulture. Although the Jews were placed under a dispensation highly ceremonial, although the external observances of their worship reached to every department of society, and mingled with almost every duty and every event of their life, it is deserving of particular notice, that their divine ritual prescribed nothing to be done at the moment of death or in the act of interment. They had no burial service. He who provided that Moses should be interred secretly, so that "no man knoweth of his sepulture to this day," lest the Jews should have abused it to idolatry, wisely and graciously guarded against a practice which he foresaw would easily degenerate into superstition. When they began to lose the purity of their religion, one way in which they corrupted themselves, was by joining in the funeral services and commemorations of the heathen—by "eating the sacrifices of the dead," and "weeping for Tammuz."

There was no funeral service among the primitive Chris-

tians. When our Saviour died, Joseph of Arimathea, a counsellor, and Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, obtained permission to inter him, and they performed this office with all due reverence and honour. "They brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight, and took the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, *as the manner of the Jews is to bury.*" But they performed no religious service over him. And when the women came to his sepulchre, early on the first day of the week, it was not to pray, or read, or sing over it, but "to anoint his body with the spices they had prepared." In the case of the first person who was honoured to fall a martyr to Christianity, we are informed that "devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him." But devout as they were, and deeply as they lamented his loss, we do not read of their performing a single religious act or rite over his grave. Nor is there the slightest vestige in the New Testament of any such practice among the primitive Christians.

But the worship of the Christian Church, it is well known, was not suffered long to stand on the base of its original simplicity. The history of its corruption, of the causes from which this proceeded, and the extent to which it grew, forms one of the most humiliating, but, at the same time, most instructive branches of study; and the lessons which it reads, and the beacons which it holds up to future generations, ought never to be lost sight of or forgotten. From motives the most pious, and with intentions the most innocent and laudable, practices were indulged and sentiments were generated, which superstition, in alliance with priestcraft, improved to rear a dominion unparalleled in the annals of mankind. It is impossible to describe one of the most fertile sources of this corruption better than in the words of a judicious historian, in giving an account of the rites and ceremonies added to the Christian worship during the second century:—"These changes, while they destroyed the beautiful simplicity of the Gospel, were naturally pleasing to the gross multitude, who are more delighted with the pomp and

splendour of external institutions, than with the native charms of rational and solid piety, and who generally give little attention to any objects but those which strike their outward senses. But other reasons may be added to this, which, though they suppose no bad intentions, yet manifest a considerable degree of precipitation and imprudence. And here we may observe, in the first place, that there is a high degree of probability in the notion of those who think that the bishops augmented the number of religious rites in the Christian worship, by way of accommodation to the infirmities and prejudices both of Jews and Heathens, in order to facilitate their conversion to Christianity. Both Jews and Heathens were accustomed to a vast variety of pompous and magnificent ceremonies in their religious service; and as they considered these rites as an essential part of religion, it is but natural that they should behold with indifference, and even with contempt, the simplicity of the Christian worship, which was destitute of these idle ceremonies that rendered their service so specious and striking. To remove, then, in some measure, this prejudice against Christianity, the bishops thought it necessary to increase the number of rites and ceremonies, and thus to render the public worship more striking to the outward senses."*

The rites of sepulture introduced into Christian worship, were borrowed, not from the Jews, but from the Heathens. The Greeks and Romans paid the utmost attention to these; and the want of them they considered as the severest curse that their gods could inflict. Hence, of all deaths, that by shipwreck was deemed the most awful. Among others, the following ceremonies may be mentioned:—Supplications addressed to the god whose province it was to carry the spirit to the regions below, just before the pangs of death —the invocation of the manes, or calling on the dead at regular intervals—the ringing of bells or brazen vessels at the moment of dissolution, to drive away the furies—the putting a small coin into the mouth of the deceased, to pay for his passage across the infernal river—the funeral oration

* Mosheim's Church History, cent. ii. part ii. chap. iv. sect. 1, 2.

in praise of the dead—the carrying of torches in the procession to the grave—the sacrifices—the oblations of honey, milk, and wine—the erection of a small altar before the sepulchre, on which incense was burnt, and libations made, both occasional and stated—the lustrations and the funeral feasts, which were prolonged or repeated on the anniversaries of the interment, and celebrated with great intemperance and excess.

The greater part of these rites were accommodated to the Christian religion, and adopted into the worship of the Church. This was not, indeed, done all at once; but the spirit of superstition is restless and encroaching, and when once admitted, none can predict where it will stop. Those who have unwarily let it loose possess no control over it, and cannot say, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther." One superstitious rite paves the way for another, and one superstitious opinion generates seven worse and more monstrous than itself. The primitive Christians, from regard for those who suffered death for the Gospel, began to perform their funeral obsequies with great solemnity. They visited their tombs—they held their assemblies for worship at them—they celebrated the anniversary of their martyrdom. The prayers and commemorations at the funeral of martyrs (which came to be extended to all who died in the faith) were at first confined to thanksgivings for their deliverance and glorification, with supplications that those who survived might be enabled to follow their example. But prayers *over* the dead were soon succeeded by prayers *for* them; and produced in due time the doctrines of purgatory, penances, pardons, the merit of masses, obits and dirges, canonization, saints' days, prayers to the dead, the collecting and worshipping of relics, pretended miracles, and a thousand absurdities of the same pernicious description.

Our ancestors, at the Reformation, wisely resolved to strike at the root of this system of corruption and imposture, as the only effectual way of getting rid of the evils which it had entailed on them, and of guarding against their return. Upon this principle they completely abolished, not only the

funeral service, which they justly regarded as having been a powerful instrument in the hands of superstition and priestcraft, but also holidays, the hierarchy, the use as well as the names of the five popish sacraments, with a multitude of other ceremonies, which, though introduced with the view, or under the pretext of decorating and recommending divine worship, tend, in fact, to tarnish its beauty, and to reduce and exhaust its spirit. This thorough reform constitutes the high distinction of Scotland among the Protestant Churches. Its beneficial influence has extended to all departments of society—it has improved our temporal as well as our spiritual welfare—it has freed us from many galling impositions, which diminish the comforts, and fret the spirits of other nations. It may be seen in the superior information of our people, in their freedom from childish fears and vulgar prejudices, in the purity of their morals, and in that practical regard, which, unconstrained by forms, and unattracted by show, they voluntarily pay to the ordinances of religion. One of the worst symptoms of our state, and which may justly occasion foreboding apprehensions, is, that we are not duly sensible of our privileges, nor aware of the cause to which, under Providence, we are principally to ascribe them; and that there are many among us, whose conduct gives too much ground to suspect, that they would be ready to part, at a very cheap rate, with those privileges which their fathers so dearly won.

"O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint!"

The Church of Scotland was not, however, the only one which acted on the principle of thorough reformation. On the subject immediately under consideration, other Protestant Churches coincided with her both in doctrine and in practice. In particular, the canons of the Dutch Church and of the Reformed Churches in France, prohibited all religious service at funerals.*

* The "*Discipline* of the Reformed Churches of France" contains the following canons:—"At funerals there shall be neither prayers nor sermons, nor any dole of public alms; that so all superstitions and other inconveniences may be avoided, and those who attend the dead corpse

England acted upon a very different principle. In this and in many other points she retained the principal rites and forms of the Popish Church, chiefly with the view of giving as little offence as possible to those who remained attached to the ancient superstition, and in the hope of gaining these more easily over to her communion; not duly

unto its sepulchre, shall be exhorted to behave themselves modestly whilst they follow it, meditating according to the object presented to them, and the hope of one more happy in the world to come."

"Forasmuch as mourning consisteth not in habits but in heart, the godly shall be admonished to demean themselves with a modest decency, and to reject all ambition, hypocrisy, vanity, and superstition."—*Discipline*, chap. x. can. 5, 6. *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 44.

The Dutch Church, in their form of worship agreed upon at the beginning of the Reformation, excluded The Burial of the Dead, because they did not regard it as at all connected with divine service. And funeral sermons were condemned by various acts of their synods. The synod of the Churches of Holland and Zealand, held at Middleburg 1574, art. 52, enact, "That where funeral sermons are in use, they be abrogated, and that where they have not been in use, they be not introduced, to avoid the dangers and superstitions which spring from such practices; and for the same reason we also declare, that the ringing of bells at funerals ought every where to be abrogated."

The National Synod which was held at Dort in 1578, art. 58, says, "Because the use of funeral sermons is dangerous, we enact that they be not introduced where they have not yet been admitted. But where they are in use, and where there is a sufficient number of ministers and elders who think that they are not unprofitable, *let them be tolerated*, until they can be abrogated without offence; still, however, under this caution, namely, that they have the appearance rather of an unpremeditated exhortation than of a sermon commenced and concluded with prayers. Farther, also, that the praise of the persons deceased form not the subject of these exhortations. It is also incumbent on ministers to take care, that the use of bells which prevails among Papists, both in the article of death and at the time of interment, be abolished."

The National Synod held at Middleburg in 1581, art. 48, declares, that "where funeral sermons do not obtain, they shall not be introduced; but that in places where they have been admitted, the most effectual means shall be adopted for their abrogation."

The celebrated Synod of Dort, held in 1619, employs the same language on this subject.

The Reformed Churches in Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia, and Moravia, testify equal care in guarding against superstition and other abuses at funerals. *Voetii Pol. Eccl.* tom. i. pp. 240, 261.

adverting, that by pursuing this course she ran upon the very rock on which the primitive Church made shipwreck of her purity. All expressions in the burial service which involved prayers *for* the dead, were either expunged or softened, but the practice of reading or singing, and praying *over* the dead was continued; and thus the false and dangerous idea, general at that time, and too common in the present day, that this service is some way or other available to the persons interred, was fostered and perpetuated. The burial service is no less objectionable in another point of view. By the forms of the English Church, and according to invariable practice, the ministers of religion must, in a solemn address to God, express their hope, that every person interred by them *rests in Christ;* and, in a manner almost equally solemn, must declare, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, *in his great mercy*, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." These hopes and assurances are declared concerning all, however wickedly and profanely they have lived and died, those only excepted "that have died unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves." Must not one of two things be expected to follow from this? Will it not happen, either that some persons will despise the whole as a religious farce, or that they will be hardened in sin by the hopes of obtaining absolution at death? Though the matter of the burial service were otherwise as excellent as its admirers would persuade us, this error, thrice repeated, would, like "the dead fly in the apothecary's ointment," pollute and damnify the whole. When we consider the countless instances in which the name and word of God are profaned in this way, is it any wonder that Presbyterians condemn this service, and keep at the greatest distance from every thing which may be construed into symbolizing with those who perform it?

To the argument from the abuse of a burial service, some think it sufficient to reply, "The age of superstition is past;

there is now no danger from that quarter; why should we be afraid of a bugbear?" This is the light talk of superficial thinkers, and of such as are glad to find a plausible excuse for accommodating measures. No man who had an extensive acquaintance with the history of religion, and an intimate knowledge of human nature, ever reasoned after this manner. If such persons were capable of thinking, or if they would allow themselves to think for a moment, they would be aware that there was a time when the primitive Church was as exempt from superstition as ever Scotland has been since the Reformation, and when there was as much reason to deride the fears of its introduction as there is at present. Was he a fool or an alarmist who said, "The thing that hath been is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun?" Is it wisdom to throw away all the instruction which former ages have treasured up for us? Is it fortitude, or is it fool-hardiness, to rush on actions which formerly betrayed multitudes into "temptation and a snare?" We have seen with what ease the public mind has been influenced on the recent occasion; and what should hinder it from being carried still farther astray? But although it should not, is it a matter of small consequence to violate the laws, and trample upon the principles of the Church to which we belong? Is it no offence to testify our contempt, or our disrespect, for the faithful struggles of our ancestors to emancipate themselves, and to secure our freedom, from "beggarly elements," to which "we desire to be again in bondage?" The age of superstition is past! When the far greater part of the world is yet drowned in gross idolatry! When the greater part of Europe is still antichristian! And when thousands, and tens of thousands, in our own land, still "worship idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk!" Ask those who have had the best means of information, and they will inform you, that at this day it is a common sentiment among the lower orders in England, that the burial service is a passport to heaven; that they would

be miserable if they thought that they or their friends were to be deprived of it; and that the hope of obtaining it dissipates all their fears. And is it not an undeniable fact, that many divines of the Church of England, and of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, have openly taught and defended praying for the dead? On the late solemn day, when Presbyterians, for the first time, met to celebrate funeral rites, were not the Roman Catholics employed in offering the body of Christ for the sins of the dead and the living? in praying for the spirits of the departed? and in addressing supplications to the Virgin Mary and all the saints? and must not the conduct of the former have had a strong tendency to confirm the latter in their delusion?

When an innovation, like that under consideration, is proposed, we ought to take a liberal and enlarged view of the subject. We should contemplate it in all its bearings and connections. We should examine the influence which it may exert upon the spirit of our worship, the principles of our Church, and the habits of our people.

The late solemnity was not more contrary to the *letter*, than it will be found repugnant to the *spirit* of our ecclesiastical constitution. The Church of Scotland differs from that of England as much in her worship as she does in her government and discipline. This difference does not lie in one or two articles; it runs through the whole of our religious service. It may be observed in the psalmody, prayers, and administration of sacraments—in the times, and places, and modes of public worship. They are, in fact, constructed upon different principles: we speak, of course, of the *external* form of worship, and not of its internal principles, its object, or the medium of its acceptance. The service of the Church of England is addressed to the senses and the fancy. The service of the Church of Scotland is addressed to the understanding and the conscience. The former endeavours to produce its effects, by pleasing the eye, and gratifying the ear. The latter borrows sparingly from the senses, and calls in their aid only so far as they are connected with it by nature or by divine institution. By the external decora-

tions of its temples, by the gaudy attire of its priests, the pomp and variety of its musical entertainments, and by frequent festivals, celebrated with all the parade of forms and gestures, the Episcopal Church strives to excite the imagination, and thus to make an impression on the heart—to fix the attention of the careless worshipper, and to make up for the radical defect in the bosom of the indevout. The Presbyterian Church, more intent on making men religious than on causing them to appear so for a short time, views these fascinating but worldly attractions with suspicion, and rejects them, as calculated to withdraw the mind from the contemplation of Him who is a Spirit, and to substitute a mechanical devotion in the place of that which is rational and spiritual. The service of the former is showy, secular, ceremonious. The service of the latter is simple, spiritual, unconstrained, and free of all meretricious ornament. The former is more pleasing to such as are "children in understanding," and adapted to those who need yet to be trained up "under the elements of this world." The latter recommends itself to such as "are of full age," and is agreeable to that divine economy under which "they that worship God must worship him in spirit and in truth."

As an illustration of the difference between the service of the two Churches, let us take the Visitation of the Sick, which, though of a more private nature, is related to that of which we are immediately treating. When a Presbyterian minister is called to perform this important part of his function, he goes to the house of the sick person, sits down familiarly by his bed-side, converses with him in a free and unconstrained manner, inquires particularly into the state of his soul, administers to him suitable instruction and consolation, and commends him to God in prayer. In England, again, this part of service is performed according to a prescribed *office*, and with much formal parade. The priest comes to the house of the sick person with his prayer-book in his hand. Upon entering the habitation, he says, "Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it." When he "cometh into the sick man's presence," he kneels down,

and says a very short prayer; to which it must be answered, "Spare us, good Lord." Then shall the minister say, Let us pray, "Lord have mercy upon us—Christ have mercy upon us—Lord have mercy upon us—Our Father," &c. Then follows a dialogue, beginning, "*Minister*—O Lord, save thy servant: *Answer*—Which putteth his trust in thee," &c. Two other prayers and an exhortation succeed. Then the minister puts the creed to the sick man, examines whether he repent him truly of his sins, and having pressed several duties, moves him "to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter." After which confession, the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and earnestly desire it) after this sort: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe on him, of his great mercy forgive thee thy offences; and by his authority committed to me, *I absolve thee from all thy sins*, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." * Some other prayers, and the reading of certain psalms, finish the service.

In a similar manner is the burial of the dead conducted. "The priest and clerks (dressed in their canonical robes), meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard, and going before it either into the church or towards the grave, shall say or sing, *I am the resurrection*," &c. In the church, the 39th, or the 90th Psalm, or both, and the lesson out of 1 Cor. xv., are read. At the grave, "While the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, the priest shall say, or the priest and clerks shall sing," a number of sentences. Then, "while the earth shall be cast upon the body by some standing by," the priest shall pronounce the act of committing the body to the ground, followed by prayers and the benediction.—There is nothing uncommon in the

* The *Directory* of the Church of Scotland gives instructions as to the proper method of dealing with sick persons, according to their character and the state of their souls; but it gives no countenance to the arrogant assumption of authority implied in the *absolution*, which, however qualified and explained, must have a dangerous effect on multitudes.

matter of the collects and other readings (with the exception of what we formerly quoted), but every thing is so arranged and connected with the several acts of the funeral scene, as to produce an effect upon the spectators. How different the mode of interment in Scotland is, we have already seen. *

The view which we have given of the genius and distinctive features of Episcopalian worship, shows wherein the great danger of partial conformity on our part lies. It grants the principle; and this once granted, consistency requires that the conformity should be complete. Our ancestors were well aware of the force of this argument, when it was attempted to introduce bishops into Scotland. Accordingly, they strenuously resisted the project of Constant Moderators, knowing, that by submitting to them they relinquished the principle of Presbyterian parity, and yielded the cause to their adversaries. If we are to have a *burial* service, why not also a service for the *churching of women*, another for the *confirmation of children*, and another for *matrimony*. The truth is, that these last are in several respects less objectionable than the burial service; and many things urged in favour of it are equally applicable to them. Might it not, for example, produce a happy effect, and conduce to the more religious performance of conjugal duties, if, instead of the slight and unceremonious manner in which the matrimonial knot is tied with us, it should be converted into a sacrament, all but the name? and if the parties were obliged to "plight their troth," and take one another "for better for worse, for richer for poorer," at the altar? Would not he in all likelihood prove a more *devout* husband, who, having laid the ring upon the book, "with the accustomed *duty* to the priest and clerk," and having received it again from the priest, "and put it upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand," should say, or sing, "With this ring, I thee wed; with my body I thee *worship*; and with all my worldly goods I thee endow. In the name of," &c. Who can doubt it?

* See p. 563–566.

Greater embarrassment might be felt in getting some of the other improvements introduced. Confirmation can be conferred only by the hands of a bishop, and there are none of that sacred order in our Church. But the difficulty is not insurmountable. We have among us divines, both able and dignified, whose heads would sit very gracefully under a mitre; and as the arguments against the burial service *made no impression whatever* on their solid minds, there is reason to believe the arguments against Episcopacy, or even receiving its indelible mark from the bishops of the Church of England, would make just as little impression on them. If it shall be thought that this would be too great a step at once, and if apprehensions are entertained that the people, liberal as they are become, might startle at the proposal, or that the nobility and gentry would take the alarm, recourse may be had, in the first place, to the plan of a reverend gentleman on the Border;—according to which there will be an overseer of every presbytery, and an overseer of the overseers in every provincial synod, to be called, not by the odious titles of bishop and archbishop, but by the more harmless, unexceptionable, and well-sounding designations of *superintendent* and *super-superintendent.* The ingenious author of the plan is very confident of the happy effects that would result from its adoption. We understand that he submitted it some time ago to his presbytery, and it would have been brought forward; but unfortunately he has never been able to remedy a fundamental defect under which it was found to labour, in not providing any funds for the due support of his new dignitaries.

By the partial adoption of the forms and usages of our neighbours, instead of recommending our Church, we expose it in the eyes of all indifferent and judicious observers. We act like a person who sticks a plume of feathers, or a tuft of ribbands, into a plain suit of apparel, thereby turning it into a fool's coat; or like a vain young man, who attempts to improve the neat villa or cottage to which he has succeeded, by fitting up one of its rooms after the style of a palace. Our national worship, as it is, is venerable for its

simplicity and uniformity. We shall only disfigure it, and mar its beauty, by our injudicious composition, and our awkward daubings. After all the little attempts which some would make to improve our Church service by the adoption of foreign fashions, they will only be laughed at for their pains as clumsy imitators; and it will still be true, that they do these things incomparably better at Canterbury and at Rome. Those who are enamoured with such religious toys, should at once undertake a pilgrimage to these long-famed seats of devotion, where they will find the entertainment which they seek in its greatest perfection.

In one respect at least, those Presbyterians who have joined in the celebration of the late funeral solemnity must either retrace their steps, or else go farther. It is vain to pretend that, right or wrong, it was but a single transient act, which can have no effect on our future conduct. It has laid a precedent for future occurrences of the same kind, and it may be depended upon, that that precedent will not be forgotten by those persons to whose purposes, political or ecclesiastical, it may be found subservient. And they will not fail to remind the conformists of the pledge which they have given. When it shall please Heaven to take away our good old king, can they do less, as an expression of their grief for his loss, than they have done for that of his granddaughter, who held no official situation, and was in law and in fact a subject? Can they do less if the Prince Regent falls? Can they do less for other princes or heirs-apparent? If they shall decline funeral sermons and prayers on these occasions, will they not incur the imputation of showing a marked disrespect to these illustrious personages,—the very charge which they have brought against their brethren who refused to conform on the present occasion, or which they helped to confirm by their compliance? If, on the contrary, they are prepared to preach and to pray on all such occasions, we must inform them that they cannot stop even at this stage. In point of consistency they would be bound, and in point of feeling they would certainly be disposed, to observe the same ceremony on the funeral day of

any great political character, like the late Mr Pitt, whom those who have been most forward in the present instance admired so much while he lived, and lamented so sincerely when he died; or the late Mr Percival, who was universally regretted on account of his personal character, and the affecting circumstances of his death. Nor is this all: Upon the same principle that a whole nation is called to meet for public worship on the funeral of a prince or statesman, it must be the duty of a county, a town, or a parish, to perform the same service on the funeral of any person of note or authority within their bounds. And when they have done all this, in what situation will they have placed themselves? Under the sharp apostolical rebuke, of "having the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons,"—of preferring "the man with the gold ring and gay clothing," the great and the opulent; and that in the very act of addressing their common Maker, of declaring that Gospel, whose glory it is that "it is preached to the poor," and of committing the body to the place where "the rich and the poor meet together," and all worldly distinctions are levelled in the dust. The Church of England acts a part more becoming than this, for she has provided the same funeral service for the king and the beggar.

Before a change, however partial, is made on the modes of our national worship, we would do well to consider what influence it may have upon public spirit, and the tone of national feeling. This is a consideration of more consequence than the greater part seem to imagine. Popular sentiment is greatly influenced by associations. The public feeling in Scotland is at present decidedly in favour of Presbytery; and this is founded in no small degree on their partiality to its mode of worship, which they have been taught to consider, and justly, as purified from the superstitious and frivolous ceremonies to which their southern brethren continue addicted. Among the higher ranks this has been sensibly weakened, by the temptation to which they have long been exposed, of conforming to the Court

worship. If the body of the people also shall be untaught the lessons which they have learned; if they shall become familiarized to foreign usages; if, during a fit of highly excited sympathy or loyalty, they be indulged in superstitious services, their associations will be broken, and a new train of sentiments and feelings will succeed. If ever the time come when the attachment of the people of Scotland to Presbytery shall be loosened and give way, its effects will not be confined to religion. To this attachment—to the soul-inspiring recollections by which it has been cherished—to the unfettered genius of our worship—to our exemption from the benumbing bondage of recurring holidays, political or religious, and from forms of prayer dictated on particular occasions by the Court, and to the freedom of discussion yet retained in our Ecclesiastical Assemblies, we hesitate not to ascribe, more than to any other cause, the preservation of public spirit and independence, which many things in our political situation and local circumstances have a powerful tendency to weaken and to crush. Those who view every expression of these feelings with jealousy, will, of course, encourage or connive at whatever is calculated to blunt them. But all who wish well to the public spirit of Scotland, as well as to her religious purity, are called upon to deprecate and resist such acts of conformity. And this resistance cannot be opposed to the evil at too early a stage.

"Principiis obsta; sero medecina paratur,
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras."

It is no reason for our being secure or passive on the present occasion, that no attempt has been made to obtrude the obnoxious practice upon us. This renders the compliance both more dangerous and more inexcusable. Voluntarily to throw away our principles, is worse than to have them wrested from us. To submit our necks to receive the yoke, is more disgraceful than to have it forcibly wreathed about them. It was not by an assault from the Greeks that Troy was taken; but after an unsuccessful siege of ten years, and when the besieging army had abandoned their

design, the inhabitants opened their gates to the fatal horse, in a fit of devotion, and by credulously listening to the false and deceitful Sinon.

If a change in our ecclesiastical laws and usages is called for, it ought to be introduced in a different manner from what we have lately witnessed. It ought not to be effected by the blind impulse of popular feeling, at the officious call of persons who are of all others the most incapable of judging on the subject, or at the pleasure and direction of individual ministers, or of unauthorised and self-created clubs of ministers, hastily convened, and acting under the influence of importunate magistrates and the clamour of the day. We have regular courts, before which any overture for altering our established laws, or innovating upon our received usages, ought to be regularly brought, and the forms of which secure, that, before any question be decided, time shall be afforded for canvassing its merits, both judicially and extrajudicially. Will not the very worst effects be produced by such irregular proceedings, and by the usurpation of such unwarranted, illegal, and unconstitutional powers? If the offenders are not called to account, or if some other effectual check be not put to the practice, will not our ecclesiastical constitution be gradually undermined, and its securities defeated and rendered nugatory? A great deal is left in our Church to the discretion of individual ministers, in consequence of our having no prescribed forms of worship. This should make them extremely cautious as to any innovation, and renders it necessary that they be watched and checked when they attempt to innovate, in opposition to any law, principle, or maxim of the Church.

The time chosen for making this change was of all others the most improper. When the sympathy of the nation was extraordinarily excited, and when to this were added the desire of testifying loyalty, and the dread of being charged with want of respect or of feeling for royal sufferers, was this the time for coming to a cool and impartial decision on such a question? Few possess sufficient resolution and firmness of mind (not to speak of integrity) to enable them to resist

such temptations. We have not yet forgotten that the attempt to introduce holidays into Scotland in the days of James VI. was begun by taking advantage of a similar event, in the appointment of an anniversary commemoration of that prince's deliverance from the Gowrie Conspiracy.

Great danger is always to be apprehended from associating the worship of God with that respect which we are called to pay to our fellow-men. To this source a great part of the polytheism of the heathen, and the canonization and worship of departed saints among Christians, may be distinctly and undeniably traced. But even where the evil does not grow to this height, how often is incense offered to the creature in the very act of worshipping the Creator! How often, when they profess to meet to serve God, are men actuated by no higher motive than to pay a tribute of homage to their earthly superiors! We do not say that the dread of this is in itself and in every case a sufficient reason for not calling them to engage in divine service. But we do mean to say, that when the assembling of masses of people for divine service is uncalled for, or improper on other grounds, this consideration ought to have the greatest weight in dissuading from the measure; and we mean to say farther, that in such cases all who are active in promoting or countenancing such assemblages, are so far responsible for the profanation of the worship of God that may reasonably be expected to take place.

The recent religious service was avowedly called for as a tribute of respect to the memory of the illustrious personage deceased. And was there not every reason to think, that multitudes who engaged in it had no higher or sacred end in view? Amiable as the Princess undoubtedly was, and severe as is the loss sustained by her premature and sudden death, was there no danger of extravagant, and even impious adulation being offered to her memory, in addresses to God, and in addresses to the people in the name of God? We have not yet had opportunity to ascertain this from the sermons preached on the occasion, and which may be expected to flow from the press. But the accounts

given in public journals sufficiently prove that our fears have been realized.

If we credit their reports, the funeral day was every where celebrated with adoration so sincere, so profound, so meritorious, that nothing like it was ever witnessed in Britain; and if Providence do not henceforward smile upon us as a nation, we may complain as the Jews did of old,—"Wherefore have we fasted, and thou seest us not? Wherefore have we afflicted our souls, and thou takest no knowledge?"* Hear the enthusiastic statement of one, whose words are entitled to particular consideration, as the merit of the service is in a great measure due to his exertions. "What a noble spectacle! so many thousands of human beings engaged at the same instant in spontaneous devotion, to breathe their sorrows before God, and to offer up the pious incense of their love, for the treasure of which his mysterious will has bereaved them. Uncalled by any special ordinance of God—unbidden by any mandate of temporal authority—they have voluntarily, and with humble awful earnestness, filled our sacred temples, to supplicate the throne of mercy. A whole people thus prostrate before God has in it something so holy, so majestical, so edifying, that we would blush for ourselves, if we hesitated to acknowledge the emotion of piety with which we are inspired. If the expression of such feelings in individuals is accounted virtue, and *the assured means of divine grace*, we may be permitted to indulge the pious hope, that it will *procure* us that favour."†

We shall not make any remarks on the soundness of the divinity contained in this extract. But we beg leave to give a commentary on it by the writer himself, which we believe will be sufficiently intelligible to all those who have any reverence for the doctrines of the Bible and of the Reformation. The account of the funeral solemnity is introduced by the following piece of gross and wanton blasphemy, in which the prophetic anticipation of the nativity of the Saviour of the world is applied by this light-minded declaimer on devo-

* Isa. lviii. 3. † Courier of 19th November.

tion and grief, to the birth of an "infant which never saw the light." "The *awful rites* are terminated, and the tomb has just closed upon two generations, from whom we expected a long line of patriot princes, continuing to the latest posterity the royal diadem in the illustrious House of Brunswick. But these fond anticipations—these towering hopes, are dashed to the earth, and instead of the joyful anthem,—'Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given;' we have had to listen to the funeral dirge, and join in the *requiem* for the death of two generations of princes, in the short space of two hours—'Oh death, where is thy sting? Oh grave, where is thy victory?' Great, indeed, has been the victory the grave has gained, and deeply do *the universal British family feel the sting of death.*" But though the once vanquished enemy of mankind has resumed his dominion, our case, it seems, is not hopeless; and we are directed to place our confidence not in Him who died to "deliver us from the fear of death," but in the national humiliation produced by the death of the Princess Charlotte, considered as a *propitiatory sacrifice* for our sins. "This salutary impression is enforced from the pulpit; and in all the churches, the death of the young, the virtuous, and the loved, is the theme of religious consideration. We are called upon to acknowledge the chastening hand of the Almighty, and not only to bow in humble resignation to his will, but to search out in our own hearts the causes of his wrath, and attempt with sincerity to *propitiate him* by the most pleasing of all sacrifices, the offering of a contrite spirit. If the general calamity lead to this effect, the Princess Charlotte *will not have died in vain.*" * The account opened with blasphemy, and it concludes with a sentiment containing the quintessence of Popish and Pagan superstition. "Peace to her manes was the language of affection. Virtues such as hers may walk through the valley of the shadow of death, and fear no evil—the stay and staff of Israel was with her. *After the evening requiems to the manes of the* SAINTED Charlotte were finished, the ulterior objects of myriads was, to

* Courier of 20th November.

hear the deep-toned solemn notes of the great bell of the metropolitan cathedral!!!" Such are the sentiments of devotion which have been circulated through the United Kingdom, without the slightest check or signification of dissent or dissatisfaction, even from the editors of those periodical works which profess to be conducted on Christian and evangelical principles, and which have particularly adverted to the subject. The last extract which we have given has appeared in all our public papers with implied approbation; and so highly pleased with the sentiment were some of our Edinburgh Intelligencers, that they were not content with quoting it, but embodied it among their own reflections on the solemnity.

The details of the manner in which the day was observed in London, might suggest a variety of strictures, both grave and satirical; but when we reflect on the melancholy occasion, and on the mixture of ignorance and effrontery displayed in calling all this by the sacred name of piety, we confess we have no heart to dwell on the subject. The scene in St Paul's (the metropolitan church of all England) is well known. It is hard to say which was most scandalous and disgraceful; the selling of seats to the worshippers (from *five* to *ten* guineas each, it is said, according to the degree of their proximity to the stalls), the tumultuous manner in which the mob (who not unnaturally expected something for their money) called for the service, or the indecency of causing any thing that went by the name of worship to be performed to such a convention.* The

* The following part of the speech of one of the religious orators who addressed the congregation, may be quoted as a fair description of the feelings of the multitude assembled on the occasion: "They had come there, he hoped all present had, with an intention to pay that respect to the memory of the departed Princess—(*Here the gentleman was quite overcome by his feelings*)—but, instead of indulging them with what they expected, they were robbed of that entitled respect which was due to their country, their Prince, and their departed Princess.—(*Applause.*) He thought the Lord Mayor, instead of preventing the service taking place, ought to be the very person who should cause its commencement. In his opinion every place of worship throughout the United Kingdom should unite in

evening, we are told, was spent in the same religious manner as the morning had been. The streets were choaked, and the lanes crowded, with myriads "mourning *within*, as well as in external show," and drinking in the most devotional feelings from the glare of torches and the ringing of bells. Did all this take place at London, or was it at Rome or Madrid? "Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?"

It would have been highly creditable to the people of Scotland if they had kept aloof, not only from imitating, but also from giving the smallest countenance to the folly and extravagance of their brethren of the south. For acting such a part, they certainly had the strongest and the best of all reasons, whether they chose to rest their defence on their national habits or their religious principles. Our task, however, is not to dwell on the consequences of what they should have done, but to state and animadvert upon what has actually taken place.

Glasgow was the first place of any note in Scotland that announced its intention of celebrating the funeral of the Princess with religious honours. The west of Scotland was once the favourite seat of Presbytery. The inhabitants long distinguished themselves by an attachment to its principles more ardent than was felt by most of their countrymen; and in Glasgow was held that celebrated General Assembly, which overturned the hierarchy, swept away all its superstitious rites, and, among others, expressly cashiered (as was formerly stated) and peremptorily "discharged all funeral sermons." But it is no uncommon thing to see communities, as well as individuals, degenerating from the spirit and wisdom of their ancestors. So zealous were the Magistrates of Glasgow for this novel service, that, as we

deploring the loss which they had at this time unfortunately sustained, even the humblest of them, and it would be noticed if they did not. What must it then be for the head of all churches to abstain from it, that of the metropolitan church? He would advise that the service should begin immediately; and said, *For God's sake* do not send people *home to their dinner* without satisfying that feeling of affection due on the occasion."

understand, they recalled Dr Chalmers by express from Kilmany (whither he had gone on a visit to his old parishioners), that he might act his part in the solemnity. Considering the poetic cast of the Doctor's religion, and considering that he has of late been too much occupied in exploring the moral condition of other and remote worlds, to examine with a microscopic eye the minutiæ of the Church on earth, and of the speck in it to which he is corporeally attached, we scarcely expected that he would feel any serious scruple on the subject, and dreaded that he would plunge into the proposal. But we confess that we had other hopes as to some of his colleagues. We did expect that those who had shown themselves so zealous for the purity of the worship of the Church of Scotland, when it was proposed to introduce an *organ* into one of the churches of Glasgow, would have been on their guard on the present occasion, and set an example to their brethren in other places, by resisting the proposed innovation. We have been disappointed, however, and can add one to the many illustrations of the vanity of "trusting in man." Do these reverend gentlemen really think, that there is more danger to be apprehended from using an organ in public worship, than there is in performing a burial service? We have their publication before us, and we think no impartial person can doubt for a moment, that the arguments which they bring against the former practice apply with more than double force against the latter. They succeeded in proving, that organical music was contrary to the spirit of Presbyterian worship; but they felt at a loss to produce any law of this Church by which it was directly and explicitly condemned. They must, however, be sensible, that, in the course of their inquiries, they met with statutes by which the religious celebration of funerals was pointedly and strongly prohibited. The instances of individuals and parties changing sides on the same or a similar question, are sometimes amusing. While the ministers of Glasgow who set their faces so firmly against conformity to the Episcopal Church, by resisting the introduction of instru-

mental music, have adopted a still more exceptionable usage of that Church, the public have been told, that the reverend gentleman whom they opposed on the former occasion, has lately "expressed himself so much a Covenanter, that he doubted the propriety of funeral sermons at all."* Had that gentleman kept his ground (instead of abandoning it, as he appears to have done, in the space of two days), and had he chosen to attack his former opponents, he certainly had a fine opportunity of turning their own artillery against them, and silencing them with their own arguments. The best excuse we can make for them is, that they suffered themselves to be carried away by a sudden tide of popular feeling; and, for the credit of their consistency, as well as for higher reasons, we sincerely hope they will declare this to have been the fact.

Perth, too, has shown itself emulous of a distinguished place in the annals of this service, which promises to form a new era in our ecclesiastical history. As if they had been anxious to revive the memory of that Assembly held in their town, which enacted the famous *Five Articles* by which the Presbyterian worship was overturned, the inhabitants of Perth readily and cordially entered into the services of the late occasion, notwithstanding a *solemn procession* on the Lord's day immediately preceding; the magistrates, and the trades, and the lawyers, walking to the place of public worship in the garb, and in all the formal pomp of an actual funeral. The Antiburgher congregation, also (as the Perth Courier informs us), assembled to grace the solemnity; anxious, we suppose, to demonstrate to the world, that they had completely emancipated themselves from the narrow-minded prejudices which led them formerly to lament, as a national sin, the kind reception given in Scotland "to Mr George Whitefield, a professed member and priest of the superstitious Church of England." Whence this new expression of exuberant loyalty on their part sprung; and jealous as they lately were to excess, of every ascription of religious power to princes, and eager to "put

* Observations by Candidus, p. 12.

away the carcases of their kings far from" the sanctuary, even when yet in life, whence the new light came that directed them to the duty of performing religious service over their graves, and of assembling to proclaim them "gods," after that they had "died as men," are questions we do not pretend to answer.

We must apologize for giving the last place to the account of the proceedings in our metropolis. The truth is, that it seems to have received rather than communicated the impulse. It would appear that it was not until they had received intelligence of the determination of Glasgow, that the magistrates of Edinburgh called together the clergy to consider the propriety of having the churches of the city opened for divine service on the funeral day. This was on the Saturday preceding the funeral. The proposal was objected to by several of the ministers, and in consequence of this was abandoned. Accordingly, no intimation was made on the Sabbath, in any of the churches, of public worship on the day of the interment of the Princess. And it was not expected by the people. Yet this agreement was broken, and an opposite course resolved on within two days. Two London *Couriers* had in the meantime arrived, conveying the following authoritative intimations:—"On that day (Wednesday the 19th November, now fixed on for the funeral) *all the churches are to be opened for the performance of divine service*, and shops shut."—"We repeat, that *all places of divine worship will be opened* on Wednesday next, the day of the funeral." This appears to have been too much for the weak nerves of most of those who had opposed the measure on Saturday. A new meeting of the clergy was therefore hastily called on Monday; the rejected proposal was agreed to, and notice of this was conveyed to the magistrates, who issued a proclamation, informing the public that the churches of the city would be opened for divine service on Wednesday. In this contradictory, sudden, and unprecedented manner, were the inhabitants of Edinburgh called for the first time to engage in a service which was an open violation of their established laws.

With all due deference for the magistrates, it seems impossible to exculpate them completely in this affair. After the question had been set at rest on Saturday at a meeting attended by thirteen ministers, and when they knew that the measure proposed by them had been resisted, on the ground of its being contrary to the principles and practice of the Church, and that one of the ministers persevered in his opposition, they should have paused, before interposing their authority to give effect to a hasty resolution adopted at any subsequent meeting, at which some of those who had interest were not present, and had not an opportunity of being present. It is probable that they were actuated by a desire to gratify public feeling. But did their experience furnish them with no instances in which popular feeling was excited by slender causes, and in which they thought it their duty to resist instead of humouring or truckling to it? or, could they for a moment listen to the suggestion, that those sacrifices which they refused to the public in their own matters, they might safely make to it in the matters of God?

But the weightiest responsibility undoubtedly falls on the clergy. Some apology may be found for the people, and even for the magistrates being ignorant of the law. But "the priest's lips should keep knowledge," for the people "seek the law at his mouth." Considering that the magistrates might be supposed ready to go too far in the expressions of their respect for the higher powers, and that some of them, from their connection with a different Church, might be supposed to have their minds unduly biassed on the question, it was incumbent on the ministers to point out the law to them, and within their sphere, to see *ne quid ecclesia detrimenti caperet.* It was their province to restrain the irregular and impetuous feelings of the people, and by the joint influence of their authority and their instructions, to give them a direction agreeable to the law of God, and the subordinate law of the Church. If the view which has been given of these authorities in the preceding pages is correct, they failed in this duty. The moderate and the

evangelical clergy appear to be equally implicated in the offence. How can the latter reconcile their conduct with the concern which they profess, and which we believe they feel, for the purity of divine ordinances, and a sacred regard to their ordination vows? And where is the consistency between the conduct of the former, and that high veneration which they avow for the constitution of the Church, and that nice jealousy with which they are accustomed to watch over the transgression of its minutest forms?

The solemnity was not confined to the Established churches. It was observed generally by the Dissenting congregations, and in some of them the proclamation of the magistrates was read from the pulpit, and received the humble approbation of the pastor. That high mass should have been performed in the Roman Catholic chapel, and that the burial service should have been read in all the Episcopal chapels, is not to be wondered at; but we cannot so easily account for or excuse the conduct of others. Did the Burgher Seceders * think, that, in assembling on that day, they were fulfilling their solemn promise, "to maintain, support, and defend——all the days of their life——the purity of worship received in this Church of Scotland, against all Prelatic tenets or forms of worship contrary thereto?" Do those of the Independent persuasion, who boast that they belong to "a kingdom that is not of this world," and that they do nothing in its affairs without a warrant from the New Testament, think that a protestation, contradicted by fact, will exculpate them from countenancing, if not practising, will-worship and superstition? Or will they take refuge, as we understand some do, under the directions, "preach out of season," and "pray always," and refuse to admit that they were taking part in the great national solemnity?

If the sermons preached on the funeral day have made little noise, this was most probably owing to the preachers having exhausted themselves on the preceding Sabbath. We

* None of the *Antiburgher* meeting-houses in the city were, so far as we can learn, open for worship on the funeral day.

have heard enough of them, however, to convince us that we are justified in all that we have said respecting the abuse which would be made of such a solemnity. One reverend gentleman read to his congregation the fifteenth, or a part of the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, assigning, as a reason for this, that their brethren would then be employed in reading that portion of Scripture in the funeral obsequies at Windsor. Another gave a description of a solemn procession supposed to be taking place at that instant—the hearse slowly moving forward, the plumes nodding, and the body lowering into the grave. And a third, in exhorting his people to spend the evening in religious exercises, directed them to assist their meditations, by recollecting the scenes passing at Claremont. Would not the object have been gained in a higher degree by means of a *cenotaph*, according to the mode in which the ancient Greeks celebrated the funerals of their friends who died at sea or in a foreign land?

St George's was the only Established church in the city that was not open, in consequence of its minister refusing to perform divine service on the funeral day. It is not easy to conceive the speculation, noise, and clamour excited by this. If St George's church had been on fire, and threatening to communicate the flames to all the adjoining buildings, and, among the rest, to the saintly Gothic Cathedral in the neighbourhood, which rears its fantastic turrets to the sight; or if the minister of St George's had been at the head of a mob, and leading them on to the overthrow of that venerable pile, before it was prepared for its consummation by receiving canonical consecration, greater alarm could scarcely have been either felt or pretended. Paragraphs appeared in the newspapers denouncing the outrage which had been committed, and loudly demanding satisfaction. The respectability of the congregation of St George's —the honour of the metropolis—national feeling—the griefs of the royal family—and the manes of the dead—all, all had been wounded, affronted, outraged, insulted. Public vengeance was invoked on the head of the offending indivi-

dual, as if Heaven had pointed him out as the victim to appease the indignation which had gone forth against the nation. The members of his congregation, in particular, were called on, by the respect they owed to their character, and the decency that became the high official rank which some of them held, instantly to desert his ministrations, and place themselves under the charge of such as had distinguished themselves by their loyal and dutiful conduct.

Various causes may be assigned for this extraordinary ebullition of resentment. It may be ascribed, in no small degree, to the astonishment excited by the fact, singular in our day, of a clergyman refusing to comply with any thing which the public, with one voice, called for as an expression of piety and sympathy, and of his being so whimsical as to pretend *conscience* for declining what none of his brethren scrupled at. It was also owing to the feverish affection which had seized the mind of the people for the moment, heightened by the influence of the religious service in which they were engaged; for superstition, according to the degree in which it operates, is always uncharitable, intolerant, persecuting. But these causes would not have produced the effect, had not certain evil spirits mingled with the crowd, and exerted themselves to inflame them, and to abuse the honest, though ill-directed, feelings of the public, by rendering them subservient to the gratification of their own base passions, and the accomplishment of their private and party designs. It is quite undeniable, and there is nobody who now doubts it, that there were persons who envied the popularity of the minister of St George's, who, instead of rejoicing, were grieved to the heart at the abundance and success of his labours, and who hated him for the zeal which, without relaxing in the diligent discharge of his pastoral duties, he had shown in defending the principles of the Church to which he belonged; and that these persons eagerly grasped at the occasion as a favourable opportunity of blasting his reputation, and ruining his usefulness. Miserably and deservedly have they been disappointed! It was the discovery of this vile project, more than a con-

viction of the minister of St George's having acted upon good reasons, which at first stemmed the tide of popular prejudice against him. For the malicious but witless actors in this affair had not the prudence to mask their battery, or to make their attack with that caution in which lay all their prospects of success. Happy is it for the peace of mankind, and the security of innocence, that those who have the greatest portion of the malignity of the Wicked Spirit, are often endowed with a very small portion of his wisdom; and, with almost all his willingness, have none of his talent and power to do mischief.

The object of these pages is not to defend Mr Thomson. He does not stand in need of any defence. His conduct and his reasons require only to be stated, in order to be approved. What did he do? He declined performing divine service on occasion of a funeral. And have not all the ministers of the Church of Scotland uniformly acted in the same way on all former occasions, and in the very same circumstances? Upon what grounds did he decline this service? Because every good end proposed by it could be gained in the ordinary course of his ministry; because the service tended to great abuse; and because it is condemned and prohibited by the Church, of which he is a minister, and whose authority and laws he is bound to respect and obey. And is it not an undoubted and undeniable fact, that she has repeatedly prohibited this practice, and prohibited it for the reason to which he has appealed?

We repeat it, Mr Thomson is not called to put himself upon his defence, nor does he require any advocate or defender. If he comes forward, it should be as an accuser and a complainant,—as an accuser of those who have violated the principles and practice of their Church,—as a complainant against those who, instead of supporting and standing by him in doing his duty, sacrificed him to please romantic feelings or political clamour. Them he has a right to put on their defence. And what have they, as ministers, or even as members of the Church of Scotland, to say for themselves? But though he has the right, we do not say

that he ought to exercise it. When judges offend, and when those whose province it is to support the laws violate them, and especially when their conduct has been sanctioned by the voice of the public, redress is hopeless.

"———— quis custodiet ipsos
Custodes?"

But although none have a right to demand a defence of Mr Thomson's conduct, it is proper that the facts of the case should be fairly stated, for the purpose of preventing or of correcting misrepresentation. With this view, we have inserted the brief statement which will be found in the note, and for the correctness of which we think we can pledge ourselves. * It is no less proper and necessary that

* On Saturday, the 15th November, the ministers of Edinburgh were requested to attend the Lord Provost in his Chambers, at one o'clock. The object of their being called was to deliberate about the propriety of opening the city churches for divine service on the funeral day of the Princess Charlotte, then expected to be Tuesday. Of thirteen ministers who were present, five, including Mr Thomson, were decidedly against the measure; the rest were either friendly to it or passive. In the course of the conversation, Mr Thomson said, that while he could not himself acquiesce in the proposal, yet if it was adopted by the meeting, the ministers of St Andrew's (whose church was under repairs) were extremely welcome to the pulpit of St George's; and this offer he made a second time. In consequence of something that fell from the Lord Provost, it was by mistake conceived that his Lordship proposed a vote. To this the ministers replied, that unless they were unanimous, the thing must not be done. Upon which they separated, having resolved that there should be no divine service on the funeral day.

On Monday, some minutes past two o'clock, Mr Thomson, as he was going to fulfil an engagement, met Dr Baird, who informed him that he and some of his brethren had changed their minds on the subject of having divine service on the funeral day (now known to be Wednesday), and thought that they should have it; that a meeting of the ministers was to be held in Argyle Square at two, to reconsider the proposal; and that he was just on his way to the meeting. Mr Thomson expressed his surprise at this intelligence, said that his mind was clearer on the point than it had been on Saturday, and authorised Dr Baird to say to the meeting, that he would on no account assent to the measure; adding, that he might repeat the offer of the pulpit and church of St George's, which he had made on Saturday, to the ministers of St Andrew's church.

The meeting in Argyle Square, which agreed to the resolution of open-

the calumnious charges and injurious imputations which have been so wantonly brought against him, should be exposed, and receive the merited marks of deep and indignant reprobation. We know there are some who would dissuade from this, and who insist, that as the ferment has subsided, and the attack has completely failed in hurting the reputation of the individual against whom it was directed, it is

ing the churches of the city, was attended by ten ministers, and there were proxies for other two. Five were not present, and had sent no signification of their mind. This meeting was called by Dr Baird, and not by the senior minister of the city, according to the usual practice, nor was he consulted on the occasion. Dr Thomson (New Greyfriars) received no notice to attend the meeting, and knew nothing of it, till he received a note, late at night, telling him of the resolution that had been formed. The note intimating the meeting to Mr Thomson did not reach his house till near three, so that if he had not accidentally met Dr Baird, he could have known nothing of it until it was over.

On Monday evening he received a letter from Dr Baird, intimating the resolution to which the meeting had come. To this he returned an answer, expressing in strong terms his disapprobation of the procedure of the ministers, and his determination to have no divine service in St George's on Wednesday.

On Tuesday morning Mr Thomson learned that the magistrates had advertised that the churches of the city were to be opened for divine service on Wednesday. As no exception was made of St George's, and no minister provided to officiate in it, he considered this as a measure co-operating (although unintentionally) with that of the meeting of ministers in Argyle Square, either to compel *him* to preach, or to place him in the most awkward situation with his people, who would assemble in the expectation of divine service. He therefore wrote to the Lord Provost, expressing his surprise at the intimation given, and his resolution to maintain the rights with which the law of the land had invested him as minister of St George's.

On Wednesday, the Lord Provost finding that Mr Thomson was determined not to preach on that day, sent a card to him signifying that Dr Baird had agreed to preach in St George's, provided he had no objection. The card bearing this was sent to his house at twelve o'clock. He had gone out; but his family knowing his sentiments, sent a messenger to the Provost to say, that he had repeatedly signified that he would not object to any of the ministers preaching in St George's. Mr Thomson having returned within a little, sent a note instantly to the Lord Provost, confirming this message, and reminding his lordship of the offers to the same effect which he had made at an earlier stage of the business; but, it seems, it was too late.

better to allow the whole affair to die away in silence. We cannot acquiesce in this proposal. When an individual has been subjected to obloquy on a public ground, his defence becomes identified with that of the cause for which he has suffered. Religion, indeed, requires us to forgive our enemies, and generosity prompts to pass over the personal injuries which we have received. But the characters of men in office, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are the property of the public, and neither religion, nor generosity, nor prudence, requires that unjust attacks upon them should be tolerated. To hold out such a principle, or to act upon it, would be most prejudicial to the sacred interests of truth, innocence, and public justice; and the consequence would be, that whenever an occasion of the same, or of a similar kind, occurred, those who had escaped with impunity would repeat their offence, and perhaps repeat it in a more aggravated and audacious manner.

It has been said, that the manner in which Mr Thomson acted on the late occasion, is a proof of the disloyalty of his principles, and his disaffection to the Royal Family. Now, let us suppose for a moment, that his conduct was exceptionable, that the judgment on which he acted was erroneous, and that, though he felt a scruple of conscience, he could produce no satisfactory, or even plausible ground for his scruple: we ask, Is it to be tolerated, is it to be borne, that in this free country a minister of the Gospel, or any other man, shall be subjected to the heavy and criminal charge of disloyalty and disaffection for a mere error of judgment, even although this should be associated with precipitation and wilfulness? Do those who can listen to the insinuation of such a charge with patience, perhaps with implied approbation, ay, and can give it extensive circulation too—always, however, accompanied with the charitable qualification, that they must not be understood as believing it;—do they consider, that they encourage a practice which is not more unjustifiable in itself than it must prove fatal and mischievous to society in its consequences? If, even upon this supposition, the charge is totally inexcusable,

what terms shall we apply to it, when Mr Thomson's conduct is considered in its true light? Are matters come indeed to that pass among us, that in the enlightened metropolis of Scotland, any impudent calumniator shall dare to traduce, as a traitor, a respectable clergyman, for acting in perfect conformity to the clear, indisputable, and constitutional laws of the Church and of the land? In such circumstances, it is proper to make it known to all men, that true Presbyterians, whatever may be the temper of those who dwell among them, or of many who bear this name, will treat with the uttermost scorn every attempt of this nature to intimidate and overawe them, and that, trampling upon all such viperous exclamations, they will persist in maintaining what they know to be their rights, and in doing what they feel to be their duty.

In the present case, the vile calumny is destitute of even the shadow of verisimilitude. It proceeds, we believe, on the supposition that Mr Thomson is a Whig in his political principles, and that he coincides more in sentiment with the members of Opposition, than he does with those who form the present Administration; for, that he has acted as a political partizan, or advocated all the measures of any party, or allowed his sentiments on such subjects to mingle with his public ministrations, we suppose there is none who will assert, or, asserting it, will be able to prove. Now, how does the case stand? The Princess Charlotte was the very hope of the Whigs. Her confidential advisers were members of the Opposition. And they, of all descriptions of men in the nation, so far as political considerations had influence, may be supposed to have lamented her death with the sincerest sorrow. So that, according to the supposition on which the allegation of his accusers rests, political principle should have led Mr Thomson to do the very thing which they abuse him for not doing. But we are persuaded that he is too well acquainted with his clerical duty to allow mere political considerations to influence him in the discharge of it, and that he has seen enough of the hurtful effects of the practice, to prevent him from making

the pulpit the vehicle of the feelings and sentiments of any party in the State.

If he is charged with want of feeling for the Royal Family in their affliction, we suppose he may, with as great confidence as the most forward performers of a funeral service, appeal to his congregation, and to all with whom he has conversed on the subject, if he ever betrayed the slightest degree of that insensibility. Was there never any sorrow felt for the death of a king or a prince in Scotland, until the 19th of last November?

"But Mr Thomson did not pay sufficient deference to public opinion." So the time is come, when ministers of the Gospel must be guided by the light and fluctuating breath of public opinion, and must have their duty dictated to them, not by the decisions of Scripture—not by the laws of the Church—not by the determinations of their ecclesiastical superiors—not by their own convictions of right—but by what? by the mere clamour of popular feeling, excited, kept up, and spread through the nation—by a London newspaper!

But if declining to celebrate the funeral of the Princess Charlotte was so high an offence as has been alleged, why, we beg leave to ask, should it be visited entirely and solely on the head of the minister of St George's? Was he the only minister who acted in this manner? Is it not known that the service was not performed in the church of St Cuthbert's, in the close vicinity of Edinburgh; nor in the city of St Andrews; nor in many other towns and parishes in Scotland? Were Sir Henry Moncrieff and Principal Hill, the reputed leaders of the two great parties in the Church, guilty of disloyalty, want of feeling for the Royal Family, and disrespect for public opinion? The University of Oxford, too! the eldest daughter of the Church of England, the most orthodox of all her children—she who has been long famed through the world for her rigid, unvarying, untainted loyalty,—has she also, in these degenerate days, become infected with political heresy? It must surely be no small consolation to Mr Thomson, under all the obloquy

that has been poured on him, to reflect that he has suffered for having acted along with such honourable company. The only thing which can be wanting to close his wounds (and what he certainly cannot miss), is to obtain from Oxford, if not a *Fellowship*, at least a diploma of *Doctor of Divinity*, which will raise him not only above all his titled brethren, but nearly to an equality with the reverend dignitary who was lately expected to afford shelter and pasture to his scattered flock. Loyalty has long been a very equivocal word, and parties of the most opposite descriptions have contended for it as their exclusive property; but never was this so strikingly exemplified as on the late occasion. In Edinburgh, to meet for divine service on the funeral day of the Princess, was the very test of loyalty. In the Isle of Wight, a request for this service was resisted as a strong presumption of disloyalty; and "such a superabundant and unprecedented show of grief, and testimony of affliction in the present afflictive event," the reverend pastor of Newport reckoned it necessary to warn his parishioners against, "as an insidious means to derogate from the *duty* and *allegiance* we owe to the powers that are." *

Perhaps Mr Thomson's offence lay in not showing due deference to the opinion of his brethren, the ministers of Edinburgh, and in passing an indirect censure upon their conduct. In answer to this, we beg leave to say, that if the principle here assumed is to be adopted in every case, an end is put to all independence both in thinking and in acting. "Must we suppose, then, that Mr Thomson was right, and all his brethren wrong?" Why, this is certainly no impossible supposition, and instances of a similar kind have often occurred before. But, at best, this is merely an *argumentum ad vulgus*. The question is not, what did Mr Thomson think, or what did his brethren think; but what does the law say to both? And provided he be supported by the law, he cannot be responsible for his conduct reflecting a censure on his brethren.

There is one circumstance which is of great importance

* Morning Chronicle of 25th November.

here, and of which many are probably ignorant. The ministers of Edinburgh are not an ecclesiastical court, they are not a corporate body, they have no authority over individuals of their number—they are merely a voluntary association, and, as we understand, have never been in the habit of attempting to impose on one another offices at which the mind of any of their number avowedly revolted.

If they had been a court, it would appear that there were irregularities attending the meeting which resolved on opening the churches on the funeral day, which would have vitiated and nullified all their procedure. Is it true that that meeting was not called by the senior minister, whose province this is according to uniform custom, and that he was never consulted in the business? Is it true that one of the ministers never received any intimation of the meeting, nor so much as heard of it until he was informed of the resolution which it had adopted? And is it true, that five of the ministers were not present, and had not authorised any one to represent their sentiments. If these things are true; if, moreover, Mr Thomson, who was known to have opposed the measure from principle, was not consulted; and if, when in full possession of his determination, they came to a resolution which placed him in a situation of the greatest embarrassment—we humbly think that he has more reason to complain of want of respect to his feelings, than they have of his want of deference to their opinions.

When an accuser is unable to bring forward or to substantiate a direct charge, he often flies to general and vague criminations, which, having no tangible form, it is difficult to repel in any other way than by (which is indeed the only answer they deserve) a flat denial. Of this kind is the assertion that Mr Thomson's conduct has been marked with obstinacy, and a stubborn refusal to yield, even in indifferent points, or to attemper his own convictions with prudence and delicacy towards the peculiar circumstances and feelings of his congregation. That such persons as performed the recent religious service, without being able to assign any

other reason for their conduct than that the people "would have it so," should call Mr Thomson's firmness in refusing it by the name of obstinacy, is not at all to be wondered at. But we believe that he may appeal to the members of his congregation to attest the falsehood of this charge. For our part, we strongly suspect that those who are loudest in condemning him are themselves aware that his conduct has been very different from what is here represented; and that one thing that grieves them is, that he has conducted himself, in the situation which he now fills, with so much prudence and moderation as to gain and secure the affections of a people whom they expected he would offend and alienate. Hence the eagerness with which they laid hold of the late occurrence, and attempted to inflame his congregation against him. But an intelligent people, who know the value of a faithful minister, and have experienced his readiness to please them in all things lawful for their good, will only esteem him the more highly when they find that he will not act in opposition to the dictates of his conscience, even with the view of gratifying them in a favourite object. "God forbid," will be their language, "that he should violate his own conscience; for, in this case, how could he act as a faithful guide and monitor to ours?"

In this very affair, has not Mr Thomson given a very convincing proof of his disposition to yield, as far as he felt it consistent with his sense of duty? Though resolved not to countenance the services of the funeral day by officiating himself, and determined neither to be forced into this measure, nor to suffer his people to be disappointed by holding out the prospect of his compliance, he, notwithstanding, from the very commencement of the business, distinctly and repeatedly offered the use of his pulpit to the ministers of St Andrew's, whose church was shut up; and he readily acquiesced in the proposal that another minister should preach in St George's, as soon as it was made known to him. We do not think that there is a candid and conscientious man who will say, that, viewing the matter in the light which he did, he could have gone farther. If it shall

be asked, Why did he not request one of his brethren to officiate for him? The reply is evident; he could not request another to do for him what he thought it wrong to do himself. *

It would be improper to pass over here the conduct of the Session of St George's. At a time when the public clamour was at its height, and when the congregation were agitated by unfavourable reports as to the conduct of their

* It is always to be regretted when, in disputes upon public questions, any thing occurs which has a tendency to reflect on the personal integrity or veracity of those who have taken part or been involved in them. And when it does occur, it is proper that all due means be employed to remove it. With this view we judge it right to advert to certain reports that have been very current relating to what is mentioned in the text. It has been publicly affirmed, that Principal Baird offered to preach for Mr Thomson on the funeral day, and that the latter refused; and it has been currently reported, that Dr Baird has a letter in his possession containing this refusal. Now, we are firmly convinced, that the Reverend Principal never gave any occasion for, or any countenance to this false report.

On the other hand, it has been reported with equal currency, that Mr Thomson, in the presence of several gentlemen, not only denied that he had written any letter to Dr Baird on the subject just stated, but that he also denied having written any letter to that reverend gentleman on the Monday preceding the 19th of November, relative to the opening of the churches of the city. Now, it must be at once apparent to every candid person, how this misrepresentation arose. Mr Thomson was speaking of the first report; and being asked by one present as to the truth of it, he asserted that he had never refused any such offer; that Dr Baird had never made it, and that he had written no letter to the Doctor *on that subject*. It seems that one of the hearers understood what Mr Thomson said, as meaning that he had not written any letter to Dr Baird relative to the opening of the churches. But this was quite a different thing. The writing of this letter he could not be so foolish as to deny, even if he had been disposed to falsify, for he must have known that it would be easy to confute such a statement. It has also been said, that his letter to Dr Baird shows, that he was determined not to allow any of the ministers of Edinburgh to preach in St George's. If, upon Dr Baird's intimating to him the resolution of the meeting of ministers, Mr Thomson did no more than signify in his reply, *that he was resolved to have no service in his church* on the funeral day, we should think it a very strained inference from this, that he was resolved to prevent any of his brethren from officiating in St George's that day, especially if we knew that he had previously made repeated offers to that effect. The same observations, we apprehend, will apply to his letter to the Lord Provost.

minister, the elders met, and having informed themselves of the facts, and of the grounds on which Mr Thomson had acted, agreed unanimously in approving of his conduct. Though they could not all view the general question in the same light that he did, yet they were convinced that he had been influenced by no light motives, and could not but respect the integrity and firmness which he had displayed. Among them, it should be observed, were some of those very persons, high in rank and office, who had been publicly called on to desert Mr Thomson's ministry; and whose conduct on this occasion adds a higher respectability to their rank, and to those offices which they fill with equal honour to themselves and advantage to the public.

It is but justice to the Lord Provost to add, that the whole of his conduct towards Mr Thomson in this affair appears to have been marked with politeness and decorum. He was anxious that Mr Thomson should act in the same manner as his brethren, and expected even to the last, as we understand, that this would be the case; but he neither importuned his compliance, nor frowned upon his refusal.

We entertain the hope, that the late occurrence, if it have not the effect of making the people of this country acquaint themselves a little better with the principles of their Church, will at the least render them more cautious in rushing into religious services from the mere impulse of feeling and novelty. One thing is apparent from the facts which we have reviewed, that it is extremely difficult in such cases to keep from imposition. The late service, we were told, was to be perfectly voluntary; and it has been gloried in as the spontaneous effusion of the people's loyalty and affection. What has taken place in Edinburgh is a commentary on this text. Such hollow and deceitful professions remind us of the highwayman who demanded the traveller's money for the love of God, and on being refused, put his pistol to his breast. And they resemble the forced loans and voluntary benevolences formerly resorted to in England, the application for which was immediately followed by an order for distraining the goods of the refractory recusant.

The freedom used in the preceding pages may perhaps give offence to many in this charitable and tolerating age; and to those who leave bigots to fight about modes of faith or of worship, the zeal expressed by the Author will, he has no doubt, appear preposterous and immoderate. He has no desire to incur these censures, but he does not dread them. He does not despise public opinion, but neither does he idolize it; and he cannot consent to sacrifice to it his convictions and his sense of duty. He has used the liberty which belongs to every Briton, and particularly to every North British Presbyterian, to lay his sentiments before the public, on a question which, after mature deliberation, he regards as neither unimportant nor uninteresting. And he is willing that it be decided by the authority of Scripture, the law of the Church, and the law of the land.

It is impossible on some occasions to do justice to truth, or to advocate the cause of common rights, without animadverting freely on the conduct of persons who may have been active in opposing them. The Author will be sorry, if, in discharging a public duty, or in defending wronged innocence, he shall, in the expression of his feelings, have given unnecessary pain to a single good man, misrepresented his motives, or aggravated his offence. If any thing of this kind shall be found to have fallen from his pen, he will most cheerfully correct the error; and provided the great end which he has in view be gained in any good degree, he shall be content that these ephemeral pages be scattered to the winds and forgotten. He submits them to the judgment of the discerning and impartial public, who can distinguish between the honest, though warm, expressions of an ingenuous mind, and the intemperate effusions of a heated imagination or an inflamed breast—regardless, if he meet with their approbation or indulgence, of the opinion that may be entertained by the ignorant, the thoughtless, and the prejudiced.

WHAT OUGHT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO DO AT THE PRESENT CRISIS?*

To speak of the present time as a crisis in our ecclesiastical affairs, will appear to superficial thinkers, and even to some who have claims to more than common sagacity, to be the language of exaggeration and unreasonable foreboding. Recent circumstances, it will be said, have directed the public attention to the mode of admitting ministers to parochial charges, and it is not wonderful that a number of the people, especially when excited by well-meaning but forward prompters, should feel a vague desire for some improvement in this matter; but no general interest is as yet taken in the subject, there is no such excitement as to threaten a popular ebullition, and no reason to think that the Assembly's table will be so loaded with overtures, or its doors so besieged with petitioners, as to shut it up to the necessity of taking any step in a point of so much delicacy and importance. This is the very reason why I consider the present time to be, in the highest sense of the term, a crisis. It is a remark, no less useful than trite, that the deepest stillness often precedes the storm; and "seers in Israel" are not always so quick in discerning the signs of change as the husbandman or the mariner, who, in a small cloud like a man's hand, or in the rippling of the wave, can perceive the approach of the tempest which, within a short time, will convulse the heavens, the earth, and the sea.

* First Published in 1833.

There is nothing about which we are more apt to form erroneous notions, than about what constitutes a crisis in the affairs of an individual or a society. The man of business never thinks that his affairs have come to a crisis till he has paid his last shilling, or till he is so dunned by his creditors that he can no longer evade their demands, and is forced to declare himself bankrupt. Rulers never dream of a crisis in a nation's affairs so long as the wheels of government, how much soever injured and embarrassed, can be kept in motion; and they go on protecting abuses and disregarding complaints, till matters have arrived at such a state, that no alternative is left between provoking open resistance, and granting all that an impatient people, galled by suffering and delay, are pleased to demand. This is to confound the crisis and the catastrophe; or, at least, to bring them as near to each other as the flash of the lightning and the crash of the thunder. It is to leave no room for rational choice, to cut off the opportunity of escaping the impending danger. It is to overlook the wise provision which nature has made for preparing our minds to meet inevitable calamities, and for enabling us to avert evils to which our imprudence or misconduct may have exposed us. All the miseries which confirmed despotism on the one hand, and unbridled licentiousness on the other, have brought on nations, may be traced to this capital error—to the neglect of the people to seize the favourable opportunity of asserting their injured and securing their endangered privileges,—and of rulers to embrace the propitious moment of redressing every real grievance, and thus establishing their authority on the firmest of all bases—justice, and the affections of a gratified and grateful people. There is a time when the requests of a community may be granted with safety, with honour, and with advantage, but beyond which the boon is received with cold indifference, and improved as an argument for increasing demands. Here is the crisis in a nation's affairs, and it is the part of true wisdom to discern it; but, alas! this is a gift conferred on few, and in which those intrusted with the management of public business have often shown themselves

lamentably deficient. The lesson has been read again and again in the miseries which have been entailed upon governors and the governed; and yet it is lost on their successors. Blind to the character of the age, prejudiced in favour of old forms, tenacious of power, jealous of popular influence, perplexed with the fear of change, deceived with the present calm, or confident of resources to meet the coming storm, rulers persevere in repeating the old error, by resisting needful and safe reforms, or by having recourse to temporary and partial expedients, which serve to expose rather than to abate the evil, and create the very agitation which they are solicitous to avert. If comprehensiveness of mind is required to fix upon the grand remedy which is suited to the times, disinterestedness, decision, and vigour are equally necessary to adopt and apply it,—a combination of qualities rarely to be found, and which a master-spirit alone can diffuse through a deliberative assembly.

It is in this point of view that the present moment forms a crisis in our ecclesiastical history; and on these principles, I scruple not to assert, that no meeting of the Supreme Court of the Church of Scotland has been held for many years under such high responsibilities as attach to the General Assembly which is to meet in the course of a few days.

I shall not indulge in general reflections on the character of the age, and the altered tone of public feeling and sentiment. It is sufficient to advert to the change which has lately taken place on the political state of the nation, by the extension of the elective franchise. There is not a reflecting person, moderately acquainted with human nature and the history of the world, who is not aware of the powerful influence which this must exert on the opinions of men in regard to the Church, and especially in regard to the collateral question as to the mode of appointing those who undertake the management of her affairs. The effect has already manifested itself. A society had existed for a number of years, whose object was to improve the system of Church patronage, by purchasing the right of presentation, and

placing it on such a footing as would alleviate the evils felt under the existing law. Since the political change alluded to, that society has altered its constitution, and converted itself into an association for obtaining the abolition of Patronage. And numerous petitions have been forwarded to Parliament from all quarters of Scotland, craving the same boon. Some may doubt the expediency of these proceedings; others may decidedly condemn them. But it is idle to waste time either in their censure or their vindication. They were the natural, the necessary and inevitable result of the circumstances. The people of Scotland would not have been what they are and what they ought to be, they would have failed to display that intelligence and spirit which the world gives them credit for, if they had acted otherwise. Though the Society for Improving Church Patronage had never been heard of, an Anti-Patronage Society would have started up in the course of the last year; and there can be no doubt that, had the former never existed, the latter would have assumed a more imposing attitude, and elicited more numerous petitions than have yet been presented to the Parliament, or will be laid on the table of the ensuing Assembly. The only fault that can be justly laid to the charge of the persons who have originated these measures, is that of having anticipated the regular representatives of the Church, and robbed them of the honour of taking that leading part in the question, which was taken by their predecessors, not more as a matter of right and from their own choice, than with the good-will and approbation of the people. It will rejoice the best friends of the Church, should this charge be substantiated by subsequent events; and I am persuaded that few of the petitioners themselves will be averse, in that case, to express their regret for having made too forward a movement, and acted in such a way as to throw suspicion on the inclinations and the faithfulness of the General Assembly. The fault, if fault there be, may yet be easily remedied. The Society for Improving Church Patronage exhibited the spirit of Presbytery in ashes; in the new form which the association has

assumed, it has thrown off its ashes; a few days will decide whether the venerable Assembly is to become the Phœnix.'

To the question, What ought the General Assembly to do? different answers will of course be returned. Some will say, Nothing; others, As little as possible; others, A little more. Some will propose to wait the determination of Government as to the Crown presentations, and listen with all due faith to a demi-official exposition of the plan *in nubibus*, delivered with all the oracular gravity and unequivocal precision which once characterised the tripod of the Delphic Apollo. Others will recommend the revival of calls, or a system of patronage checked by a popular negative, or a scheme of election doubly guarded by the nomination of the kirk-session and the consent of the heritors. Without entering into an examination of these schemes, or of others which have been started (and it is no favourable omen that they are so numerous); without attempting here to show the impracticability of any of them, or their tendency to divert the Assembly from doing what is evidently within its power, and to play into the hands of those who wish it to do nothing; I beg leave to say, that in my opinion, and it has been formed neither rashly, nor in circumstances fitted to create a bias, the question admits but of one answer,—WITHOUT DELAY, PETITION THE LEGISLATURE FOR THE ABOLITION OF PATRONAGE.

Time was, and it has not long gone by, when such a proposal would not have been listened to in our Supreme Court, when it would have been difficult to find a person possessed of sufficient nerve even to moot such a proposal. The established mode of planting vacant churches had continued for so long a period, and, owing to the determination of patrons to hold fast what they had got, and the known aversion of Government to introduce any reform either into church or state, it had been so generally acquiesced in by all parties and classes, that it would have been deemed mere folly to petition either for the repeal of the patronage law, or for the modification and mitigation of its provisions. But altered circumstances call for an alteration of measures;

and, happily for the peace and good of society, they produce a change, if not on the opinions, at least on the feelings and language of men, who remain impervious to the light of reason, and deaf to the claims of sound policy. The keenest stickler for things as they are, the boldest defender of antiquated abuses, the most devoted worshipper of the relics of feudal barbarism, will not now attempt to laugh down a proposal for abolishing the exclusive rights of lay patronage. Is there a minister of the Church of Scotland,—I speak not of elders,—but is there a minister, except one who has pledged himself in the cause beyond the hope of redemption, who will stand up in defence of lay patronage, who will deny that it is a grievance, or plead that it is a method of admitting persons to the charge of souls, honourable to the individual nominated, conducive to the spiritual interests of the people, consistent with the due freedom of the Church courts, or, what is of still higher moment than all of these, pleasing in the eyes of the Chief Shepherd? Not a few may be found who will seek to palliate the evils of the present system; who will magnify the difficulty of obtaining redress; who, when they wax warm on this topic, will denounce the injustice of attacking vested rights; who will speak smooth things on the necessity of moderation, and caution, and prudence, and harsh things on the dangers to be dreaded from popular agitation, and from innovating upon established laws and ancient usages; and who, as a shade to the deformities and abuses of patronage, will call up from the vasty deep of futurity horrid shapes, "gorgons and hydras, and chimeras dire," all issuing from the portentous womb of popular election. Others, with a noble disdain for the visions of theorists, will confine themselves to what they will call the practical bearings of the question; will profess a liberal indifference to all "modes of government;" will maintain (like the Whigs of 1812), that all depends on the spirit of the administration; will insist, that the great object in view, an efficient and energetic ministry, may be secured by a little management and a little yielding on both sides; will dwell perhaps, on the improvement which has

taken place of late on the views of patrons; and conclude with a magnificent and inspiriting description of the anticipated and approaching era, when all classes will perceive that they have one common interest, and the only strife will be, whether the patron shall be the first to present, or the people to receive, the individual whom all agree to be the fittest and the most deserving. All these things may be urged; but none will appear as the advocates of patronage, or deny that it is a grievance. When I say none, I have not lost sight of certain divines in the distance, who, by the help of their *northern lights* contrive to see every thing in a position the reverse of that in which they appear to other men; who would persuade the people that what they feel to be a burden too heavy to bear, is, in reality, as light as the web of the gossamer, and remind us of the lordly Peter, in the "Tale of a Tub," who called his brothers "a couple of blind, positive, ignorant, wilful puppies," because they would not believe that a dry crust which he put into their hands was a glass of claret, and some slices which he cut from a loaf to be as "true, good, natural mutton, as any in Leadenhall market." They have been nursed in the same school, have breathed the same air, and imbibed the same spirit with their predecessors, *the Doctors of Aberdeen*, in the 17th century, who, when all Scotland was rejoicing in the recovered liberties of the Presbyterian Church, made their cloistered walls resound with their plaint, and vowed to live and die under the shade of regal and prelatic despotism. But these, I trust, bear to the clergy of the Church of Scotland the relation of an exception to the general rule; and there is even reason to suppose that the sounds which they uttered, open-mouthed, in their trans-Grampian *conciliabulum*, will melt away in the more genial atmosphere of the General Assembly.*

* "The direct pleading for patronages in Scotland is so odious to all men of piety, that not one of the clergy, not a king's chaplain, or *politician clergyman* among them, dared to open his mouth in favour of them in their assemblies or synods, how much soever some such are suspected to favour them secretly, through confidence in their court favour, in hopes to get

It is quite needless, then, to discuss the general question of patronage. It is unnecessary to enter into the history of the practice, or to trace it to its obscure and disreputable origin in the sink of the canon law. It would be superfluous to show that no such thing as patronage, in the modern ecclesiastical sense of the word, was known long after the Christian Church was established by the empire; that she was in possession of houses, and lands, and rents, for centuries before she was subjected to the bondage of patrons; that the right of presentation, when conferred, was expressly declared to be *ex gratia*; that it was at first bestowed as a personal favour upon the individual, as a testimony of gratitude for services done to the Church; and that it was afterwards conferred, by grants from popes and bishops, on persons and their heirs, who had done nothing to merit the privilege, until it came, at last, to be extended over all the churches, including those which had never been indebted to any patron for pecuniary aid. It is equally unnecessary to prove, that few of those who now claim the privilege, perform the onerary condition on which it was presumptuously granted, by rebuilding or repairing the church, or supplying the deficiency in the support of the minister in the parish to which they present; and that many of them have forfeited their claim, according to the very letter of the law from which it was derived, by purchasing the right of presentation apart from the property to which it was attached. Nor is it necessary to show that the appointment of a minister

regal presentations to cousins and tools of their own. All honest men among the clergy abhor them, though the high spirit (I call it so rather than pride), of some of them makes them lie by, out of indignation, that some weak hot men have got a greater following among the populace, and greater influence in synods and assemblies. I hope good and wise men will conquer this low resentment, and be no longer inactive in so good a cause, the success of which is their heart's desire and prayer to God, though they should not have the glory among the populace of any success which may ensue, or of any honest efforts whether they succeed or not. A faithful representation from some of the wiser and calmer men in the Church, would contribute much more to advance the design than the clamours of multitudes."—*Considerations on Patronages, addressed to the Gentlemen of Scotland* by Francis Hutcheson, LL.D., p. 23.

to the cure of souls in a Protestant, and especially a Presbyterian Church, is *toto cœlo* different from what it was in the Popish Church, when a nobleman or a gentleman put a friend or a dependent "into the priest's office, to eat a bit of bread," and nothing more was required of the incumbent but to say mass or chant the litany;—that by the disposal of the ecclesiastical funds at the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, and the subsequent arrangements made both as to churches and stipends, the ground, and even the pretext for lay patronage was removed;—that, instead of their ancestors having built or endowed the churches to which they present, it is matter of known fact that many patrons are living on estates which were wrested from the Church, in the face of solemn protestations;—that about a fourth part only of the churches in Scotland, at the Reformation, were under lay patronage, and that the remainder now claimed by the Crown and other lay patrons were ecclesiastical patronages, attached to bishoprics, &c., and ought, as such, to have fallen, in course of right, to Presbyteries, and, in point of fact, were disposed of by them during the latter part of the 16th century;—and that all the lay patrons are, and have long been, in possession of the free and unappropriated teinds, granted to them as a compensation when patronage was abolished at the Revolution, and retained by them after they obtained a restitution of their former right of presentation. In fine, it is unnecessary for me to demonstrate that the continuance of this servitude is inconsistent with the inherent freedom of a Church, and that the long boasted-of liberties and independence of the Church of Scotland must be in a great measure nominal, so long as a sentinel is placed at the door of each of her 900 churches, without whose permission no minister can enter, and so long as a power, chiefly foreign and extrinsic, has the right of directly or indirectly filling her judicatories, and directing her councils.

These propositions might all have been illustrated and confirmed by proper documents and proofs; but the task is superfluous, as it will not be denied by any who understand

and love the principles of the Church of Scotland, that patronage is a grievance. And if it be a grievance, it cannot, from its very nature, be a light one. If it be a grievance, and a heavy one, ought not the Legislature to remove it? Ought not the Church of Scotland to petition for its removal? And ought not the General Assembly to take the lead in this good work? One would think that these are as evident and necessary conclusions as any corollary in Euclid. But it is one thing to know, and another to do our duty; and it is not difficult to foresee that many things will conspire to render those upon whom this task most properly devolves reluctant and slow, if not averse, to undertake it. It is of the nature of the human mind to become habituated, and gradually reconciled to what appeared at first intolerable and disgusting. No system of government, how unreasonable or tyrannical soever, can subsist for any length of time without issuing in a species of tranquillity, under the shadow of which much comfort is enjoyed. The system, bad as it is, interests in its support a multitude of persons, among whom are to be found men of excellent hearts, who, without feeling any sympathy with its corruptions, are grateful for the status into which it has introduced them, and glad to avail themselves of the opportunity which it affords them of exerting their talents; who, from the very intensity with which they labour to do good within their immediate spheres, have their attention diverted from the blight and barrenness which spread around them; and who, from a pardonable infirmity, are apt to overrate the amount of their services, or at least the degree in which they counterbalance the extensive evils entailed upon a whole nation, by a system of administration unprovided with those checks which the Word of God has prescribed, and the history of the Church has shown to be necessary. Nor can any change be effected in existing laws and managements, without exertions and sacrifices, and the interrupting or disarranging of plans of usefulness, which may have been formed agreeably to a different order of things. In this way, the interested, the selfish, the indolent, the timid, and even the good, may be

found arrayed against the most needful and salutary reforms. It may be proper, therefore, to produce some considerations in support of the proposed measure, urging its necessity, and demonstrating its safety.

In the first place, it is no new or unprecedented measure. Nothing could more effectually establish the humiliating charge that the Church of Scotland had relinquished her principles, and that her Supreme Court is no longer what it was, than the least expression of surprise, or symptom of startling at such a proposal. Had it been proposed that the General Assembly should take some step never before taken, or taken only in some moment of high excitement or national fermentation,—some plan suggested by recent occurrences, or borrowed from the novel theories to which the agitation of the times has given birth,—how plausible soever it might sound, wisdom might withhold from it the seal of its approval, and prudence dictate the propriety of delay. But nothing of this kind can be urged here with the least show of truth or shadow of pretext. If there is one principle which the Church of Scotland has decidedly avowed, it is, that patronage is an unscriptural incumbrance, and inconsistent with the free exercise of her Presbyterian polity; if there is one measure which she has sanctioned by her example, and fortified with precedents, it is that of applying to the Legislature to be relieved from the thraldom of patronage. The fact that, during the greater part of her existence, patronage has remained the law of the land (to which some have ignorantly appealed as a proof that it is not hostile to her constitution), has contributed to place her principles on that head in the clearest light, by obliging her to repeat, from time to time, her solemn protestation against it. Scarcely had she assumed the form of a National Church, when she pronounced her decided judgment on the freedom of election, in opposition to the abuses in the settlement of parishes under that "cursed papistrie," whose despotic yoke she had just thrown off. When the platform of Presbyterian polity was afterwards drawn up and formally sanctioned by the General

Assembly in the Second Book of Discipline, she declared that the order prescribed by it, agreeably to the Word of God, "cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices," whose names, "with the effect thereof, have flowed from the Pope and corruption of the canon law only." The removal of this abuse she pronounced one of the "special heads of reformation" which she craved; and she ceased not to crave it; nor did she ever withdraw her protest against patronage, though, in consequence of the selfish resistance of a feudal aristocracy, and the known inclination of an arbitrary Court to introduce Episcopacy, she deemed it prudent to accept of a settlement clogged with this abuse. Not to specify her other declarations, this is put beyond all doubt by her frequent ratifications of the Second Book of Discipline. As often as Government was favourable to her, she sought and obtained redress of the grievance; as often as it was unfavourable, the badge of servitude was reimposed. On the recovery of its liberties in 1638, the General Assembly renewed its adherence to the former principles of the Church in relation to this subject; and after procuring, by reiterated applications, various improvements upon the law, including the restitution to the Church of the Episcopal presentations, succeeded at last in obtaining the complete abolition of patronage, by the Parliamentary statute of 1649. At the Restoration, patronage was again imposed on the Church, along with Episcopacy. At the glorious Revolution, when the act 1592, ratifying Presbyterian government, was revived, the clause which reserved the rights of lay patrons was expressly excepted, as known to be highly offensive to all Presbyterians; and by a subsequent act of the same Parliament, patronage was abolished. All who are acquainted with the history of this country know how shamefully it was restored, in 1712, by a Tory and High Church administration, which had notoriously concerted measures for the exclusion of the House of Hanover from the succession to the throne, and the consequent overthrow of the Revolution Settlement. So much were they aware of the determined opposition which this measure

would meet with from the Church of Scotland, that it was introduced clandestinely into the House of Commons. As soon as the fact came to be known, the Commission sent Messrs Carstairs, Blackwell, and Baillie, to London, who presented to the House of Peers a representation against the bill, in the name of their constituents, in which they declare, "that from the first Reformation from Popery, the Church of Scotland hath ALWAYS reckoned patronages a *grievance and burden*, as is declared by the First and Second Books of Discipline, published soon after the said Reformation; since which time they were still judged a grievance, till at length they came by law to be abolished." *

This representation the subsequent General Assembly approved and pronounced "*most faithful and seasonable;*" and its successors applied repeatedly for the repeal of the obnoxious statute. In particular, the Assembly 1736 recorded its sentiments solemnly in an act (known to have been drawn by Lord President Dundas), which states that THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IS, BY HER DUTY AND INTEREST, OBLIGED STILL TO PERSIST IN USING HER BEST ENDEAVOURS, FROM TIME TO TIME, TO BE RELIEVED FROM THE GRIEVANCE OF PATRONAGE, until the same shall, by the blessing of God, prove successful; and for that end, that this Assembly

* The representation farther states, "that the same Parliament, 1690, was so tender of the civil rights of patrons, and so sincerely desirous only to restore the Church to its just and primitive liberty of calling ministers in a way agreeable to the Word of God, that they only discharged the patron's power of presenting ministers to vacant churches; but as to any thing of their civil rights, did make the condition of patrons better than before, not only by reserving unto them the right of disposal of vacant stipends, for pious uses, within the parish, but also giving unto them the heritable rights of the tithes, restricting the minister who formerly had the said right to stipends much below the value of the said tithes: Notwithstanding which advantageous concession to the patrons by the Parliament, this bill takes back from the Church the power of presentation of ministers, without restoring the tithes which formerly belonged to her, by which the patrons come to enjoy both the purchase and the price." It is also apparent, that Presbyteries must come under many difficulties and hardships, as to their compliance with this innovation,—besides the known abuses wherewith patronages have been attended, even in their most settled condition, &c.

shall empower and direct the Commission to be appointed by them to make due application to the King and Parliament for redress of the said grievance, in case a favourable opportunity for so doing shall occur during the subsistence of that Commission; and this Assembly doubts not, *that future General Assemblies of this Church will, from time to time, be watchful and attentive to this weighty concern, and will not fail to make the like proper applications*, WHENEVER, BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, A FIT OCCASION SHALL OFFER ITSELF." The act farther declares, that "the grievous consequences of presentations have increased, and are felt very sensibly in many parts of this Church." Accordingly, it continued to be one of the instructions annually given by the General Assembly to its commissioners, that they should embrace any opportunity which occurred of petitioning the Legislature for the repeal of the patronage law, until 1784, when, on a motion made to that effect, it was hastily agreed to drop that article from the instructions. What were the reasons urged for coming to this resolution I shall not stop to inquire. That some of the leading members of Assembly had by this time adopted new views on the subject, cannot be denied; but others were certainly of a different mind, and it is probable that despair of success, together with a feeling of the awkwardness of continuing an instruction, which had for some years remained a dead letter on the record, induced them silently to acquiesce in the motion. But what was the condition of the Church of Scotland at that period? From the Revolution down to the present day, never were the interests of religion sunk lower within her pale than they were in the year 1784; truth and godliness sickened and pined away under the influence of false philosophy and a spurious moderation; Socinianism had notoriously infected the minds of not a few of the clergy; and we know, from the highest authority, that some of the most active managers in ecclesiastical affairs could with difficulty be restrained from bringing forward a motion for discarding the Confession of Faith, and all tests of orthodoxy,—a fit motion to accompany its predecessor, which vir-

tually declared, in the face of the unanimous judgment of the Church of Scotland from the beginning, that patronage was no grievance! None more fit for wreathing an oppressive and degrading yoke about the necks of the people, than those who would release themselves from the obligation of the most reasonable bonds into which they had themselves voluntarily entered. But no minister will now choose to recall that melancholy era; and I scarcely think that even a ruling elder, honourable or simple, will be found so bold as to appeal to the act by which the light of the Church of Scotland was put under a bushel, and her glory turned to shame. If our rowers wish to shipwreck the vessel of which they have obtained the management, they will steer it by the lurid star of 1784.

After this statement, it cannot be asserted that the proposed measure is a novelty. On the contrary, by adopting it, the Assembly will be found treading in the honourable steps of its predecessors, asking no more than they formerly demanded, no more than they obtained, no more than was wrested from them by an unrighteous decree, without the slightest proof that they had ever, in a single instance, abused the sacred trust. He that has the greatest horror at innovation cannot have a word to say against such a proposal.

In the second place, the times are favourable for making the proposed application. Some excuse may be found for the torpor which has been evinced on the question for so many years by the ministers and members of the Church. The times, for nearly half a century, have been favourable to any thing but a temperate reform of abuses, whether we regard on the one hand, the tenacity with which rulers have adhered to every thing established, or, on the other hand, the excesses to which the spirit of popular liberty has been carried by the ruled. When these circumstances are considered in connection with the resistance which the proposal encountered at a former period, it is not surprising that good men should have been discouraged and wearied out, that they should have yielded up the contest as hopeless,

and even been tempted, in a fit of despondency, to publish to the world their opinion, that to renew it would be needless and unwise. But we should remember, that what was excusable in them may be unpardonable in us, and that language which, in their mouth, deserves no harsher name than human infirmity, may, as proceeding from us, merit the charge of cowardice or treachery. We have encouragements to petition for relief from patronage which our fathers never enjoyed, even when they exerted themselves most zealously in the cause. We have a reformed parliament and a reforming ministry, both of them pledged, not only to listen to the petitions of the subject, but to correct all abuses, and redress all grievances arising from an unjust monopoly of power, how firmly soever established by laws, and how long soever sanctioned by prescription. Do we not now see the very season which the General Assembly of 1736 contemplated, and which it points out in language meriting the deepest attention, when, referring to its petitions for the abrogation of the law of patronage, it says, "This Assembly doubts not that future General Assemblies of this Church will not fail to make the like proper applications, whenever, by the providence of God, *a fit occasion shall offer itself.*"

If the ensuing Assembly shall decline the opportunity which the providence of God now presents, will it not show itself unfaithful to its trust? If through timidity or worldly prudence, or any such motive, it allow the "fit occasion" to pass away, can it expect that Providence will afford it another equally fit and propitious? It is not uncommon at present to hear the clergy spoken of as half a century behind the middle class of their fellow-countrymen in practical intelligence and liberality of thinking; but if they should stand back or remain silent at the present moment, they would show themselves to be whole centuries behind their *fathers*, in liberal views, in fidelity, in wisdom, in spirit, and in every thing that ennobles and elevates the ministerial character. They will dishonour the places once occupied by men cast in a very different mould; and the shades of our Knoxes, Melvilles, and Bruces, our Hendersons, Cal-

derwoods, and Gillespies, our Carstairses, Blackwells, and Baillies, will frown upon and disdain to acknowledge their degenerate successors. Nor will our gentry, lawyers, and philosophers, who may fill the place of ruling elders, have less reason to dread the reproach of our Argyles, Hopes, and Johnstons, our Dalrymples, Dundasses, and Hutchesons.

Will it be alleged, as an apology for inaction, that the Government is still averse to redress the grievance of patronage, and will not add the weight of its example and influence to the just claims of the Church? The world will not believe this, unless the matter is brought to a fair trial, and until the determination of ministry is announced by the mouth of one on whom they can rely as its accredited and trustworthy organ. Should such an announcement be made, it would be difficult to find, in the annals of political versatility, an instance of such glaring inconsistency and tergiversation. But, if the present ministry are really disposed to act the part which some would ascribe to them, it is highly proper that they should be unmasked, and their hollow professions made known. I can make every allowance for persons who have been trained up in aristocratic and high-church principles, and know how to honour the firmness and honesty with which they avow their convictions when a change of times has placed them in the minority; but I have neither respect nor patience for the man who, having raised himself to power by warm professions of attachment to popular rights, and flattering, perhaps, the prejudices of the lowest of the rabble, turns round and insults a Christian people, by telling them that they must be content with remaining slaves. I should like to see the man connected with the present Administration, or known to be an advocate of the late Reform, who should stand up in the ensuing Assembly, and oppose a petition to the Legislature for the abolition of patronage, as either improper and unnecessary, or as inexpedient and unseasonable; and I should like to see how he would writhe under the chastisement which he would receive in reply,—"You have agitated the country from the Land's End to the

northernmost isle of Shetland. You have threatened the Peers, and all but bearded the Throne, with your measure of Parliamentary Reform, and now you refuse to listen to an ecclesiastical reform. You claim the grateful acknowledgments of the people of Scotland for having contributed to obtain for them a political franchise; and with the same breath you tell them that they can entertain no hope of obtaining—what they hold still dearer—an ecclesiastical franchise. You will give them a right to choose the man who shall watch over their lives and fortunes; but you will leave it to strangers and foreigners to choose the man who is to go in and out before them, watching over their souls. You have taught them to think it foul scorn to intrust their temporal interests to the nominee of the crown, or of a peer, or of a rich commoner; and you would persuade and oblige them to subject their spiritual and eternal interests to the same arbitrary nomination. You have made extensive changes, you have risked the peace of the country to meet a call of yesterday; and you will lend a deaf ear to a cry which has not ceased to be heard in Scotland for nearly 300 years. You have disregarded the opinions of men of property, set aside the plea of vested and prescriptive rights, and laughed at the demand of compensation for the loss of a freehold qualification purchased at a high price; and now you affect seriously to take into your lips the language you scouted at, and would fain say (though *vox faucibus hæret*) that it is robbery and spoliation to take the right of presentation to a benefice from a person, who either purchased it with the full knowledge of the protest entered by a third party having interest, or who has long had a compensation for the alleged right in his pocket. You have taken away political patronage, but refuse to quit ecclesiastical patronage; and while every burgh in the land is to be emancipated, and new privileges conferred on unincorporated towns, the Church alone must remain in a state of base villanage, in order that bribery and corruption, after being dammed up in every other quarter, may run into a sacred channel; and that she who, above all the Churches of the Reforma-

tion, gloried in having cast off every rag and relic of the Mother of abominations, may be pilloried before the nation, bearing this label on her dishonoured neck, 'MERCHANDISE OF SOULS OF MEN.' What does all this mean? One of two conclusions we must draw from your behaviour. Either you are regardless of the interests of religion, or you have promoted the late Reform, not from love to liberty, but as a measure to seat yourself and your party in power. Choose you on which of the horns of the dilemma you will do penance. We have been deceived once: it will be our own fault if we are deceived by you a second time. A Tory Ministry forged our chains; a Whig Ministry refuses, when it is in power, to strike them off. Which of them are most criminal? We hold the former as enemies; we denounce the latter as traitors!"

In the third place, if the proposed measure is seasonable, it is no less imperiously demanded by the circumstances of the time. The change which has of late taken place in the political state of the nation cannot, in itself, furnish a valid or conclusive argument for a corresponding change in the state of the Church. That might be right, or it might be wrong; and though right in the one case, it might be unsuitable, and therefore wrong, in the other. But where there is an intrinsic propriety in the measure, the plea in its behalf is vastly strengthened by the consideration that a similar measure has been adopted in another and analogous department of society. To redress grievances in the State, and to continue a grievance of a similar description, and originating in the same causes, in the Church; to remove monopolies of power, and grant an extension of popular right in civil matters, and to perpetuate a monopoly of power, and antiquated restrictions on popular rights in ecclesiastical matters, is unwise, preposterous, and impolitic. It forms an unnatural and monstrous state of society; and presents such a contrast as renders the remaining burden altogether intolerable. It is a state of things which cannot possibly continue for any length of time. This admits of varied illustration; and I would earnestly implore the

serious attention of men of candid and liberal minds to this view of the subject.

Civil and religious society are intimately connected; and let individuals theorize as they please, the political and the religious opinions and habitudes of a people must, and infallibly will, exert a mutual influence on each other. To disjoin them, or to cut off all communion and sympathy between them, is as absurd, and would be as destructive, as to dissever the bodies and souls of men, their temporal and spiritual interests. In fact, this is the natural origin of the connection between church and state, which some superficial thinkers would trace to certain circumstances combining in a peculiar state of society, or to some deep and sinister design on the part of those who first gave the sanction of state authority to Christianity; just as some persons would trace the origin of religion to the policy of legislators, or a compact between statesmen and priests to keep the populace in awe—forgetting that if religion had not been founded in nature, and deeply seated in the human breast, the alleged device, if it could ever have occurred to the projectors, would have been utterly unavailing to their purpose. Every enlightened defence of national establishments of religion must ultimately rest on this principle. Not that the Church ought to be formed on the model of the State, or *vice versa*. This is a proposition which none who is aware of the difference between their specific objects and ends, or who acknowledges that the former owes her institution to divine revelation, will ever admit. I speak of the general character of government, as despotic or free, arbitrary or restricted. Unless the civil and religious institutions of a nation breathe the same spirit of enlightened and regulated liberty, the people cannot enjoy the full benefit of either, nor be truly happy under them. Tyranny in the State will lead to encroachments on the Church; and bondage in the Church will sap the foundations of political freedom. Civil and ecclesiastical liberty are like the twins of Hippocrates, which sickened and recovered together, pined and died at the same time. An instance cannot be given of religion having

flourished generally, and for any length of time, in any nation that was under a despotic government. Presbytery, though there is nothing in its principles incompatible with subjection to civil government in any of its forms, is essentially free in its spirit, and has always excited the jealousy and dislike of despotical powers, who have laboured either to overthrow it, or to cramp and shackle its native energies. This is the secret of the opposition made to it by the Stuart dynasty, and their incessant attempts to supplant it by the hierarchy. And it is the secret of the imposition of patronage in the reign of Queen Anne, and even of the resistance which has been subsequently made to its abolition. On the other hand, a people in possession of political liberty cannot be indifferent to ecclesiastical freedom, unless they are sunk in superstition and gross ignorance of religion. Such a state of things can exist only where, as in the Church of Rome, they have been taught to look on it as a mortal sin to judge for themselves in matters of faith, and religion has been resolved into the observance of a routine of mimic and unmeaning ceremonies. When Christianity is the religion of the understanding and of the heart, such palpable contradictions cannot be exhibited. A people cannot look into their Bible, or consider the ends for which a Church was constituted, and a Gospel ministry erected, without feeling that something more is incumbent on them than going to a place of worship and participating in certain ordinances which conduce to their personal edification—without feeling that they have rights (for duties and rights are correlative) and privileges more sacred and indefeasible than any that belong to them as members of a civil community. Are they taught that they have not only a right to protection in life and property, and to be ruled by just and equitable laws, but a voice in electing those who compose the Legislature, and thus of securing to themselves and their children after them the benefit of good government? And must they not perceive the equal and even superior importance of their possessing a similar privilege in what concerns the spiritual and eternal welfare of themselves and their chil-

dren? Do they glory in having the privilege, directly or indirectly, of sending a representative to Parliament who is to watch over their temporal interests for seven years? And can they be Christians, and yet tacitly commit to an individual whom they know not, and over whom they have no control, the entire power of choosing one upon whom the superintendence of the spiritual interests of themselves and their family devolves for perhaps seven times seven years?

The right claimed by patrons to present to churches, is of the same kind which freeholders and town councils lately possessed of electing members of Parliament. They originated in the same times, rest on the same grounds, are defended by the same arguments, and lie open to the same objections. The political monopoly is, in fact, much more defensible than the ecclesiastical; and when the former has been swept away as a remnant of feudal times, unsuited to the spirit of the age, and incompatible with that weight which an enlightened people ought to have in the government of the country, it is as impossible that the latter should remain, as that an edifice should stand after its foundation has been sapped, or the main pillar on which it rested has been overthrown. Will those who now scout the idea of the nominee of a peer or a paper-holder being sent as their representative to Parliament, submit for any time to the nomination of a pastor by any single individual, nobleman or commoner, whom, very likely, they never saw in their lives, who has not a single tie to attach him to their interests, nor a single foot of land among them which he can call his own? At a time when the interference of the Crown in a parliamentary election would lead to the impeachment of the prime minister, and rouse the whole nation to a tumult of indignation, is it to be borne that the Government should not only interfere with the elections of the Church, but engross them, and enjoy the patronage of filling nearly 300 parishes?

Patronage deprives the people of Scotland of all that legitimate control which, according to the letter and spirit

of its Presbyterian constitution, they are entitled to exert over the judicatories of the Church. It is otherwise in England, where the Church is the creature of the State, and has no independent jurisdiction. The convocation no longer meets for transacting business; and all the proceedings of the clergy are either conducted in the king's name, or are liable to be reviewed and reversed by civil authority. When the people of England, therefore, exercise the elective franchise, they may be said to choose representatives to watch over and manage their ecclesiastical as well as their political affairs. But in this part of the island, the Church has a distinct existence, and an independent jurisdiction. The people of Scotland are subject to the Church courts in things spiritual, as they are to the Government of the empire in things civil. According to law, there lies no appeal from the decisions of a Church court to any civil tribunal, not to the Parliament itself, in any case properly ecclesiastical. Every thing of this kind is finally settled by the decision of the General Assembly, which, in addition to its judicial and executive power, claims a legislative authority, or at least a power of making authoritative acts, and, with the concurrence of a majority of presbyteries, of enacting standing laws, which are binding upon all the members of the Church, laity as well as clergy. Now, is it proper, is it consistent with the genius of Presbytery, or conducive to the ends of justice, and the high interests of pure religion, that there should be no popular check on such powers? Is it the part of a liberal Government to impose or to continue a system which abolishes all popular control upon powers which they have sanctioned by law? It will not do to reply to this, by saying that the people have a right to seek redress by petition or complaint. This they enjoy under the most despotical government on earth. Nor is it a better answer to say, that they have their remedy by dissenting and leaving the establishment, in the event of its judicatories becoming tyrannical or corrupt in the exercise of their power. For, in the first place, this is a political, not an ecclesiastical privilege; and would continue to be

the privilege of the subject, though the General Assembly at their first meeting should take away the cup from the laity, or enact that any person who may pronounce patronage a grievance, shall appear before the public congregation in sackcloth. Instead of being an ecclesiastical privilege, separation and the desertion of divine ordinances is, in the eye of the Church, an offence, which, according to her laws, ought to be visited with censure. Besides, this is an argument which an established church ought never to moot, and which it is not entitled to use, as an apology for denying rights, or refusing to take steps for the redressing of grievances. The design of an establishment is not to drive men out of the Church, but to retain them in it; to provide them with wholesome and abundant food, not to force them to seek it elsewhere. Nor is there more force in the reply, that the people are represented and heard through the lay-elders. The lay-elders, as they are called, are ecclesiastical officers; they govern the people, and they are governors for life, too, as well as the pastors. And, according to the established practice, the people have no more voice in the election of their elders than of their ministers. The elders are in fact, in many instances, the nominees of the nominee of the patron, patrons themselves, or the friends or dependents of patrons. I speak not of the personal character of these men, any more than I have spoken of that of the clergy; but it does not admit of doubt or denial, that the lay-elders have had a large share in binding the burden of patronage on the Church of Scotland, and in rendering it heavier by pressing its rigid and unmitigated enforcement. We shall see how they will act in the course of a few days.

Let us suppose for a moment that Church patronage is to remain, and let us see how it would look beside the lately acquired privileges of the nation. The same people, viewed in their double capacity, are both freemen and slaves. As members of the State, they choose their own legislators; as members of the Church, they have neither part nor lot in that matter; as members of the State, they have much to say in the management of its affairs; as members of the

Church, they are condemned to utter silence. What sort of "connection between Church and State" is this? Is it in the nature of things that an "alliance" between such discordant parties should continue? A nation labouring under political and ecclesiastical bondage has been fitly compared to "an ass couching down between two burdens." But a nation released from political, and retained under ecclesiastical thraldom, would exhibit the ridiculous figure of an ass with one of his panniers cut off, while the other dangled at his side, causing the patient animal to stagger at every pace, and threatening ever and anon to land him in the ditch.

But let us take it for granted, that such an incongruous state of things should continue, what would the consequence be? One of two things must happen. Either the people, habituated to spiritual servitude, would become indifferent about political liberty; or else, perceiving that they were denied in the Church those privileges which they enjoyed in the State, they would become indifferent to religion. In the one case they would become slaves; in the other they would become infidels. Let the friends of liberty ponder well the first of these tendencies; let the friends of religion lay the last to heart.

If it were asked, what institutions are most favourable to the preservation of liberty? the answer must be, Those which afford the people frequent opportunities of exercising their privileges. So much are men the creatures of habit, that if they have not the objects of their attachment before their eyes, they become indifferent to them; and those privileges which they rarely use they cease to value. A few educated individuals, whose minds are improved by reading and reflection, may have the image of liberty so engraven on their hearts, or may be so extensively acquainted with its numerous blessings, that no abstraction from society will be able to weaken their affection for it; but it is quite another case with the bulk of mankind. It is not more certain that a person, by desisting for a certain period of time from walking, will loss the use of his limbs, or, by keeping his eyes bandaged, will feel the light of the sun insupportable,

than that a people who have been accustomed passively to resign the management of every thing to others, will cease to cherish any genuine attachment to freedom. The spirit of liberty, if not drawn out to exercise, will rust like a sword in the scabbard. It is equally undeniable that habits of tame submission in any one situation of life unfit a man for acting a free and independent part in others; and upon this principle it is that many good and pious men have been led, from the ecclesiastical connection in which they were placed, to adopt the principle of slavish subjection to authority, and to lament over measures which were as necessary for religious as for political reform. In Scotland, a servile clergy long abetted tyranny in the State; the spirit of the people has since been repressed and broken by a galling yoke in the Church. The friends of patronage were never regarded as the best friends to political freedom. * The State Whigs have been accustomed to range themselves on the popular side of the General Assembly; now is the time to try their wisdom and sincerity—the sincerity of their professed friendship—I say not to religion—that might be too much to expect from many of them—but to liberty.

But the effect most to be dreaded from the continuance of the present system, and what will probably be most generally realized, is indifference to religion and the interests of

* "This mode of elections, instead of diffusing the spirit of liberty among the people, or making them sensible of their own political existence, tends rather to introduce aristocratical ideas, and so deprive the lower class of people of every feeling of liberty. But in the call and election of ministers, the people felt their own weight; and the little struggles and disputes that happened on those occasions, tended to rouse and excite some sense of liberty, and spirit for preserving it. The whole system of Presbyterian Church government tends to excite ideas of liberty, and to animate men with an affection for it."—*Thoughts of a Layman concerning Patronage and Presentations*, by Mr Crosbie, Advocate. To this his opponent answers,—"This is not an age in which the subjects of Great Britain have any reason to dread the influence of the Crown. They have much better reason to guard against that anarchy and popular tyranny, which are totally subversive of every privilege, both sacred and civil."—*Observations on the Overture concerning Patronage*, &c., printed in 1769, and understood to have been written by the late Dr Grieve of Edinburgh, by the advice, and with the concurrence of his friends in the Church.

the Church; or, in other words, an absorbing attention to politics. It surely does not require any reasoning, especially after what has already been advanced, to establish a conclusion which must force itself on every reflecting mind. There are a number of pious persons, no doubt, who prefer their spiritual edification to every other consideration; but an establishment, not to speak here of other churches, is concerned, both in point of duty and interest, with a far greater number of people of a different description. Whatever degrades the Church, inflicts a deep wound on the interests of religion; and is it no degradation that she should be held in chains when every other society is set free? When men perceive, that, as members of the Church, they have no voice, no control; that they are merely called on to give their approbation to what has been done by another independent of them, and what will be done in spite of them; and that if any deference is shown to their judgment, it is by way of favour, and as a placebo or a soporific, will they not turn from such matters with nonchalance or disgust, and allow their time, and attention, and affections to be engrossed by those affairs, in which, not being debarred from all control over their management, they are naturally disposed to take a deeper interest? In one word, will it not lead to an engrossing concern in worldly politics, and to a consequent neglect of religion? Every reflecting person must be convinced that this spirit prevails too much already, and, from the direction which the public mind has taken, there is every reason to suppose that it will increase. Some who are aware of this, and not unreasonably alarmed at its consequences, urge it as an argument against all change; and being of opinion that reform has been carried too far in the State, deem it a point of prudence to resist all attempts at reform in the Church. Though their assumption were granted, their inference is far from being legitimate. Even in political agitation, the measures dictated by a short-sighted prudence are not always the safest. Instead of irritating by resistance, or by an attempt to keep up and repair decayed and feeble barriers, it is the part of true

wisdom to remove them, to clear the channel, to withdraw every unnecessary incumbrance, and to give free course to the tide, and then, though the waters should overflow the banks, they will, so soon as they have spent their first violence, confine themselves again within their former bounds. But of all errors the most capital during a period of popular excitement, is that which dictates a refusal of ecclesiastical privileges. This is the grand remedy for the evil that is dreaded. It is like opening up a new channel to receive the waters of a river, which threatened, by a sudden inundation, to overflow and desolate the country. It is to divide the swelling tide of public opinion and feeling into two kindred streams, to abate its violence without diminishing its utility, and instead of leaving it to carry devastation, to make it spread verdure and fertility all around. The result would be equally beneficial in a political and a religious point of view.

But again, the hostility which has arisen to the establishment of the Church, with the preparation made for a combined attack upon it, calls loudly for the proposed measure. An association has lately been formed, having for its avowed object the overthrow of all ecclesiastical establishments, and the secularization of their funds, and proposing to effect this by means of the press and petitions to the Legislature. Recent events have led to the formation of this society; but there cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that they gave rise to the principle which it involves. A strong feeling of hostility to national establishments of religion has long existed in the country, and has been gathering force and diffusing itself among almost all classes of Christians, since the beginning of the present century. It is now known to the public that, from that time, the most numerous bodies of Presbyterian Dissenters were engaged in preparations for the present movement, by removing from their authorised standard books every thing which looked with a favourable eye upon civil establishments, and inserting the seeds of the new opinions. They have been propagated from the pulpit and the press, and have infected

the minds of not a few who continue in external communion with the National Church. In the meantime, her watchmen were sleeping on their post, not so much as dreaming of any such thing. They were blind and deaf to the warning of the distant but gathering storm, until it burst over their heads like a thunderbolt. The alarm has now been sounded, the champions of the Church are buckling on their armour, and repairing to the point of attack. A counter association has been formed, and the pulpit and the press have been converted into posts of defence. This is right. "Better late thrive than ne'er do well." But there is reason to fear, after all, that the real danger is not apprehended, and consequently that recourse will not be had to the true and only efficient means of safety. The times require plain speaking. What has happened is no more than what was to have been looked for. When religious liberty is enjoyed, and toleration is sanctioned by law, it behoves established churches, for the sake of self-preservation, if not from regard to a higher principle, to remove every thing that causes offence, or has a tendency to alienate the people or drive them from their pale; for when dissent becomes general, and Dissenters come to form a large proportion of the inhabitants, the tendency to call in question the utility, expediency, and even lawfulness of ecclesiastical establishments, and to seek their overthrow, is unavoidable. Of this, however, ecclesiastical managers are rarely, if ever, convinced, until it is too late; abuses are obstinately defended, the complaint of grievances is treated as factious and pragmatical; dissatisfaction is goaded to separation, and separation settles into an inveterate hostility, which, after venting itself against the corruptions, aims at last at the very existence of the establishment. The Gothic structure of the English establishment, the aristocratic bearing and political character of its hierarchy, so unlike that of the Christian ministry, and so uncongenial with the spirit of the age, the amount of the provision for the clergy contrasted with their general inefficiency, the irritating mode of its exaction, and the inequality of its distribution, present the most inviting objects of attack

to the anti-establishment principle. Scotland has an establishment at once simple and cheap, its platform of ecclesiastical polity, and its mode of religious worship, are in unison with the sentiments and even the prejudices of the inhabitants; and yet secession and dissent exist to nearly as great an extent, in proportion to the population, in the northern as in the southern part of the island. How is this singular fact to be accounted for? Without exculpating the people from all blame, it will not be alleged that Scotsmen are more given to change than other people; and if they are disposed to incur expense gratuitously, or to draw their purses for that which they can have for nothing, the world has done them injustice. This state of things is to be imputed mainly to the imposition of patronage, and the rigour with which it has been enforced by the Church courts. If it should be asked, how it has come about that the people of Scotland have viewed this as so weighty a grievance, when their southern neighbours feel it so lightly, it will not be deemed invidious to reply, that the former set a higher value on their spiritual privileges. But the proper answer to the question is, that patronage is so palpably inconsistent with the constitution of the Church of Scotland, with the claims of the nation, and with the rights solemnly secured to it by the union between the two kingdoms, that the continuance of it has been felt, not simply as an injury, but as an insult.

I would say, then, by all means repel the direct attack which is made on establishments, and vindicate their lawfulness by arguments from reason and Scripture; but do not trust to this for their preservation. It avails little comparatively to make good an abstract principle. It is dangerous in government, as in medicine, to mistake the symptom for the disease, or to expect to effect a cure by merely making applications to a part of the body politic or ecclesiastical, which is subject to a secondary or remote affection. Among a hundred persons who avow hostility to ecclesiastical establishments, there are probably not above one or two with whom it is a primary principle; and if we were well

acquainted with the history of the religious sentiments of the rest, we would trace its first formation to disgusts conceived at real or supposed abuses. The greater part of the argument, both in conversation and writing, is drawn from these; and it is no uncommon thing to find a controversialist, who began with promising to confine himself to the general question, yielding to the temptation of breaking his promise in the course of a few pages. On the general argument, you may succeed in silencing an opponent (though, as the subject is attended with difficulties, and admits of plausible things being advanced on both sides, even that is not always an easy task), but you do not win back a wanderer from the Church, nor recover his alienated affection. The best and most convincing argument you can employ, especially with the common people, is to give them a free and liberal translation of the maxim often quoted on this subject,—*Ab abusu ad usum non valet consequentia*, by telling them,—*We will remove the abuse, and grant you the use of an Establishment.*

The enemies of Establishments do not expect to succeed, at the present time, in overthrowing them. They know that neither the government nor the nation is yet prepared for such a sweeping measure. Their immediate object is to fix the public mind on the question, and to ply it with repeated exhibitions of the evils attendant on National Churches. Many who are decidedly favourable to the object at which the Voluntary Church Association aims, have refused to join it, because they think its formation premature; and they wish the minds of all classes to be gradually and silently leavened with its principle. Nothing is more gratifying to the Voluntary associators than to see that they have brought the clergy to the defence of Establishments, and riveted them to that post, so that they dare not move from it to effect the most necessary reforms. What though they be defeated in a partial skirmish, or driven back in an occasional sally? What though a standard-bearer fall? Their name is Legion, and they know whence their ranks will be recruited. You will not find one of them taking part in a society for promoting Church Reform; you will

not see one of their names at a petition for abolishing patronage. They affect to laugh at such attempts to reform minor abuses, although in fact they dread them more than the most able and elaborate vindication of ecclesiastical establishments.

I am not without my fears that many of the Establishment trust for its safety to the landed proprietors, and that they feel an aversion to undertake measures, which in their own judgment they approve, lest they should offend those from whom they receive payment of their stipends. They will forgive me this wrong. I cannot forbear warning them, that if they give the slightest manifestation of a feeling of this kind, if they once acknowledge, by deed or word, that they are indebted to the landed proprietors for their livings, their cause is lost; and, in the progress of events, they will see the friends on whom they placed their confidence deserting them, and joining, first in the cry against the burden of supporting the Church, and afterwards in the scramble for its spoils. The true, the only true safety of the Establishment, lies in the affections of the people at large; and in order to secure these, you must make them participant of rights which will induce them to feel an interest in it. The want of this is one great cause of the insecurity of all arbitrary governments; things go on smoothly in peaceful times, but when danger threatens, or disaster befalls the Government, it will feel to its cost, that, by making the people ciphers in the State, it has deprived itself of their cordial support, and periled their allegiance on the fate of a battle. The Church of Scotland is entering times in which she needs popular support; and if this is not procured, though patrons, and landed proprietors, and government join hand in hand, they will not be able to prevent the fall of her establishment. There is great truth in the following statement of a writer on this subject, made many years ago, and at a time when the nation was not awakened to appreciate its practical wisdom. "If we would effectually conciliate the affections of men to our religious system, or indeed to any system, we must endeavour to accomplish it,

not only by arguments deduced from the divinity or intrinsic excellence of the system recommended; we must likewise enforce our design by means of objects which immediately affect their senses, and seize their passions. We must communicate to them a deep interest in the system to which their attachment is to be secured, by conferring on them the exercise of rights obvious to their senses, marked with importance, and strictly connected with that system. Without these particulars, we know not upon what principle of human nature it is to be expected that men should conceive a predilection for any particular system, or that it should become the peculiar object of their attachment and veneration. The application of these principles to the patronage laws is too obvious to require illustration. By these laws, as they are now interpreted, the people are left without any share in the conduct or administration of our religious system, which, if we are right in the principles we have laid down, must be attended with the most pernicious consequences. Deprived in this manner of the right of pastoral election, a natural and important power essentially connected with the religious system, the people are destitute of one motive, and, indeed, one of the most obvious and forcible motives of attachment to the system itself. Without the enjoyment of this natural and important right, it is impossible that the people should feel themselves so deeply interested in, or so zealously attached to, the religious Establishment, as they otherwise would have been. The minds and the affections of the people must naturally be alienated from a system, in the administration of which they feel themselves possessed of no deep or material interest, and in which abuses so very gross are tolerated without correction, and even confirmed by solemn judicial determinations of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court." * Those who have some knowledge of the state of things among Presbyterian Dissenters, as well as in the Establishment (and I regret to say that the information of many of our clergy, in this respect,

* An Inquiry into the principles of Ecclesiastical Patronage and Presentation, published in 1783.

is exceedingly partial and defective), are aware of the very great difference between the two in point of popular feeling. Among the former, the people generally take a deep interest in their minister, in the congregation to which they belong, and in the Church courts to which they own subjection. When the ministers or ruling elders go up to attend their supreme judicatory, they are followed by the eyes of their people, and prayer is offered for them to God in families, social meetings, and congregations. In the latter, the corresponding feeling is so weak, that it may be said, generally speaking, not to exist. I am aware that there are some persons who, so far from looking upon this as a defect, are ready to exclaim, So much the better! Such persons must be left to feel the consequences of their opinion. I speak to wise men, who have understanding of the times, who love the Church independently of her emoluments, and who are anxious that she shall exist and flourish when they have ceased to have any connection with earthly concerns; and they will sympathize with me when I say, that such a state of popular apathy is to be deplored, and in present circumstances is fearfully ominous. Where is now the deep interest which was once felt in the proceedings of our ecclesiastical judicatories? A meeting of the General Assembly excites attention, indeed, in the city where it is held; the convocation of so many well-dressed, well-bred men, attracts notice; the Assembly-house affords a very agreeable lounge for those who have too much time upon their hands, so that it is always respectably filled; and when it is known that a cause is to come before the court which will call forth a debate, the galleries are crowded with persons anxious to witness the display of oratory on both sides. But where is the general anxiety of the country, even of those who consider themselves as belonging to the Establishment? and where are the fervent supplications for the countenance and direction of Heaven in the deliberations of the Assembly, which were wont to resound from the most distant glens and mountains of Scotland? Ah! how changed are we in this respect!

Other considerations press on my mind, as bearing on the point, and serving materially to confirm the conclusions already drawn. But the answer to the question must not be rendered tedious; and I flatter myself I have succeeded in proving the propriety and urgent necessity of a speedy application to the Legislature for the abolition of patronage.

I know that there are some good men, with whom it would give me great pleasure to act, who are of opinion that all which should be attempted, for the present at least, is to revive calls, and in this way to prevent intrusions by imposing a check on the nomination of patrons. Without the least wish to throw a reflection either on their candour or their judgment, I must be permitted to say that I have never been able to perceive how the right of lay-presentation, and a real and efficient call by the people, can be reconciled. The plan lies open to the objection of at once withholding from the people the right of choice, and of leading to endless collision between them and patrons. If the contending forces are supposed equal, the machine must be reduced to a state of rest; if unequal, the one must always preponderate over the other. This objection would not have the same force provided the nomination had been committed to the kirk-session, and the check given to the congregation; because both parties would be under the direct control of the presbytery; but in the other case, the different forces are not under the same directing hand, the patron being independent of the Church courts. It is not denied that the Church may have recourse to this method; she may decide that no one shall be settled in a parish who has not first received a real call from the people, and she may even prohibit her licentiates from accepting of a presentation until they have obtained such a call. Both of these things have been done formerly. But *then* the Church was in the attitude of defence against a law which she held to be unjust, and an encroachment on her privileges. I humbly apprehend, therefore, that consistency, as well as respect both to government and patrons, would require that the Church should not adopt this measure until she had applied

to the Legislature for the repeal of the patronage law, and been unsuccessful in her application. This seems to be the regular order; and it would, at any rate, relieve them from embarrassment in argument, and from the objections which their opponents are in the habit of urging against their plan.

In order to accomplish the good proposed, the abolition of patronage must be complete. The simple repeal of the act of Queen Anne would leave the settlement of parishes to be regulated by the act 1690, or rather would render that mode of settlement imperative. In that case, whatever necessity might appear for adopting an alteration upon it, the Church courts, either at their own instance, or on the petitions of the people, could not make it. Granting that the plan of nomination specified in that act was then approved of by the Church as suitable to that period, the times are now so much altered as to require a material change. Presbyterians, however, did even then object to that clause, which permitted heritors who were not in communion with the Church of Scotland, to have a vote in choosing its ministers. But the state of things at that period differed from the present in two important particulars,—not to repeat those which have been fully stated in the preceding pages. In the first place, the greater part of the Protestant heritors, who were not in the communion of the Established Church, being attached to the Stuart dynasty, declined taking the oaths to Government, and consequently could not vote. In the second place, these Dissenters were confined to the Episcopalian profession, whereas there are now heritors belonging to a great variety of denominations. I request particular attention to this last point of difference, in its bearing upon parishes within royal burghs. A bill has already been introduced into Parliament, which, it is understood, will greatly enlarge the right of suffrage in the election of magistrates and town councils. The consequence of this must be, whether patronage continues as it is, or the act 1690 shall be restored, that the appointment of ministers to all the chief

towns of Scotland may fall into the hands of persons who do not belong to the Establishment, and are inimical to it; or, at the very least, Episcopalians, Seceders, Independents, Baptists, Socinians, and perhaps Jews, will have a vote in the appointment or election. Is this not enough to awaken the most torpid to consideration, and to convince them of the necessity of summoning up courage to meet the question in all its difficulties? If it should be said, They can do no harm, as they can present qualified persons only; I would ask, Why, then, are you so much afraid of your own people, whom you have admitted to the Church, to whom you reach the symbols of the Lord's body and blood, and who are subject to your discipline?

I take this opportunity of correcting a mistake in point of fact into which some writers have fallen. It has been asserted, that the idea of the divine right of the people in the election of ministers, first arose in the Church of Scotland about the year 1732. Now, not to speak at present of the doctrine laid down in the First Book of Discipline, and taught by the most distinguished Presbyterian writers of the 17th century, Mr Park published his learned work on patronage in the year after the Revolution. In that work, which has always been considered as expressing the sentiments of his brethren, he vindicates the right of the Christian people from Scripture, and shows that they continued to exercise it for centuries after the empire became Christian. And the same principle was maintained in other publications which appeared between the abolition of patronage in 1690, and its restoration in 1712.* The persons to whom I refer have been deceived by not attending to a very plain distinction. Those who defended the rights of the

* "In a corporation or city," says Mr Lauder, "persons act or vote, not as they are rich, but as they are burgesses; the meanest burgess has his suffrage or elective voice in the choice of the mayor, and the richest burgess can pretend to no more. In like manner, persons give their suffrages in the election of bishops or pastors, not as they are rich, but as they are Christians; not as they are lords, barons, heritors, &c., but as they are faithful in Christ, and have a right to Christian and ecclesiastical privileges."

people could acquiesce in an Act of Parliament, though it restricted the exercise of these rights, while the Church courts were disposed, and had it in their power, to prevent the evil consequences; but when the General Assembly, by its act respecting the settlement of vacant churches which by law came under its power *jure devoluto*, instead of respecting popular rights, imposed by its authority the same restriction, by confining the election to heritors and elders, they complained, and they had just reason to complain. This, and not any real change of sentiment, or the adoption of any novel opinion, is the reason why the scriptural rights of the people were more prominently brought forward in the controversy raised by that act.

It is not intended, however, to discuss the question—In whom ought the right of election to be lodged? It is sufficient to say here that it belongs to the Church, and the people are an integral part of the Church. It does not appear that the Assembly is prepared for fixing any permanent rule on this subject; nor would any acquainted with the circumstances expect this. But this is not the first object which calls for its attention. The abolition of patronage will not be obtained in a day; there is no great reason to fear that the grievance will be removed before the next meeting of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory. It will, no doubt, be objected, that it is premature to speak of setting aside one mode of election, without having fixed upon another to be substituted in its place, and those who may be averse to all change will avail themselves of this argument as an excuse for doing nothing. The Assembly will be told, that it is preposterous for it to go to Parliament, without first settling who should be the electors; and that the reply of the honourable Houses would naturally be, "Go, first agree among yourselves as to what you wish, and then we will consider whether it is proper to be granted." This objection proceeds entirely on a fallacy. It is not proposed that the Assembly shall set aside a mode of election; it has not this in its power. All that it can do is to petition the Legislature; and the object of its petition is not that

it should substitute another mode, but that it should leave this to the proper and competent authority. This was done on a former occasion. In 1649, the Parliament abolished patronage, leaving it to the General Assembly to settle the mode of election, and the Assembly found no difficulty in deciding the point in the course of the same year. The members of that Assembly were not all of one mind as to the measure adopted, and it was not intended to be final; but even under that plan religion flourished, in circumstances otherwise unpropitious, until Episcopacy, with patronage in its train, blasted at once the tree and its fruits. What is to hinder the ensuing Assembly to declare that, in the event of patronage being abolished, parishes shall be settled according to the act 1649, until, after due deliberation, it shall have taken farther order in the matter? To such an *interim* arrangement the warmest friends of popular rights, I am persuaded, would not object. Thus the subject would be discussed calmly, and measures taken to prevent every thing like confusion. In a state of society, the most undoubted rights admit of being regulated; and circumstances may occur which may even justify a partial and temporary restriction of their exercise. The *Habeas Corpus* is one of the dearest privileges of Britons, and yet the suspension of it for a time may be necessary for the preservation of liberty.

The very name of popular election is enough to throw some persons into a panic, and clergymen are to be found among the number of these. They are as much alarmed at it as the Popish clergy were at the proposal to grant permission to the people to read the Bible in their mother tongue, and, like their predecessors, they augur from it the direst consequences. When we consider that they are in the constant habit of addressing popular assemblies—that they were taken from the people, and, by their office, are bound to spend their time among their people—this *plebophobia*, this aristocratic, and would-be-lordly bearing, does not say much for the sanctity of the corps, and speaks "something rotten in the state of Denmark." Unquestion-

ably we can obtain no unmixed good in this world. Those who would pluck the rose must do it at the risk of being pricked with the thorn. The blessed privilege of the indiscriminate use of the sacred volume has been followed by errors, and heresies, and divisions, and sometimes by tumults and wars. Christ came not to send peace on earth, but division and a sword, to set a man at variance against his father, and to make a man's foes those of his own house. Liberty has its inconveniencies as well as slavery; but who that has a spark of humanity within his breast would hesitate in his choice between the two? When we see power so much abused, are we entitled to look for the faultless exercise of privilege? If we have worthless ministers, need we wonder that we have sorry Christians? "Like priest, like people," was wont to embody the lesson of experience; and if the latter are unfit for using ecclesiastical privileges, they may ordinarily thank the former for their incapacity. But popular election, when brought to the light of experience, does not prove that dreadful thing—that demon of discord, which it has been represented to be in the exaggerated pictures of the timid, or the studied caricatures of the artful and the interested. And surely, when exercised under the direction and control of regular Church courts, whose business it is, by themselves or their deputies, to "moderate in a call," it may be expected to produce its salutary effects, without any great admixture of those evils with which it is sometimes attended in political society.

Different plans have been proposed by the friends of popular election. Some would vest the right of voting in elders and heads of families; others, in persons who have been communicants, and have lived in the parish for a certain period of time; while others would place the right of voting on a broader basis, by giving it to every male communicant. Those who are altogether opposed to popular rights argue, that if the first of these is granted, it will inevitably lead to the last. Upon the supposition that this should take place, let us see what evil consequences would follow.

None of the evils which might justly be dreaded from

universal suffrage in political matters could attend this measure. For, in the first place, there is no property to be voted away; and the soul of the peasant or the artisan being as precious to him, as that of the peer or the man of wealth can be to him, they have an equal interest in the choice of a spiritual ruler. In the second place, there is nothing here which resembles universal suffrage in the state. It is proposed to give the right of voting, not to every man in the parish, but only to every man who is a communicant. Who thinks of comparing the right which the members of a corporation enjoy of choosing their office-bearers to universal suffrage in the state? The Church is a corporation, a select society called out of the world. She is a sacred enclosure, not an open field, which every animal, clean or unclean, has a right to occupy. Her members are supposed to be qualified persons, and if her office-bearers have done their duty, they are men of Christian knowledge, and irreproachable in their moral and religious character. If the rabble, or the ignorant part of the multitude, who neither fear God nor regard man, are communicants, who, pray, must bear the blame, and be answerable for the consequences? If, through carelessness and laxity of admission to sacred privileges, the Church be turned, in a great measure, into the world, it is incumbent on the courts to correct the evil, and the remedy cannot be applied too soon. But, it is alleged, the people are unfit judges in the matter; they may be qualified for going to the Lord's Table, and yet not qualified for choosing a minister. Granting that many may be in this predicament; may not a person have been born heir to an estate with a right of presentation, or may he not have purchased a patronage, and yet be destitute of knowledge, and faith, and judgment? Are there not many patrons of this description? And if one wished to find a judge of Bible doctrine, would he seek him among the lay patrons, or among the ordinary class of Christians? Some, however, seem to place much weight on the apparent incongruity of persons choosing their own teacher, who must be presumed to be wiser than themselves, and dwell on the

absurdity of supposing that labourers and mechanics can be fit judges of ministerial abilities. The objection proceeds on a false assumption. The electors in this case are not in the situation of children or catechumens; they are men who are supposed to have been already "taught in the word." The taunting allusion which some have made to the sheep choosing their shepherd, is peculiarly unfortunate to their cause, as it must remind us that the same similitude has been used by Christ himself for the very opposite purpose of showing that "his sheep know his voice," and can discriminate between it and "the voice of strangers." But why should it seem more absurd for the people to choose a minister of the Gospel, who is a public servant, than that they should have a voice in the election of a member of Parliament? Will it be alleged that our mechanics and peasantry are better versed in the questions of jurisprudence and political economy, than in the knowledge of their Bible? or better fitted for judging of the qualifications of a British senator, than those of a minister of Christ? Must none have the right of electing ministers who have not studied theology as a science? Must a man not be allowed to choose his own physician, because he has not studied physic? or his own lawyer, because he is not versed in the eloquence of the bar? And upon what principle is it that, while the people are denied the privilege of choosing their teacher, the patron is permitted to choose his?

Besides, the weak Christian does not take on him to act the part of a patron; he does not choose the minister; his vote is sunk among those of persons who are wiser than he. And let it not be forgotten, that there are many Christians in the common walks of life, who could not only catechise patrons, but teach reverend doctors to preach, as well as to pray. Our opponents are very dexterous at forgetting, in this argument, the maxim which they know so well how to avail themselves of on other occasions. We beg leave to remind them of it. The people *will not have it in their power to choose any but qualified persons;* and if a moderately gifted Presbytery happen to allow a weak brother to slip

through their hands, the Presbytery within whose bounds he is called, can declare him unqualified on his trials before ordination. The people may surely be allowed to judge among the qualified what individual possesses gifts most suited to their edification, unless it is meant to make them altogether Papists.* But it is said, if the people become electors, talents and learning will be discredited and the weak and illiterate preferred. Is it necessary to repeat that the people can choose qualified persons only? Are the popular clergy destitute of talents and learning? Is there nothing of that kind among Dissenters? If the information of the objectors extended beyond their own limited circle, they would know that talents and learning always find their proper level in churches where popular election exists. The time has gone by when learning depended on the patronage of the great; and if the voice of the people were allowed to have its just weight, there would be more talent displayed in the pulpit, and more true eloquence as well as genuine Christian doctrine. It is also alleged, that popular election would render ministers fanatical, and tempt them to preach faith without works. But it is no breach of charity towards such objectors to say, that they would, in the case supposed, find themselves obliged to preach the doctrines of that confession which they have subscribed, and would not be permitted to preach works without faith, or to set forth a doctrine in which the two were incongruously combined, like the poet's figure of a body having a beautiful female head and a fish's tail. Had such persons lived at the era

* Patronage and popular election entered into the controversies between the Popish and Protestant Churches, and the following words of a learned foreigner, in reply to an objection of Cardinal Bellarmine, the celebrated champion of the Roman Catholics, may be of some use to high-church-men among ourselves. "Congregations judge not simply and absolutely whether one be fit for the ministry, but whether he be fit to serve in the ministry *among them*; which two are so different, that, of two men offered to the congregation, he that is absolutely and simply the best qualified for the ministry is not, for that cause, to be admitted *hic et nunc*, but he who is fittest for that congregation. Now a rude and ignorant people can judge which of the two speaks best to their capacity and edification."

of the Reformation, they would have stigmatized Luther and Calvin as fanatics and Antinomians.*

But it is alleged, popular election would produce confusion, convassing, and scenes disgraceful both to the candidates and congregations. This is the *dernier resort* of the opponents of the rights of the people, the redoubt behind which they ensconce themselves. We might have felt alarmed at the prospect of unchaining the fierce animal, were it not that the dread attempt has been already made without any danger to the keepers, and that he is to be seen going about town and country without causing the least harm, or exciting the slightest fear in the breasts of any of his Majesty's subjects. Popular election at present exists in between 400 and 500 congregations of Presbyterian Dissenters (not to mention Independent congregations), and it has been long practised among them without producing the confusions and evil works which its enemies anticipated from it. There may now and then be a contested election, and on a rare occasion a disappointed and unreasonable minority may give trouble to the courts; but it is the rarity of these instances that causes them to make a noise. That no serious injury arises from the practice is evident from a single fact. We are told by the highest authority, that a kingdom or a house divided against itself cannot stand, but must come to desolation. The Secession has existed now for a whole century, and instead of decaying, has greatly increased in numbers; and none of the schisms with which it has been visited are attributable, or can be traced, to popular election. On the contrary, this has been to her a tower of strength,

* Some persons, probably from a wish to talk drolly, have alleged that popular election would lead to a system of favouritism. This is certainly a very bad thing; though there is nothing more common than for the rejected lover to accuse the object to whom he had paid his addresses of this crime. But it is not easy to see how the proposed plan could have the tendency mentioned. One would rather think that it would put an end to favouritism in the obnoxious sense of that word; for every minister, being the object of their choice, would be the favourite of his own congregation, and we would see no more of that coquetting with strangers, which appears to be so offensive to our moderate divines.

and instead of an establishment. If the members of the Established Church shall be supposed to be proner to fall into excesses on account of their not having been in the habit of using this privilege, or from any other cause, cannot the General Assembly, in its wisdom, and in the exercise of its high powers, pass such laws as will have the effect of preventing or restraining them? Has it not made acts repeatedly for effecting settlements according to the law of patronage, and sanctioned them with the highest ecclesiastical censures? Were there not disorders and confusions under that law? and did not the Church courts find it necessary even to call in the aid of the civil arm, before the people became accustomed to the yoke, and learned to bear it with moderation and meekness? Is the General Assembly powerless only in asserting the rights of the people, and in guarding their purity? Are there not laws against simony, and, in addition to former precautionary measures, did not the Assembly find it necessary of late, by an interim act, to appoint an oath to be administered to presentees, abjuring all accession to, or knowledge of, simoniacal practices! At present, it is scarcely possible to detect such transgressions; whereas, under the system of election, canvassing, and every species of corruption, will be capable of ordinary proof, and there will be no need for having recourse to oaths of purgation.

There is no reason to fear, that granting to the people their just rights, in choosing their pastors, will encourage them to make encroachments on the internal government of the Church. It will, on the contrary, endear the ecclesiastical constitution to their feelings. It will induce them to yield a rational and scriptural, a willing and cordial submission, to its authorities. And it would prevent them from listening to the plausible representations of the partisans of Independency, who tell them that they are mere ciphers in the Church, by which many serious persons, and even ministers, have, from time to time, been drawn from the Establishment. The Presbyterian polity, when provided with the intrinsic checks which essentially belong to its

machinery, and where its operation is set free from extrinsic control, is so admirably adjusted and nicely balanced; it guards so wisely against lordly domination and tyranny on the one hand, and popular anarchy and misrule on the other; it is so congenial to the dispositions, and so hallowed in the recollections of the people of Scotland,—that it is safe from the rude hand of reckless and headlong innovation. If any fears of this kind should haunt the imagination of a single individual, he may be relieved by reflecting that it continues to be the form of government among by far the greater part of Dissenters in our country, who, though destitute of an establishment and legal stipends, have their church judicatories, subordinate and supreme, in regular progression, in which every cause is decided by their ministers and elders, without the least attempt or motion on the part of the people to usurp their authority, or transgress the limits of their jurisdiction.

The proposed measure being recommended by so many powerful and urgent considerations, and being free from any serious or valid objections, is there not reason to hope confidently that it will be brought forward and vigorously supported in the ensuing meeting of the General Assembly? I cannot persuade myself that there is so little zeal, so little patriotism, so little foresight, so little spirit among the ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland, as to suffer the present conjuncture to pass by, without making an effort to get rid of a yoke which neither they nor their fathers have been able to bear, and to throw off an incubus which has so long oppressed and paralyzed their energies. The very least thing which the Assembly can do, is to renew and re-enter on its record the protest against patronage as a grievance, and to instruct its Commission to embrace the present opportunity of applying to the Legislature for its removal. This would be creditable to all parties. The popular clergy, in particular, should solemnly consider the responsibility under which they lie. To them the people naturally look as the assertors and guardians of their rights, and have their eyes intently fixed upon them at the present

moment. If they are afraid to look the great question in the face, if they refuse to touch even with their little finger the burden of patronage, if they take up some low and narrow position in which they will find themselves galled by two fires, their reputation for wisdom and fidelity cannot fail deeply to suffer. If I had the ear of the very reverend the moderator, I would humbly recommend to him as a text for his opening sermon, the words addressed by Mordecai to his royal cousin—"If thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?"

It will, no doubt, be a grievous disappointment if the representatives of the Church shall fail in discharging their duty at this time, but still the cause must not be abandoned by its friends in despair. Neither the clergy nor the judicatories are the Church exclusively, either in a legal or ecclesiastical sense; and if the General Assembly, deaf to the advice of its predecessors and the call of Providence, shall, instead of being "watchful and attentive to this weighty concern," refuse to seize the "fit occasion" which offers itself for obtaining relief from "the grievance of patronage," the next question must be,—*What ought the* MEMBERS *of the Church—what ought the* PEOPLE *of Scotland, to do at the present crisis?*

ON THE RIGHT OF FEMALES TO VOTE IN THE ELECTION OF MINISTERS AND ELDERS.

[THE following remarks on this subject occur in a letter written by our author in January 1822, to one of his brethren who consulted him on the occasion of a dissension in his congregation, arising from some females insisting on their right of voting; and they are added here, from their having some connection with the subject of the foregoing pamphlet, as well as from the interest which the subject is exciting at the present time.—ED.]

Every thing which relates to rights, real or supposed, is calculated to excite a lively feeling of interest, and the passions eagerly enlist on the rumour of the least invasion of them. The feeling is peculiarly strong against encroachments alleged to be made in societies founded for the express purpose of vindicating injured rights, and asserting Christian privileges and liberty. And perhaps it is the more intense, when felt by those who are conscious of being placed, in other respects, in circumstances of inferiority and restraint, against which they dare not (if they were disposed) to complain. In such cases, persons think they do well to be angry, and that they might expostulate even with a higher than man, in language somewhat similar to that of the grieved patriarch,—"Joseph is not, Simeon is not; and will ye take away Benjamin also?" Amidst the apathy prevailing in the land about religious rights, and the tameness with which the privilege of popular election

has been surrendered by the great body of our countrymen, is there not a respect due to those who discover a different spirit, even when they may be wrong as to the particular instance in which they complain of being denuded of their rights, and when their jealousy may be unreasonable or extravagant? It will easily occur to you, that the plea on the present occasion is plausible; and to those who have lived in societies in which it was recognised, and uniformly acted upon, I may say that it will appear to be a plea both incontrovertible and irresistible. You and your people who are of an opposite opinion, have only to conceive yourselves in their situation, and I have no doubt you will feel disposed to act towards them in that spirit of lenity and allowance to which their feelings are entitled. But I am taking up your time in telling what you already know very well—which is easier than to tell you what you want to know.

When the question respecting the female right of vote was started at the meeting of the joint-committee,* I recollect of saying that, although my opinion was opposed to the claim, yet, if all other points of union were agreeably adjusted, I for one would have no objection to provision being made that females should be allowed to vote for office-bearers, in those congregations where they had hitherto enjoyed this privilege; and that if sent to moderate in any such congregation, I would not scruple to intimate that all the members were allowed to hold up their hands for or against the candidates. Nor can I say that I have yet seen any reason for altering that opinion. But I consider that there is a wide difference between the case of a congregation or society in which the right had been recognised, at least tacitly and by practice, and the case of another congregation or society which had never recognised it, but had uniformly acted on a different principle. In the latter case, I would think it my duty to continue the common practice, not only because it had been the custom, but also because I looked on it as well-founded. And if any individuals should complain that

* [Of the Original Burgher Synod and the Constitutional Presbytery, who were at that time contemplating a union.—Ed.]

they were denied their rights, I would say to them, "You are not denied any rights which were ever recognised in the body of which you are members; and provided you think that the right of election is too much circumscribed by its laws or usages, the least thing that is incumbent on you is, to wait until you can obtain a rectification of the supposed evil in a regular way, and, in the meantime, to show me and those whose province it is to authorise the alteration, that our present practice and mode of management is faulty and unscriptural." Provided such an address were in any degree effectual, and your complainants were disposed coolly to listen to it (which I think they ought to do), in that case there might be a propriety in your waving the merits of the question, in conversations with them, at least for a season, until any heat which may have been produced has evaporated. But I am much afraid this may be found impracticable, and that it will be necessary for you to examine the grounds of the claim, and bring forward the reasons for resisting it. There are some persons who are incapable of estimating forbearance, and if you decline engaging in argument with them, they straightway conclude you have nothing to say for yourself, and that your opinions are groundless, and your conduct indefensible. It is well if they do not conclude at once that you are conscious of this being the fact.

8 It will be felt as one difficulty on this subject, that you cannot assign the grounds of your procedure, in reference to the real merits of the question, without bringing forward topics which must be ungrateful to the ears and feelings of those who are already offended. How, for example, would they feel at hearing the translation of the following extract from a foreign writer, who has adverted to the subject, which he introduces thus:—"Quæst. An et quomodo Fœminæ constituent ecclesiam visibilem et institutam? Resp. *Diminutè*, et cum quadam limitatione."* Nor would they

* "Quest.—Whether women constitute the Church as visible and instituted, and how? Ans.—In a *diminutive* sense, and with some limitation."

probably relish much better the conclusion to which that writer comes. After granting that they constitute the invisible Church equally as men, and also the visible Church in respect of common confederation, and all the common privileges and exercises of religion, public or private, so that in respect of grace, and all the means of grace, "there is neither male nor female, but all one in Christ;" he comes to say, "Sed quod ad statum et integritatem ecclesiæ *organicam*, non ita constituunt eam Fœminæ ut penes illas sit potestas regiminis et jurisdictionis, quod ad executionem *sive communem* per suffragia et publicas sententiarum collationes, Acts xiv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 19; et 1 Cor. v. 4; sive per scrutinium, sive per χειροτονιαν, sive per vocalem et externam acclamationem: *sive specialem*, quæ solis ministris, et Presbyterio competit, non populo ecclesiastico." (*Voetii Politica Ecclesiast.*, vol. i. p. 32.)* This author, as you will see, regards the calling or electing of church-officers as a part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which he distinguishes by the name of *common;* others, however, view the matter in a different light, although it is probable the difference lies chiefly in words. In choosing office-bearers, the people seem necessarily to exercise a species of power, and their *call* seems, in so far, to have an *authority* over the individuals who are its objects, and to constitute in part what goes in ordinary cases to determine the call of God. The whole appointment denominated in our older standard books, *election*, *vocatio ministrorum*, is, you know, a general term used by divines; and I believe it is generally allowed that the choice and call of the people, in certain extraordinary cases, forms a valid and sufficient warrant for exercising the pastoral office. In my opinion, and so far as I have attended to the subject, the exclusion of women from an explicit

* "But as to the *organic* state and integrity of the Church, women do not so constitute it, as that the power of rule and jurisdiction belongs to them; either as to its *common* exercise, whether by votes and declaration of opinions, Acts xiv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 19; and 1 Cor. v. 4; or by scrutiny, or by holding up the hand, or by vocal and outward acclamation; or as to its *special* exercise, which belongs to the ministers only and the Presbytery, not to the Christian people."

choice or formal vote (for their consent or dissent must always be supposed, and there are many ways in which it may be ascertained or declared) rests on the apostolical prohibition, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35; 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12; taken in connection with the grounds and reasons of it, which are laid down in these places, and in 1 Cor. xi. 3–16. It is true that the apostle does not speak directly of voting, and that public teaching is something different from it, but I think the considerations which he adduces are applicable to both. I need not go over the particulars; you will easily perceive, by looking at them, how they strike me, at least, as applicable, whether my application of them be just or not. I may be wrong, but I confess 1 Cor. xi. 3–16 appears to me to suggest ideas which it would be difficult to reconcile with women's taking an active part in the public management of ecclesiastical affairs, giving their voices, and influencing the determinations of the society, equally with the men, including their own husbands—and, indeed, in most instances taking the determination into their own hands; for, I suppose, in all our congregations, and even in all Dissenting congregations (with perhaps a few exceptions) they form the decided majority in respect of numbers. How does this accord with their being under obedience, as saith the law—asking their husbands at home —not usurping authority over the man—remembering that the woman was deceived—that the head of the woman is the man, even as the head of every man is Christ—that she is the glory or image of the man, and that even nature itself teaches that she should have her head veiled, in token of modesty, and in point of decorum, in the public assemblies of the Church? The exclusion of women from teaching or exercising authority in the Church, does not solely rest on apostolical prohibition,—the practice was an irregularity before he prohibited it, and he assigned reasons for the restraint, and reasons founded on nature. It is generally allowed that when he refers to "nature itself," he means to include custom, which is in many cases the

best expounder of those principles and feelings which are natural to man, and recognised by those who are unenlightened by divine revelation; and by the manner in which he appeals to it, the apostle teaches us that there is a regard due to such dictates even in what relates to the Church; as we are taught by several places of the New Testament, that, from inadvertence or from other causes, Christians and Christian Churches may fall into opinions and practices, which those who had only nature's dim lamp to guide them avoided. Now, among all nations (unless any would name the Amazons), and even among those who carried the principles of liberty to the greatest extent, both ancient and modern, women have been excluded, or rather have excluded themselves, from taking part in public managements, and particularly in voting for public officers and functionaries. Did the part which women took, or rather were instigated to take, during the heat of the Revolution in France, or more lately among the radicals in England and Scotland, contribute either to the honour of the female character, or the credit of the cause in which they embarked? Is there not a danger of a similar evil from their interference in ecclesiastical elections, and of the cause of popular election suffering odium and being exposed to disrepute, although no great disturbance or excess should take place among us?

The silence of Scripture, and of ecclesiastical history, respecting the exercise of any such right in primitive times, is, in my opinion, of considerable weight. The author quoted above says,—"Ut mulier vocet aut eligat verbi ministros, &c., nec verbum Dei, nec ordo reformatarum ecclesiarum permittit."* Another writer now before me expressly states, that women were not allowed to vote in Holland, even in those parishes where election was most popular and free. It is stated in the disputes between the Orthodox and Arminians,

* "That the woman should call or elect ministers of the Word, &c., neither the Word of God, nor the order of the Reformed Churches, permit."

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